The Impartial Citizen.

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From the Liberty Bell for 1851.

THE GREAT APOSTATE.

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

In a speech delivered in Niblo's Garden, New York, in 1837, Daniel Webster said, with an emphasis which elicited from the vast assembly almost deafening cheers,—

'On the general question of Slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The question has not only situated attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper chord. It has awakened the religious feeling of our country; it has taken strong hold of the consciences of men. *He is a rash man, indeed, little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be tripped with or despised.* It will assuredly exert energy to be respected. It may be reasoned with; it may be made willing—I believe it is entirely willing—to fulfil all existing engagements and all existing duties; to uphold and defend the Constitution as it is established, with whatever regrets about some provisions which it does actually contain. *But, to coerce to mute silence—to endeavor to restrain its free expression—to appeal to compassion and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it*—should all this be attempted—I know nothing even in the Constitution, or in the Union itself, which should not be endangered, by the explosion which might follow.'

This estimate of the spirit which animates and controls the Anti-Slavery movement is justified by all the facts connected with the rise and progress of that movement.

Slavery is not only inhuman and anti-christian, but atheistical, in the most depraved sense of that term. Indeed, there has never been any other form of atheism, as a system, known to the world. This is none the less true, because Slaveholders profess to revere God, to believe in Christ, and to receive the Bible as an inspired volume. Their religious profession only deepens their condemnation, and makes their daily practice all the more appalling. In respect to those whom they have chattelized, their conduct is thoroughly unchristian. . . . . .

Existing themselves, those all that is called God; they stamp and execrate absolute authority over their victims, as the embodiment of all personality. A Slave is one who must have no other God than his master—no higher law than the will of him who claims him as his property; whose intellect must not be enlightened; whose conscience is not to be governed by moral considerations; whose soul may lay no claim to immortality. In Slavery, all human ties are abrogated; the parent has no child, the child no parent; there is neither father nor mother, neither husband nor wife, neither brother nor sister; no generational descent or relationship is recognized. Hence the scene in the Southern journals of advertisements like the following:

'Will be sold on Monday and Tuesday, the second and third day of December next, . . . all the right, title and interest of the subscriber, in and to the contents of a Country Store, consisting of a quantity of Dry Goods, Shoes, Umbrellas, Medicines, Hardware, Wines, Champagne Cider, and a variety of other articles. *Also, three Negroes, Lewinia, and her two children.* Also, a Horse, Carriage, Dray, and Cart.'

What is this but a bold denial of the accountability and immortality of those who are created 'in the image of God'?

Now if Christianity has any work to accomplish, surely it is the bitter subversion of an atheistical system like this; if the religious sentiment is to be arrayed against any form of iniquity, it must be against this, which is unparalleled for its enormity.

Since the advent of the Founder of Christianity, no effort for the melioration of the condition of man has been more largely imbued with the religious element, in its purest and most vital form, than the Anti-Slavery movement. This declaration may astonish, and even shock, some who have been tamed, by their religious teachers, to regard this movement as disorganizing in its tendencies and infidel in its spirit. Are not the Abolitionists everywhere stigmatized as infidels, fanatics, incendiaries, madmen—equally hostile to the peace of the nation and the stability of the Christian Church? Yes—but this stigma is not less malignant than was the accusation brought against Jesus—He casteth out devils through Beelzebub, the chief of the devils . . . We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar . . . He stireth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place.' In what manner, in any age, is true piety best authenticated? Not by professions of reverence for dead saints or heroes; not by conformity to the usages of popular religion; not by the observance of rites and ceremonies, or of times and seasons; not by the surrender of reason to arbitrary authority, or of conscience to ecclesiastical dictation; not by a dread of dissent, or fear of change, or dislike of investigation; not by making public opinion the standard of action, or what is customary the rule of duty; not by exclaiming, 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works?' These things are easily said and done. The test is in regarding principles more than persons, the present more than the past, truth more than tradition, humanity more than parchment; by refusing to go with the multitude in any evil way; in letting the dead bury their dead; in stemming the tide of popular corruption, arraigning unjust laws, exciting the fury of the oppressor, rebuking good for evil, and living above that fear of man which bringeth a snare; by being willing to be made of no reputation, and to suffer the loss of all things, for righteousness' sake.

Consider, now, the actual condition of the colored population of this country: despised, shunned, insulted, outraged, enslaved, by common consent, with deliberate purpose, systematically, and perseveringly, by all that is respectable, wealthy, and powerful—by all that is vulgar, brutal, and fiendish! They are universally treated as a despised race on account of their complexion; so that to such of them as are nominally free, every avenue to political and social equality, to wealth and station, to learning and improvement, is closed; and it is deemed ridiculous and impudent for them to aspire to be anything else than hewers of wood and drawers of water for their white contemners. The great body of them registered with cattle and swine, and stripped of all their rights as human beings, to interpose for their deliverance is to come into collision with a spirit more unrelenting, murderous, and God-defying than any other that ever assumed the despotic form, and which rules this whole nation 'with a rod of iron.'

Again, consider the degradation, helplessness, and utter destitution of these oppressed millions. They are ignorant, and cannot read; in a hopeless minority as to physical strength; cut off from all correspondence even with those who desire to befriend them; without anything in the world that they may call their own;—hence, the espousal of their cause requires rare disinterestedness, as well as great moral courage.

Consider, moreover, that in the immediate presence of the Slave Power, no one can demand the liberation of its victims, or enter his protest against their enslavement, except at the imminent peril of his life. So dreadful is that Power, that, of a thousand pulpits on its soil, not one has the martyr-spirit to confront it; of a thousand churches, whether Catholic, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist, not one has the courage to unchristianize it. No meetings can be held to discuss the question of human rights, in relation to the Slave population; no press is tolerated that speaks out boldly and uncompromisingly against making man the property of man; a dead silence is everywhere enforced, a gag is put into every mouth, except when slavery is to be defended, or the friends of impartial liberty are to be denounced. Not only are there the severest legal penalties to be incurred by agitating the subject, but outrage and death in their most appalling forms, by what is called the Lynch' process. No parallel to this state of society can be found in any despotic government on earth.

Consider, finally, that by its professed expounders and teachers in this country, generally, Christianity has been made to sanction the right to 'trade in slaves and the souls of men' to any extent! Yes, be the Law given by Moses, in the Gospel as promulgated by Christ, they maintain that divine authority is given to one portion of the human family to enslave another! Hence to own a thousand Slaves is no barrier to religious fellowship, no stain upon the Christian profession, no cause for church discipline. Hence it is common for ministers and church members at the South to be Slaveholders; and none are more angry than they at any proposition for emancipation, or more ready to instigate the infliction of summary and condign punishment on any one suspected of being an Abolitionist.

It is under such circumstances, that Slavery must be assailed—with the certainty of no reward on the part of its victims, as they have nothing to give, and know not where to bestow their claims and sympathies—with the certainty of being derided, caricatured, hated, calumniated, in the North, and tarred and feathered, or hung at the South—with the certainty of being branded with 'infidelity,' and charged with rejecting the Bible, in all parts of the country!

Now, then, when was it ever known that had man become the advocates of suffering humanity, in the midst of fiery trials like these? Never! If an unfaltering faith in the promises of God—the deepest sympathy with Christ, and love for his character—were ever demanded or exemplified, it has been in the prosecution of the Anti-Slavery movement, from its commencement to the present hour. As, on the other side of the Atlantic, in the struggle for the abolition of British West India Slavery, the purest, the most disinterested, the most philanthropic, the most truly pious, rallied together; so, on this side, the same elements have mingled for the deliverance of a much larger number from bondage, but through tribulation and peril unknown abroad. The men and the women whom God has inspired to demand liberty for the enslaved in this land are worthy of the apostolic age. They need no defence. The position which they sacrificially maintain in the midst of a scoffing and merciless nation—feared, abhorred, proscribed by the pharisaical, the powerful, and the despotic—howled at and hunted by the lawless, the profane, and the riotous—honored and blest by the suffering and the oppressed—is their noblest eulogy. They are neither fanatical nor mad, neither foolish nor ignorant, neither violent nor impracticable, but speak 'the words of truth and soberness,' plainly and unequivocally. They ask nothing more than that liberty may be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. As friends, neighbors, citizens—in all the relations and duties of life—they have no cause to shrink from a comparison with their traducers. In their company the ungodly take no delight. It is their aim to keep their consciences void of offence toward God and toward man. Nor is the abolition of Slavery the only enterprise in which their sympathies are enlisted. The temperance cause has no more thorough and reliable supporters; they constitute the backbone of the peace enterprise, in its radical form; in all the reform movements of the age, they feel a friendly interest. For the last twenty years, they have been a spectacle to angels and to men—but where is the evidence of their misconduct to be found, except in opening their mouths for the suffering and the dumb? The cry of 'fanaticism' and 'infidelity' against them is raised to divert attention from the true issue, to excite popular odium, and to hide conscious guilt. Their fanaticism is all embraced in the American Declaration of Independence; they are infidel to the Slave Power, and will not bow down to a corrupt public sentiment. What motive, but reverence for God and love for man, could have induced them to take their position by the side of the imbruted slave? Were they not connected with the various religious sects and political parties—clinging to those with characteristic tenacity, and highly esteemed for their zeal and fidelity? And what have they not yielded to their convictions of duty, their regard for principle, their love of right? The ties of sect and of party, reputation, the hope of worldly preferment, pecuniary interest, personal safety, in some instances life itself. They are intelligently and deeply religious, without cant or pretence; but neither expect nor desire any recognition of their Christian character on the part of a people whose feet run to evil, and who make haste to shed innocent blood.

When, therefore, Mr. Webster—thirteen years ago—confessed that the subject of Slavery had 'taken strong hold on the consciences of men,' and 'awaked the religious feeling of the country,' his vision was clear, his understanding sound, his testimony true; when he admonished those who listened to him, that 'a feeling of this kind was not to be trifled with or despised,' but would 'assuredly cause itself to be respected,' he uttered a sentiment which cannot be too deeply impressed upon the public mind, and especially upon the legislation of the country, at the present time; when he declared, with his conviction, that the courts in this alliance, to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to seek to repress and confine it, there is nothing even in the Constitution, or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion that might follow,' he evinced a familiar acquaintance with the martyr history of the age, and showed a deep insight into human nature. For as the Anti-Slavery movement rests on an eternal basis, and challenges the support of all those who fear God, it is sure in the end to triumph; and in proportion to the resistance made against it will be the convulsion attending its irresistible progress. Nothing can overturn it; nothing hold it back. Governmental edicts for its suppression will be as chaff before the whirlwind; compromises and combinations to deceive or crush it will all be in vain. If American Slavery can be perpetuated, then there is no essential difference between a man and a beast; then every form of despotism may continue to the end of time; than Christ has died in vain; then the Creator is weaker than the creature whom he has made.

Within the last twelve months, a radical change appears to have taken place in the feelings and sentiments of Mr. Webster on the subject of Slavery. No case of apostacy is comparable to it since the days of Judas Iscariot. In view of it, conscientious and enlightened men of all sects and parties are filled with sadness and amazement! There is nothing to mitigate its turpitude—no assignable cause for it, except the desperate hope of filling the Presidential Chair as the reward of the blackest treachery to the cause of Liberty.

On the 17th of March, 1850, in his place in the Senate of the United States, at a crisis when every blow struck for freedom was of incalculable importance—when the slightest defection from the path of rectitude was pregnant with monstrous consequences—Mr. Webster threw off the mask, turned his back upon the free North, hoodwinked himself even to the dust in the presence of the Slave Power, and has ever since been prostituting his great powers to the work of crushing the Anti-Slavery spirit of the age! It is not for him any longer to exclaim, 'Where shall I go?' He has reached the lowest depths of moral depravity. He may boast that he 'takes no steps backwards,—his strides from Plymouth Rock to Carolina lead at every step to perdition. There are steps downwards as well as backwards.

'Since he, miscalled the Morning Star,
Nor man, nor fiend, hath fallen so far.'

To sustain this great impeachment, a brief reference to the sentiments avowed in his recent speeches and letters must suffice, the limits necessarily assigned to this article forbidding an extended review.

There is no man who has professed higher veneration for the memories and deeds of our Pilgrim Fathers and Revolutionary Sires than Mr. Webster. The names of Carver, and Standish, and Bradford—of Washington, and Hancock, and Warren—are ever on his lips. He was the chosen Orator of Liberty at the laying of the Monumental Corner-Stone on Bunker Hill. He is one of twenty millions of people, who are never weary in extolling the Declaration of Independence. Yet, to reconcile the whole country to the most hideous system of oppression attainable, he scoffs at the sentiment which they have time-honored virtue—'We all know that Slavery has existed in the world from time immemorial. And it is just less certain that the spirit of violence and murder has prevailed ever since Cain slew his brother Abel! Ought all efforts therefore to be frowned upon, which aim to promote peace on earth and good will among men? 'There was Slavery,' he continues, 'in the earliest periods of history, in the Oriental nations.' The best of all reasons why it should no longer be suffered to curse any portion of the earth. 'There was Slavery among the Jews: the theocratic government of that people made no injunction against it.' As Mr. Webster doubtless regards that form of government as having proceeded directly from God, he means to be understood as saying that God regarded with approbation the act of his chosen people in reducing others to chattel bondage! What, then, becomes of free agency, conscience, reason, accountability? Where are the inalienable rights of man? 'At what period did it become a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal?' The imputation thus cast upon Him 'who has made of one blood all nations of men,' and 'whose tender mercies are over all the works of His hand,' is ever to be repelled as in the highest degree impious. The nature of man has been the same in all ages, and it has ever rebelled against oppression. God never yet made a human being for the chains and stripes of servitude. Over the head of the oppressor, the clouds of divine retribution are constantly impending, and his doom is sealed.

To the assertion, that 'there was Slavery among the Jews,' we reply that, if so, it was because they forsook 'the ordinances of justice,' and 'built high the places of Tophet.' Why did Mr. Webster forget to inform the Senatorial body whom he was addressing, that these Jewish oppressors were admonished and rebuked by their prophets, (the Abolitionists of their times,) in the following style:—'Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow!'—'Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, break every yoke.'

Not satisfied with staining the Law with cruel injustice, Mr. Webster proceeds to sully the Gospel. He says:—As the introduction of Christianity into the world, the Roman world was full of Slaves; and I suppose there is to be found no injunction against that relation between man and man, [i. e. the relation of one man as a piece of property to another man as the owner of it!] in the teachings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or any of his Apostles.' The meaning of this language is, that Christianity lays no prohibition upon the strong enslaving the weak; and the object of this reference is, to soothe the troubled conscience of this nation by making Slavery, and the Gospel compatible with each other! No marvel, therefore, that, in this besotted state of mind, Mr. Webster denies that there is any such thing as absolute justice, and sneeringly says—'There are men who are of opinion, that human duties may be ascertained with the exactness of mathematics. They deal with morals as with mathematics, and they think what is right may be distinguished from what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic question.' Hence, there are no natural relations of life—no permanent rules of justice—no fixed and immutable laws of God! Morality is a shifting sand-bar, which makes safe navigation at all times difficult! Right differs so little from Wrong, in its spirit, aspect and claims, that it is extremely difficult to determine wherein they conflict! This is a very convenient doctrine for one who has put principle under his feet, and thrown away his manhood to gratify a wicked ambition; but in theory it is substantial, in practice profligate, and in its consequences appalling.

However perplexing in casuistry some questions may be, there are such things as 'self-evident truths'; there are some human duties too plain to be mistaken. The Slave is a Man!

'Though by his brother bought and sold,
And beat, and scourged, and a' that,
His wrongs can ne'er be felt nor told,
Yet he's a man, for a' that!
For a' that, and a' that,
His body chained, and a' that,
The image of his God remains—
The Slave's a Man, for a' that!'

In him, therefore, the Divine image is to be reverred, not desecrated: his rights are all that pertain to any human being: to enslave him is to be guilty of manstealing.

But, in the estimation of Mr. Webster, the Slave is nothing—three millions of Slaves are nothing—nothing, certainly, humanly considered—nothing but personal property, and only as such worthy of any solicitude—nothing deserving of prayer or effort for their deliverance! His sympathies, affinities, energies, associations, are wholly with their remorseless oppressors. He sees nothing in Slavery reproachful to the character, injurious to the prosperity, or dangerous to the stability of the Republic: it is the effort making to abolish it that alarms and inflames him! 'Of the Anti-Slavery societies he says, without qualification—'I do not think them useful. I think their operations for the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable. . . . I cannot but see what mischiefs their interference with the South has produced. . . . The result of it has been, not to enlarge, but to restrain, not to set free, but to bind faster the Slave population of the South. That is my judgment.' The very language of the dealers in human flesh, who are aiming to eternize Slavery on the American soil; who are eager to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Abolitionists; who turn pale whenever they hear their crimes alluded to, and become frantic at the sight of an Anti-Slavery publication! The charge is alike absurd and monstrous.

It is in this cool, peculiar, and audacious manner that Mr. Webster, from his high position, pours contempt and storm upon the tears of the sympathizing, the prayers of the afflicted, the labors of the philanthropic. If it were in his power, he would disband every Anti-Slavery Society, and suppress all discussion of the subject of Slavery. According to his miserable logic, to demand justice for the wronged, liberty for the enslaved, is the very way to perpetuate injustice and to prolong human servitude. How, then, would he abolish the Slave system? Let him answer:—'As it has existed in the country, and as it now exists, I have expressed no opinion of the mode of its extinguishment or amelioration . . . . I have nothing to propose on that subject.' Profound statesman! But on one point he feels himself competent to act:—'If any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme of colonization, to be carried on by this government upon a large scale for the transportation of race colored people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object!'?—an object dastardly, unjust, inhuman, to the last degree—an object which the Slaveholding perpetualists have for more than thirty years sought to accomplish, through deception, violence, and persecution, for the purpose of holding their victims more securely in bondage!—Mr. Webster prides himself upon his title of 'Defender of the Constitution.' In what article or clause of that instrument can he find any warrant, on the part of Congress, to expend any portion of the national revenue in transporting to other lands, citizens of this country on account of their freedom and the hue of their skin? Accumulated shame upon him for such a proposition!

'New England, it is well known,' says Mr. Webster, 'is the chosen seat of the Abolition presses and the Abolition societies.' Why should it not be? The struggle for the abolition of Slavery is a moral one, and the moral power of this nation lies chiefly in New England. 'Here it is, principally,' continues this distinguished scoffer, 'that the former cheer the morning by full columns of lamentations over the fate of human beings free by nature, and by a law above the Constitution,—but sent back, nevertheless, chained and manacled, to Slavery and to stripes; and the latter refresh themselves from daily toil by orgies of the night devoted to the same outpourings of philanthropy—mingling till the while their anathemas at what they call 'man-catching' *with the most horrid and profane ejaculations of the Christian Sabbath*, and, indeed, *of the whole Divine Revelation.* They sanctify their philanthropy *by irreligion and profaneness*; they manifest their charity *by contempt of God and his commandments.*'

Examine this whole extract. Can its parallel be found on the score of insensibility to human degradation and suffering, as experienced by the poor imbruted Slave—of misrepresentation and calumny of thousands of as intelligent, virtuous, humane, and Christian men and women as were ever united to extend the reign of justice and mercy—and at the same time of affected regard for the cause of religion? Where has so much of barbarity, malice, falsehood, and cant ever been compressed into so small a compass? There is Satanic skill in the grouping of its several parts. *Ha* talk of the 'Christian Sabbath,' of reverencing a day, who looks with complacency upon the desecration of the image of God, and mocks at the 'lamentations' which are raised by the pure and tender-hearted over lacerated bodies, and darkened minds, and ruined souls! *Ha* talk of 'Divine Revelation,' who affirms that the Gospel of Jesus Christ contains no injunction against turning men, women and children into chattels personal! *He* concerned for the honor of God and the keeping of his commandments, who laughs at the idea of a 'higher law' than that enacted at the last session of Congress for the re-capture of Fugitive Slaves, and with whom allegiance to a blood-stained compact is the end of the law for righteousness! Marvellous assurance!

As for the charge, that the Abolition Societies of New England indulge in 'the most horrid and profane injurious of the Christian Sabbath,' it is utterly and inexcusably false. Mr. Webster is challenged to produce a particle of evidence to substantiate it. Let him show when or where any one of those societies ever used the injurious to alleged, or stand before the world a convicted libeller. In regard to both of these members, they are composed of persons differing more or less as to their religious opinions, (like the temperance and peace societies,) but united for one common object—the liberation of the fettered bondman. They have never entertained for discussion, they have never adopted, any other question than that which relates legitimately to their enterprise. Without attempting to determine any extraneous subject,—whether the first, or seventh, or any other day is peculiarly holy time,—they unite in sentiment with the Great Teacher, that 'it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath day,' and therefore commendable in the sight of God to endeavor to extricate on that day the millions of our countrymen who are perishing in the pit of Slavery. As for 'horrid and profane abjurations,' they leave all such to be made by those who, like Mr. Webster, 'strike hands with thieves, and consent with adulterers'; who, being on the side of tyranny, have neither argument nor fact wherewith to justify themselves; whose weapons of defence are lies and forgeries, sophistries and shams, tar and feathers, brickbats and rotten eggs, pistols and bowie knives; who hunt for the life of him who pleads for those who are appointed to destruction, and violently wrench all law and order under their feet. It is this wicked scoundrel and his man-stealing confederates—not Abolitionists, nor Abolition Societies—who manifest contempt of God and his commandments, and whose 'irreligion and profaneness,' 'impiety and lewdness, are corrupting the nation.

In 1837, when his vision was clear and his judgment sound, Mr. Webster could testify that it 'was the religious feeling of the country' that was struggling for the overthrow of Slavery, and could do homage to it. In 1850, now that he has wholly apostatized from the cause of Freedom, he brands that *feeling* as irreligious and profane, makes its 'lamentations' over the woes of the Slave a subject of merriment, speaks of it as a spirit of faction and diffusion, of discord, disturbation and recrimination, and stigmatizes those who are animated by its spirit as 'shallow, ignorant, and fanatical men'! Nay, more—as for the general excitement against Slavery, it is utterly inexplicable to him! 'I suspect all this,' he says, with feigned ignorance of its cause and aim, 'to be the effect of that wandering and vagrant philanthropy which disturbs and annoys all that is present, in time or place, by heating the imagination on subjects distant, remote, and uncertain (!) . . . A spirit should prevail, which shall look to things important and real, and less to things ideal and abstract (!) . . . . I shall support no agitations having their foundations in unreal, ghostly abstractions (!) . . . . May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, before it may utter any sentiment which shall increase the agitation in the public mind on such a subject!'

The 'wandering and vagrant philanthropy' which so 'disturbs and annoys' Mr. Webster is kindred to that which was manifested by Jesus and his disciples, eighteen hundred years ago, to the consternation and displeasure of scribe, pharisee, and ruler; for which the memories of Howard, Oberlin, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and other illustrious benefactors of their race, are now venerated; and which makes human redemption the absorbing object of its solicitude. It does not 'heat the imagination'—it warms the heart. It 'wanders' only to save—it is 'vagrant' only as it is persecuted from city to city. It is not, (as is foolishly alleged by Mr. Webster,) that it looks to 'things ideal and abstract,' that it creates general uneasiness; it is, that it deals with 'things important and real,' and calls for the suppression of all abuses.

What can be more preposterous than the assertion, that the Anti-Slavery agitation has its foundations in 'unreal, ghostly abstractions'? Is the Slave system or the Slave code an abstraction? Are whips and chains, padlocks and thumb-screws, branding-irons and blood-hounds 'unreal abstractions'? Are slaveholders, slave-breeders and buyers, overseers and drivers, only 'ghostly illusions'? It would be much to his credit if Mr. Webster should let his tongue cleave to the roof of his mouth, rather than to use it so absurdly and basely.

In one breath, he asserts that 'the slavery question New England can interfere with only as a meddler: she has no more to do with it than she has to do with the municipal government of a city on the island of Cuba'! In the next, he insists that constitutional safeguards should be thrown around that system as much by Massachusetts as by Georgia; that no fugitive slave should receive fair consideration, or any protection whatever, in all the free North; that such as have escaped from the southern hounds of bondage ought to have long since been arrested, and restored to their masters; and that to be the abettors and allies of the traffickers in human flesh should be regarded by the people of the Free States as a duty, an affair of high morals and high principle! The incoherency of the brain is the consequence of depravity of the heart.

How Mr. Webster stands in southern estimation is not a doubtful matter. Where on the plantation shall a soul a true, out-spoken friend of freedom would be instantly lynched, he is regarded with favor, and

greeted with applause. At the present time, the South relies on him for the protection of her 'peculiar institution' more than on any other man in the nation—not excepting Henry Clay.

At the North, the supporters and admirers of Mr. Webster are those who have bought him with a price—those who pay that homage to rare intellect, however perverted, which is essentially devil-worship—those who bow down at the shrine of Mammon, and believe in a trinity made up of 'the gold eagle, the silver dollar, and the copper cent'—those who have 'stolen the livery of the court of heaven' wherein to serve the great adversary—those who are profane, drunken, lewd, pionns.

In May last, the American Anti-Slavery Society attempted to hold its sixteenth anniversary in New York. Its meetings were invaded and broken up by a band of rioters utterly lost to shame, led on by the notorious ruffian, 'Captain Isaiah Rynders,' and connived at by the city authorities. In the midst of their profanity, obscenity and violence, they repeatedly gave three cheers—for whom? 'For DANIEL WEBSTER!'

On the fifteenth of November, 1850, an immense meeting of the friends of international amity and universal emancipation, drawn together spontaneously from all parts of New England, was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, to welcome the arrival to these shores, after an absence of fifteen years, of GEORGE THOMPSON, the noble advocate of impartial liberty, the present distinguished member of the British Parliament for the Tower Hamlets, London. That meeting, at an early period of the evening, was invaded by an organized body of rioters, who, for the space of two hours, (like their lawless predecessors at Ephesus,) by their groans and yells prevented any speaker from being heard—the city authorities interposing no restraint whatever. 'We never heard,' said one of the city journals of the next morning 'such unearthly, inhuman, strange, encouth, hideous noises, in all our born days. One would have thought Bedlam was let loose, and all the black fiends of the lower region out on a frolic.' Another journal, equally in favor of this dastardly outrage, testified as follows:—'Rings were formed in the centre of the floor, in which individual and general fights took place: hats were smashed, and ivory-headed canes flew briskly; then came a series of dances, with Indian war-hoop accompaniments. IT WAS HELL LET LOOSE, AND NO MISTAKE!'

For where did these miscreants send up cheer after cheer, throughout the entire evening? Who was the recreant and fallen man whom, on that occasion, they were proud to recognise and eager to applaud, as one with him in spirit and fellowship? DANIEL WEBSTER!

Where shall we look in history for a more melancholy instance of human degradation?

THE PHILADELPHIA SLAVE CASE.—THE WRONG MAN ARRESTED.—The Philadelphia Ledger says:—The friends of Adam Gibson (the colored man carried off on Saturday evening as a fugitive slave) were greatly rejoiced yesterday in learn that he was disclaimed by his reputed owner, and would return to the city by the afternoon line. It seems that after he was given up to the agents of the alleged master, Wm. Knight, he was conveyed to Elkton, Md., by three of the Marshal's Police, and Wm. Halzell, U. S. Deputy Marshal, accompanied by George S. Alberti. When the party reached that place, Mr. Knight was sent for. Upon making his appearance, he said at once that he knew the boy—his name was Adam, but he was not his slave. He knew he had been a slave in the county for some one, and had suddenly disappeared, but he had no claim upon him, and he might be taken back. He said that he knew Emery Rice, and knew where he was to be found—that he had better tell him to come back, for he was bound to have him. The Marshal then determined to bring Gibson back. He was brought on Saturday night as far as Newark, Delaware, where he left the care temporarily. The cars being about to start, he attempted to jump on, but missed them, and fell into the road. He reached Wilmington by some means during the night, and probably fearing some new molestation, determined to walk to this city. This he did. He was met at Gray's Ferry, by Rev. Dr. Bias, a colored clergyman, who conveyed him in a carriage to the Philadelphia Institute, in Lombard street, above Sixth, where a vast number of colored persons were collected in anticipation. He there received a most hearty welcome—the crowd hailing his appearance with cheers. Called an interesting scene also took place on the restoration of Gibson to his wife and children, who were entirely ignorant of his capture till yesterday morning.

The *Ledger* further mentions a fact which might have been important to the claimant of Emery Rice, if he had known it sooner. It is well ascertained that Emery Rice was conversing with Adam Gibson at the corner of Second and Lombard streets, on Saturday afternoon, about two minutes before Gibson was arrested. It may be fairly presumed that the real Simon Pure is, before this, out of the way of all arrests.

The last part of the tale has yet to be told. On Wednesday, Lieut. Ellis, of Marshal Keyser's Police, arrested George F. Alberti, upon the oath of Adam Gibson, charging him, in company with others, with conspiring together, committing an assault and battery upon his person, and falsely imprisoning him.—The accused, Alberti, was found at his residence, in Moyamensing. He was taken before Alderman White, and held to bail in $1500 for a further hearing on Friday afternoon next.

Lieut. Ellis, soon after, arrested James Frisby Price, at his residence in Vernon street, who is also implicated with Alberti, in the arrest and false imprisonment of Gibson. He was committed in default of bail.

From the Philadelphia Daily Sun.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

We have ever advocated the duty of obeying the Fugitive Slave Law, but we think the case of Adam Gibson, before Commissioner Ingraham, under that law, on Saturday, was one of the most flagrant violations of justice, mercy, and the rules of evidence, we ever heard of. Such indecent haste to remand a presumed slave; such anxiety to get rid of a subject, and such shameful ex parte testimony, has never before disgraced our community. It will tend more to strengthen fanaticism and exasperate the course instinct abolitionists, than any means that could have possibly been devised. If we are to have such Draco decisions under the Fugitive Slave Law, and its repeal is to be the signal of the dissolution of the Union, we may as well make up our minds to the terrible alternative. If the provisions of the law authorize the surrender of the supposed fugitive slave upon such meagre and conflicting evidence, when the proof of his freedom was stronger than of his being a slave, when the claim to the fugitive at every point is doubtful, such a summary decision as given by Commissioner Ingraham must tend to weaken the confidence of the people of the free States in the policy and propriety of the bill. We protest against the partiality of the decree, the Dogberry stupidity of the proceedings, and the haste which pervaded the whole affair. We have no room for extended comments this morning; but if Gibson's case is to be considered correct, under the law, it is a shameful one, instead of being a great measure of pacification. We shall revert to the subject again.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

GERRIT SMITH'S CIRCULAR.

A better toned, and every way more acceptable document, never came from that gentleman's pen, than the Circular we published last week. It takes the most comprehensive, and, therefore, the most instructive view of the state of our cause and of the Liberty Party, that was ever put upon paper. A man can learn what are our principles, aims and purposes better from that Circular, than from any document of the sort ever given to the public. What is said about the Free Soilers of New England is eminently just; though we think the present position of the Free Soilers, in respect to the Democrats, according to what Gen. Wilson, of the *Emancipator*, calls the '*understanding*' betwixt the Free Soilers and the Democrats, will result in disaster. The Tariff doctrine, however, of the Free Soil Party of New England, will be the great hindrance in the way of its usefulness and radicalism, and the great blunder of its ethics. In the Western States, except Iowa, there is hope of a better state of things.

In Illinois, our good friend, J. H. Collins, Esq., is elected to Congress. There, we have reason to hope, the Liberty Party will wheel into the ranks, and bring 10,000 voters to our standard, in 1852. The New York city vote was small, too small. We hope our friends there will organize, appoint a central committee, spread facts, circulate papers, in a word, work, constantly and untiringly, until our principles shall be thoroughly understood and fully appreciated. May we be spared, in future, the disgrace of seeing our best educated black man, of New York city, vote for one of two Democrats! That members of the Vigilance Committee should vote for slaveocrats is indeed humiliating. But men in New York have a way of choosing the least of two evils. That policy they seem to have the facility of reconciling with their religion. This seems, in politics, to be their besetting sin. Better voting we cannot expect in a place where such religion prevails. May Mr. Smith's words be properly regarded, and practically received, by our friends in Pennsylvania! The tone of Mr. Smith's remarks to them, as to all others, is most admirable.

The allusion to the *Liberty Party Paper* is eminently just. The allusion to the *Citizen* is quite as good as it deserves, and the sincerity of it was proven by an accompanying check on a good bank for an amount not necessary here to name, but ministering very much to our pecuniary relief. Very grateful, indeed, are we, for this token of friendly regard.

We like Mr. Smith's suggestions about a National Convention, at Oswego, or Buffalo. Such a Convention would be much larger, now, than previous to the last election. The casting of 3400 votes, in New York State, and the election of Collins, of Illinois, and Durkee, of Wisconsin, to Congress, after the distinct and emphatic avowal of their principles, will draw great attention to our principles, and to such a meeting. Whether another nomination should or should not be made, we hope the committee will call another Convention. The letter of Mr. Smith, however, demonstrates, we think, to others, and decides, we know, for ourselves, that no other man than the author of that Circular should be the nominee of a Convention, if the nomination should be reviewed or disturbed. The illustrious expounder, defender and supporter of the party and its principles, is *the* man, of all men, for our national standard-bearer. This, we repeat, is our firm and unalterable conviction. We cannot pledge ourselves to the support of any other man, for we know but too few of like ripeness of character, earnestness and self-sacrifice, in our cause. We have once seen the lamentable evil of lowering our standard, for the purpose of accommodating a new standard-bearer. We shall never consent to any movement in that direction, and we believe one of the best safeguards against it is to adhere to our long cherished principles, by clinging to our scar-worn and time-honored men. Besides, in the great work of a political reform, we must practically rebuke that plea of expediency, which seeks available candidates, at the expense of some great principle. To drop a man because of such scruples as Mr. Smith expresses, when that man is the man to represent our principles, would serve more of expediency than we can approve.

But if Mr. Smith persists in demanding of a Convention the recosidering his nomination, we shall authorise the doing of the same, in respect to the other name on the ticket. Where a nomination can be improved, as in this letter case, (very easily, too,) let it be done. But when, as in the former case, no improvement can be made, let us adhere to the choice once made,—the best choice that can be made, should we try a thousand times.

Let all those who desire to understand our principles, read that Circular again, and examine every sentence of it, and ask themselves, whether it is not such a platform as all the Reformers, whether Temperance men, Land Reformers, Free Soilers, Abolitionists or Peace men, should embrace. Ask yourselves, good friends, whether, if you vote at all, you do not vote against some of your avowed principles, when you vote with any other than the Liberty Party.

It is, perhaps, as well here as elsewhere, that what we said last week about Free Trade, we now, in the light of Mr. Smith's Circular, as plain, by saying that we deem a Revenue Tariff unjust and oppressive, inasmuch as it taxes men's necessities, instead of their ability. The poor man who must eat, drink, and wear, and whose labor causes him and his children to *wear out*, and *eat more* than the rich man, is obliged, under a Revenue Tariff, to pay as much, or more, for the support of Government, than the rich man. This is unjust and unequal. The rich man should pay according to his riches to support the Government, and the poor man according to his poverty. This never is, nor can be, under a Revenue Tariff. Hence our remark, that the doctrine of equal rights, and the Tariff doctrine, cannot be reconciled. A Protective Tariff is made and designed for the sole purpose of giving capital abundant profits, at the expense of labor. The inequalities of a Protective Tariff are greater and worse than those of a Revenue Tariff; but, as a general thing, our Tariffs are made to answer both the purposes of Revenue and Protection. The twofold evils of such a Tariff we never can consent to, never, shall cease to cry out against. A free trade party we must support, if we support any—if we cling to the Inalienable Rights of Man. But not object is writing was to call attention to Mr. Smith's most incomparable Circular.

MR. COATES' LETTER.

We are obliged to our good friend for his letters and the accompanying papers. We thank him, also, for the generous pretensions he gives us. His directions shall be complied with in respect to the papers. The extra copy shall be sent to Hon. H. Clay.

Mr. Coates may be assured that we have not the least disposition to suppress information in respect to the Republic of Liberia. On the contrary, we are desirous to give all the publicity to the affairs of the Republic which can be possibly gleaned from all the various sources of information. Indeed, we are of the opinion that Liberia should be looked after, by the black men of this country, especially. There are thousands of human beings in Liberia. Their moral, intellectual and religious wants, are, and must be, matters of interest to us: and what is more, those wants must be supplied from this country. The trade of Liberia must be with our Northern States, generally, and mostly. We would that all this trade were in the hands of black men. Any one who may go to Liberia to trade, to teach, to preach, or to encourage in any matter of enterprise, we object no more thereto, than to going to the Sandwich Islands, for the same purpose. But when Colonizationists talk about the degradation of negroes, as an impassable barrier in the way of their elevation; and that the effort to elevate us to equality with the whites will prove unavailing; that we must therefore go to some other country to be men, and to enjoy the rights of men; when such papers as the *Journal of Commerce* and *Courier and Enquirer*, that are and always have been, the bitterest of all the enemies of the black race of our country, and the constant opponents of all the efforts for the restoration of black men's rights, abuse and traduce the free blacks of the country, as a means of inducing us to go to Africa, then we protest against such colonizationism with all our might, in the name of an outraged people. And when it is proposed to convert Africa to such religion as that of the *Journal of Commerce* and *Dr. Spring*, who declared *he would not free all the slaves in the country, if he could do so by a single prayer to Almighty God*, or the slave-catching and kidnapping religion of Dr. Spencer, Dr. Sharpe, Dr. Hawks, Dr. Krebs, or any other preachers who sermonize in behalf of the slave law of President Fillmore and Daniel Webster,—when it is proposed to convert Africa *to such* a religion, our whole soul cries out in agony—Let her alone; let her live in Mahommedanism, or any form of Heathenism, rather than convert her to a religion so abhorent to God, so destructive to man!

We propose to have our friend, Mr. Coates, write for us on the subject of Colonization, and select articles for our columns on this subject, and we shall make such remarks thereon as to us shall seem best. Thus the whole subject of Colonization will be under discussion.

Now, a word as to the civilization and evangelization of Africa. We do not look to the establishment of such governments as that of Liberia for the work of civilization and evangelisation of Africa. Colonies like that look after their own interests. Their selfishness will control them so much in their intercourse with the natives, as to do any thing else than evangelize them. The corruptions of the colonists will spread their infectious influence among the natives, or the latter will be driven back, and finally exterminated. Such has been the deplorable result of colonization upon these shores. The Aborigines have either been driven back, or exterminated, or they have, like the Cherokees, become slaveholders. That such will be the result in Africa, we have reason to fear, from what has already transpired in and about the Republic of Liberia. But when we see the glorious result of such a mission as that at Mendi, and its influences upon the native chiefs and warriors, in the midst of a desolating war, we cannot help concluding that such a mission has done more for Africa, in seven years, than Liberia has since its settlement. We look to Christian missions, established by and consisting of Christian teachers, preachers, farmers and mechanics, for the civilization and evangelization of Africa.

As to the reflex influence of Liberia upon American slavery, we are not so hopeful. There are black men of talent, education and wealth scattered all over the North and the South. What effect has the knowledge of this fact upon the slaveholders? There are black communities all around us, within five days sail of us. What influence has this fact upon Northern or Southern slaveocrats? The Liberian Republic will have no better influence upon the same class than have the West Indies, and the learned, and wealthy, and otherwise respectable black men of the United States. The devil of slavery will not be exorcised so easily. 'It is a kind that goeth out not but by fasting and prayer'!

We are able to give but one of Mr. Coates's letters this week. The other shall appear in our next.

☞ The first of January has come, and many of our subscribers are yet in arrears. We shall send bills to them immediately, but we desire that they should not wait, but send immediately to us, here.

☞ W. L. Chaplin is at present with Gerrit Smith.

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN COATES.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 5th, 1850.

REV. SAMUEL R. WARD:—

DEAR SIR,—I have been intending for some time to write to you, to acknowledge the courtesy you have shown me in regard to the subject on which I addressed you, and to thank you for the very polite offer of the use of your columns to give my views to your readers. Differing as we *apparently* do on the subject under discussion, your offer is much more liberal than I had any right to expect. My object in writing, both to yourself and Mr. Frederick Douglass, was more to induce you both to reflect seriously on the subject of Colonization, and to dispel, in a measure, if possible, the very great prejudice that I knew you both, in common with the great mass of our colored population, entertain on this subject, than to enlighten your readers myself. In other words, not being accustomed to write for the public, and aware of the distrust that the colored men entertains (and, perhaps, not without reason) of advice or arguments coming from the white man, I thought it an easier matter to convince either of you of the benefits that must result to your race in America, as well as in Africa, by building up a powerful republic in that distant land, and to show the duty and responsibility on you of addressing your readers on the subject, rather than undertake it myself. However, I shall shortly reply to the letter that you addressed to me through the *Impartial Citizen*, and leave it to your option to publish it or not; and shall certainly not feel the least disappointed or slighted should you conclude not to do so. My present object in writing is to send you a copy of a letter I recently received from President Roberts, that I thought would be interesting to you, whatever views you may take of the Colonization scheme. Although the letter is entirely a private one, intended only for my own eye, yet I thought it so interesting and encouraging, that I sent a copy of it to Mr. Greeley, with the privilege of publishing such parts as he should think best. He has published, as you will perceive, in the *Tribune* of yesterday, Dec. 4th, more of it than I expected; but has very properly omitted a paragraph in which President Roberts mentions Mr. Douglass and yourself. I send you, however, a copy of the whole letter, as I believe there is nothing in it that yourself or any one else can take exception to, although I do not agree with him, that Messrs. Douglass and Ward are so prejudiced, as not to be able or willing to look at the matter fairly, and to be convinced where the truth shall he made apparent to them. And when *once fully convinced* on the subject, I have no fears that either of you will not have the courage to maintain the truth, even at the expense of the opposition that I know it will necessarily involve. I understand full well all the bitter feelings of the injustice to your race, of the oppression and cruelty, that are associated in your mind, with this object. Still, with all this in view,—and not forgetting the prominent part that some Southern Colonizationists have had in the passage of the late outrageous slave-catching bill—I am not prepared to believe that you will be prevented, by any feelings of this kind, from looking at the subject in its true light, and from distinguishing the *true Spirit of Colonization*, which has for its object, the *education and elevation* of the whole colored race, (and the *effects that such elevation* of a portion of the race must necessarily have on those not so favorably circumstanced,) from the persecuting or selfish spirit that would enslave, oppress or drive them from their country, even should those who are actuated by bad or mistaken views assume the name of Colonizationists, and, to some extent, act with them.

I have felt some hesitation in writing to you on the subject of Colonization, while the spirit of persecution, and submission to Southern dictetion, prevails; but all the news from Africa is so cheering to me that I thought it could not be less gratifying to you to know that there was one spot on the earth's surface where true 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' prevail, where *true* Republicanism exists—and where the black man has the opportunity to *show* his ability to take care of himself, and his power of self-government.

I also send you a copy of a letter received from President Roberts, some months since, and would ask your attention to the fact there mentioned of the experiment, by the English, of the culture of cotton in Liberia. This letter has never been published, although the information has got into the papers from other sources. You are entirely at liberty to publish any part or the whole of either letter, or both, as you may think proper.

I requested the young man in the Colonization office to send you a file of the '*Colonization Herald*,' a few days since, and propose to write to you shortly more fully on the subject of African Colonization. I would also like to make a few suggestions, either to yourself or your readers, on the importance of the better education and elevation of the colored population in the United States, if suggestions from a *white man*, and *not a colonizationist*, would be well received. It is a subject that I have paid a good deal of attention to, and see in which I feel a strong interest. Yours very truly,

BENJAMIN COATES.

[We give below the letters from President Roberts to which Mr. Coates refers.]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Monrovia,
September 27th, 1850.

BENJAMIN COATES, ESQ., Philadelphia:—

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you for your esteemed favors of the 26th and 29th of June, by the Liberia packet, which I have read with attention and much satisfaction. And I assure you, I fully appreciate all you say with respect to the energy and enterprise which should characterize the people of Liberia to insure them complete success. I am aware that many of our best friends in the United States have long entertained, and some still entertain, fears that the great work in which we are engaged, after all the wonderful success which has hitherto attended our efforts, and the encouraging prospects now before us, may possibly, for the want of industry and energy, end a determinstice on the part of the people here to succeed, prove a failure. I, too, have had fears in this respect. But I am happy to be able to say that, within the last few years, these fears have altogether subsided. The time was when the people here gave too much of their time and attention to petty trading with the natives, neglecting almost totally the more certain and safe means of acquiring permanent happiness and independence—I mean, the cultivation of the soil. This, however, was an evil which has happily cured itself, and, at present, an altogether different state of things prevails. Agriculture, every where throughout the Commonwealth, is receiving more and more attention. Really, there is an air of comfort, and contentment, and happiness, among the people settled along the banks of the river, and in the interior villages, that is truly pleasing to witness. Our prospects were never more flattering and encouraging than they are at present. In addition to the attention which is now given to agriculture, it is gratifying to know that the people are more than ever concerned about education, and the means of securing it to their children. And this feeling is rapidly extending itself among our aboriginal inhabitants. They are daily sending in their children 'to be taught book, and to learn Merica—gun fight, and God palaver.' All this is exceedingly gratifying. Liberia is certainly going ahead, and if a good Providence will continue to guide and direct us, we may reasonably hope that Liberia will attain to what you look forward to, a powerful Republican Government, that will, in all that constitutes *true glory*, rival the United States; and that both nations, either acting together, or in a generous rivalry of good works, will be the means of civilizing and christianizing the world, especially benighted Africa.

I rejoice to notice that Colonization is rapidly gaining favor in the United States, and that Liberia is more and more attracting attention. I have, indeed, been interested in perusing the papers you were good enough to send me. In the *New York Tribune* I noticed several articles on the subject of Colonization that please me very much. Friend Greeley is doubtless an honest man, and open to conviction on any subject, and when convinced of the right, will pursue it. You have done well in inducing him to think seriously on the subject. I fear your efforts with Messrs. Douglass and Ward will not, within any short period, prove as successful. Their minds are barred against, every thought or suggestion which might possibly induce them to think favorably of the Colonization Society. Possibly, however, they may not be as unreasonable in their prejudices as 'an old man I hear of in Ebo,' more, who 'prays to God daily,' he says, 'that he may not be convinced of the goodness and greatness of Colonization, and that the scheme did not in verity spring from the evil one.' A new' era, Sir, is evidently bursting upon Liberia. The signs of the times plainly indicate it. The redemption of Africa must be affected. The Almighty himself has declared it. Ethiopia must be brought to stretch out her hands to God; and I firmly believe that Liberia is to be the agent, or the great instrumentality, by which this redemption is to be wrought out. And God will aid us in carrying forward the work.

I am pleased to find that Judge Bryan's scheme to establish a line of steamship between the United States and Liberia finds favor at Washington, and that the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives have agreed to report in favor of it. Such a line of steamships will successfully give a new and mighty impulse to Colonization, and will greatly increase the commercial interests of both countries. Then I shall hope to see you in Liberia. The Liberia educational movement in Massachusetts, I consider equally, if not more important. I assure you, Sir, I am truly delighted at the prospect of having permanently established in Liberia the means of education. This subject, more than any other, has given me deep concern for many years. I have looked forward to the time, which will surely come, when annually, thousands from the United States will be thrown into Liberia, without education or much experience in matters of government; and such a mass of ignorance flowing in upon us, without a sufficient restraining power—which power can only be created by the education of the youth of Liberia—would most assuredly endanger the government, and the perpetuity of our institutions. Education is our safety-valve, and must keep pace with emigration.

I thank you very much for the pictures you were so kind as to send me. The engraving of both is remarkably fine. That of Washington is a good likeness; his portrait, however, can never be mistaken. The 'Trial of Effie Deans' is an interesting picture. Some British officers called to see me a day or two ago, and admired it very much. One, who had never been in the United States, thought it too rich to be American. You have hit little ideas of the amusement these pictures sometimes afford us. Natives come from a considerable distance to see them, and frequently we cannot get them to approach within six or eight steps, on the first, or sometimes, second visit. It is difficult to make some of them believe that the figures are not actually flesh and blood; or, at any rate, superhuman beings.

Yours most respectfully,

J. J. ROBERTS.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Monrovia,
July, 18th, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR:

We are without news here, nor have I any thing important to write about; yet I am sure you will be gratified to learn that our public affairs are progressing quietly and in order, and that Liberia is decidedly improving. I really think, and the impression is general, that our prospects were never better than at the present time. Every thing is encouraging. Commerce is rapidly increasing, and greater attention than ever is now being paid to agriculture. Improvements generally, and of a more permanent character, are going on throughout the State.

The following, Sir, may be an item of interest. There is now here an English agent, who has been sent to the coast by a company of eminent mercantile and manufacturing firms in London, Manchester and Liverpool, to test, by practical experiments, the possibility of producing cotton from the West Coast of Africa. He is about commencing operations here under flattering prospects. If he succeed, it will prove of great benefit to the people here, as we have some peculiarly able to make the experiments that this agent will make. There is no doubt but that cotton will grow well here; still, it is found that a little insect—how generated is not known—injures the plant while budding. These must be disposed of in some way. The cultivation here is doubtless somewhat different from the American

mode. A great many things, with regard to its culture, must be demonstrated by experiments. * *

I am, my Dear Sir, your ob't servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

BENJAMIN COATES, Philadelphia.

From the Hartford Times.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

MR. EDITOR:—At a mass meeting of the colored citizens of Hartford, held in the Fifth Congregational Church, Talcott street, on the evening of the 30th ult., for the purpose of discussing the constitutionality and justice of the Fugitive Slave Law, a Committee of five persons, previously appointed at a similar meeting, reported, through me, the accompanying resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. It was also resolved that they be published in the three leading papers of this city, but owing to the fact that they were mislaid by one of the Secretaries, I have only just now been able to obtain them. And though late in their publication, it seems proper that we should not appear indifferent spectators at a crisis when the whole country is yet agitated by questions pertaining to our liberties, and when we are the innocent occasion of liberty meetings to sympathise with and defend us, and pro-slavery meetings to persecute and enslave us.

Beside this, the colored people and their friends, who are opposed to this slave law, have been grossly misrepresented by some patriotic citizens and scheming politicians, who seek only political aggrandizement, by pretended devotion to the Union. These magnanimous gentlemen, in their subservience to Southern dictation, are not only willing to forge and rivet new chains on our oppressed countrymen, but demand the whole free North to join with their blood-hounds in hunting down and re-enslaving the scarred and panting fugitive. And when we are the especial subjects of this odious law, and hear the hounds baying on our track, to be silent or indifferent would indicate that we were either maniacs or fools. But, sir, we are men, rational and intelligent. However reluctant the Hon. Isaac Toucey or Mr. W. J. Hamersley may be to believe it, it is not the less true. We possess all the faculties, the sensibilities, the affections and the sympathies of men. The fact that colored people are called negroes, darkies, and various names of contempt, by pro-slavery editors, and other Christians, who hate them because they 'wear a skin not colored like their own,' is no evidence that they are not men. 'Hath not a negro eyes? Hath not a negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?' Is he not fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as the white man is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? And if you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not resent? But why need I reason thus? Who that is honest will not admit that negroes are men, and therefore endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

Who does not know that if this Fugitive Slave Law should be so applied as to operate on but twenty of our white citizens, the whole country would be convulsed, from Maine to Florida, from the golden sands of the Pacific to the Atlantic wave? Twenty millions of freemen would instantly rise up, as the dignity of their manhood, and appeal to a 'higher law' than that which gives a license' to barter, buy and sell the bones and muscles of living men.' But, say the slaveholders and their apologists, such doctrines would dissolve the Union. Poor, indeed, must that Union be, which can be perpetuated only by the groans, and sweat, and tears of black men. While the South complains of the North for not catching her slaves, does she not know that she daily violates one of the plainest provisions of the Constitution by imprisoning, fineing, and then enslaving, every free colored man of the North who may chance to touch her slave-cursed soil? Need I tell her that she has held, for the last ten years, a brother of mine, a free colored man of the North, in slavery, because he could not pay his jail fees? With some, Slavery and the Union are identical. We have not the will, and every body knows we have not the power to destroy this Union. But one thing we know, that if this Union cannot exist without enslaving alive the free colored people of the North, her dissolution is certain. And then we will leave the South alone in her glory.

'Hold, while ye may, your struggling slaves, and burden God's free air
With woman's shriek beneath the lash, and manhood's wild despair;
Cling closer to the 'cleaving curse' that writes upon your plains,
The blasting of Almighty wrath against a land of chains.'

For some years past, we have watched with intense anxiety the slavery question in Congress. Every session the South has played the same game. She says to the North, 'heads up I win, tails up you lose.' We have looked, on in silence, while honorable Senators and Representatives have been compromising and hattering away our liberties, as if certain inalienable rights did not pertain to us. We have seen our dearest rights, ourselves, our wives and children, surrendered as a peace offering to the insatiable rapacity of the South. We claim no right to dictate to the highest councils of the nation. Let them make what laws they please. Let them tax us to the amount of our lives and liberties for breathing God's free air, while wearing a black, brown, yellow or quadroon skin. But we claim a right—as others did in '76—to repudiate taxation without representation. We do claim a right to decide

'Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer,
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or, to take up arms against a sea of troubles,
And, by opposing, end them.'

We do claim a right to decide whether we will live slaves or die in defence of so much liberty as we now possess. We do claim a right, when our liberties are in question, to speak free thoughts. And if we can, we shall do it, despite of laws or custom's sake. We am now, and ever have been, law-abiding citizens. We will not oppose the Constitution of our country, nor any just law emanating therefrom. Be it known, that this State alone, of the six New England States, is the only one that disfranchises her colored citizens. And thus she deprives us of the privilege of swearing to support the Constitution; as if she knew that when she came to rivet chains upon us in a free State, we would assert our manhood, by an appeal to the laws of God. We believe that the Constitution and common law were designed to protect and secure liberty to all. And if these do not recognize us as men, we may claim, at least, with the beast of the forest, the right to escape or resist the hounds, though the law forbid. By the way, I wish to state a fact which may correct some wrong impressions made on the public mind. At the meeting that rallied for the Union and Slavery on Saturday evening, Mr. Eaton took occasion to say that a faction of the Abolitionists had held a meeting in that hall to oppose the Fugitive Slave Law, and had left the negroes to pay the expenses. I do not pretend to know his motive in stating just enough to give a wrong impression. I will simply say, that after the colored people of this city had marked out their course, without knowing who sympathised with them, or that there had been a single meeting in the county to oppose the law, they stopped again to count the cost, and to inquire whether the citizens of Hartford would allow them to elude the slave-catchers, or would join in pursuit. They hired a hall and solicited a public expression. They appointed a committee to wait on our influential citizens, without distinction of party, and request them to call a meeting for that purpose. They walked the city from morning till 9 o'clock at night, and were able in obtain to the call none but such gentlemen as those whose names were subscribed. Mr. Hamersley remarked at the previous meeting that the signers of that call were some of the most respectable and influential citizens, but that they were principally persons of the Free Soil party; while he probably knew that he nor none of his party had the courage to sign it. Men of all parties told the committee that they were opposed to the law, and would attend the meeting, but they did not wish to subscribe their names to a call. That meeting was a triumph of liberty. We can find no words to express our gratitude to the citizens of Hartford. We can only say, that from the bottom of our hearts, we thank them for that manly demonstration.

We rejoice and thank God, that notwithstanding the degenerating and corrupting influence of slavery on national character, there is in this city, and in all New England, a large class of men, of every rank and condition of life, who not only detest and execrate that slave law, but even dare, despite of its penalties, to sympathise with the unfortunate people on whom it operates—men who scorn to be the 'slave of slaves,' and would rather see their right hands forget their cunning, than aid in the capture of a poor crouching fugitive. We rejoice that there are many who believe that all laws should be enacted for the 'greatest good of the greatest number,' without respect of persons, and that they should be in accordance with the enlightened reason and conscience of the people. That law must be wicked indeed, which even bad men confess to be against their consciences—a law which needs the support of the militia and our citizen soldiers, and which, by argument, nobody except slaveholders and aspiring politicians will dare to defend. Mr. Editor, you yourself—yes, every white man in this country—would resist this law, if it operated on him.

'Lives there who loves his pain,
Who would not, finding way, break loose from hell,
Though thither doomed? Thou wouldst thyself, no doubt,
And boldly venture to whatever place
Farthest from pain, where thou mightest hope to change
Torment with ease.'

Pardon my prolixity. I have said much more than I intended when I commenced. If you will hear me, in behalf of a struggling people, you are at liberty to call me whatever hard names you please, only allow me the right to speak. 'Strike, but hear.'

AUGUSTUS WASHINGTON.

Hartford, Oct. 18, 1850.

☞ Mr. Washington is a respectable colored man of this city, and we not hesitate to give him a place in our columns. He may honestly differ with many others as to the value of the Union, or the point at which it should cease to exist. He states that he has a brother who has been sold into slavery. A dissolution of the Union would not liberate that brother, but probably make his bondage more grievous. Mr. W. evidently mistakes the feelings and intentions of those who take part in meetings which he designates as 'pro-slavery meetings, to persecute and enslave us;' and he errs when he claims that Messrs. Hamersley and Toucey are reluctant to consider the colored people as men. Mr. H. asserted, at the late meeting, that he would put his hand in his pocket in aid of purchasing the liberty of the fugitive slave, who might be claimed from among us by his master; but he felt it all important to the welfare of the Union and the happiness of its 20,000,000 of people, that the Constitution and laws of our country be obeyed, and not trampled under foot by mobs, and set at defiance by the use of the bowie knife. The gentlemen to whom Mr. Washington alludes express no other than kind feelings towards the fugitive slave, or the free colored man. No one at the North would 'strike,' but all are willing to 'beat,' for there are none who approve of slavery. But as to the propriety of sustaining the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of Congress made in conformity to that Constitution, there may be a difference of opinion. We are not on the bowie knife or nullification side of the question.—ED. TIMES.

The sustaining of the Constitution is one thing, and the upholding of laws contrary to the Constitution is quite another. Your Fugitive Slave Law violates the most sacred provisions of the Constitution. Now, how are you, or Mr. Washington, or any body else, to obey both? The talk about the dissolution of the Union by the Quattlebom slavocracy, is downright babyism.—ED. CIT.

☞ An Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of Illinois, at Gmeville, Putnam Co., on the 8th inst.

☞ Friend Rich, of Troy, may rely on us, and he will please inform the Society to that effect.

☞ Hon. H. S. Conger, will please accept our thanks for the present he sent to us at Cortland. How we do like such Congressmen.

AN APPEAL

To the friends of Freedom and Humanity in the Free States of the United States of America, from the Fugitives from Slavery, that have recently arrived in Upper Canada.

We address you as the friends of national freedom, although a cruel and unjust law has compelled us to flee from your happy land.

We know the free States contain millions of men that nourish and encourage the growth of Freedom among all God's creatures, and stand ever ready to maintain, with their lives, fortunes and sacred honors, that their wise, brave and generous ancestors were right, when, after their appeal to arms, and invoking the God of Armies to comfort and sustain their country in the noble struggle for liberty, they spread to the winds of heaven these emphatic words, 'All men are endowed by God with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

We, fugitives from slavery, have liberated ourselves. Like your ancestors, we prefer freedom to slavery. Our only crime is stealing ourselves,—elevating ourselves and our posterity to the rank originally assigned to our African forefathers by the Almighty Creator. We never alienated, transferred or assigned ourselves and our posterity, in perpetuity, to the inexorable slaveholder.

We were unable to resist those that tyrannized over us, and we fled from the charnal house of slavery, and sought refuge among you. You are a Christian and a God-fearing people. We lived with you, relying on your being steadfast to the divine command, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose; thou shalt not oppress him.' This law is set at nought. We found you land turned into hunting grounds for the slave-catchers. The man-stealer was on our track. He came not like a thief in the night, shrouded in darkness, with stealthy step, but in the broad glare of day, armed with the law, and assisted by the physical force of a mighty nation.

Therefore, we have fled from the free States of the North to the dominion of Her Britannic Majesty, among a people of your kindred and language; and we have found them hospitable and, generous, according to their means. We are numerous, and many of us destitute, with our little families. Winter is here; we cannot obtain labor without wandering far into the interior; our means are exhausted.

We appeal to you for some little assistance in money, clothing or provisions, to assist us during an inclement winter, and to assist us to provide, in some measure, for the education of our children, and to build a few chapels, in suitable places, for the propagation of the religion of Jesus among our people.

At a numerous meeting of Fugitives, held at Niagara Falls, U. C., it was unanimously agreed, that the Rev. Jeremiah Taylor, pastor of the African Chapel, Niagara Falls, and the Rev. Thomas Clarkson, should be appointed to solicit donations, and account to a Committee. We therefore humbly request that all donations may be addressed to them.

Think of us, when the wintry wind blows keenly, and the Atlantic Ocean roars and chafes on the rocky shores of New England, where American freedom first planted her standard, and proclaimed to the world, 'all men are born free and equal.'

You live in splendid palaces; your lot is cast in pleasant places; but remember that we who now appeal to you for a little succor in our day of trouble, have added much to the wealth and greatness of the United States by our labor.

Given at Niagara Falls, Upper Canada, Dec. 7, 1850. By order of the meeting,

JEREMIAH TAYLOR, *Chairman.*
THOMAS CLARKSON, *Secretary.*

NEW DAILY PAPER IN BOSTON.

The first number of a new daily paper made its appearance in this city, on Wednesday morning, Jan. 1. It is entitled 'THE COMMONWEALTH,' and has been started by a large number of earnest friends of freedom, dissatisfied with the present condition of the party press, and desirous of having an organ which shall set forth, temperately and fearlessly, their sentiments and principles.' It is to be the exponent of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, but not the bond-servant of any cause or party, except that of Freedom, Truth, and Humanity.' The names of the editors are to be announced hereafter. The Boston Republican and the Chronotype have been merged in this new daily. Elmer Wright announces that he is to be one of its editors. No pains are to be spared to make it 'a good daily paper—a commercial, political and literary paper, worthy the men who create it, and the sentiments which it will represent.' Terms $6.00 per annum. The trustees are S. G. Howe, Wm. Jackson, F. W. Bird, John P. Jewett.—*Liberator.*

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE. The Legislature of this Commonwealth convened in Boston on Wednesday, Jan 1st. In the Senate, the Hon. Henry Wilson was elected President, and Chauncy L. Knapp, Esq., of Lowell, Clerk—both Free Soilers. In the House, N. P. Banks, Esq., of Waltham, was chosen Speaker, and Lewis Josslyn, Esq., of Lynn, Clerk—both Democrats. The prospect now is, that George S. Boutwell (Democrat) will be elected Governor of the Commonwealth, and either Charles Sumner or Stephen C. Phillips, (Free Soilers,) Senator to Congress, in place of Robert C. Winthrop. The Whigs are left to hang their harps upon the willows. Let them settle the account with their seducer and betrayer, Daniel Webster.—*Ibid.*

Congress.—Among the petitions in the House on Monday, were two by Mr. Powier, one of B. B. Kimball, of Conn. A Church, and 204 other citizens of Westport, Massachusetts, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and another of Mrs. Lydia Winslow and 172 other females of the same town, praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Rockwell presented the petition of Rev. Otis Lombard and 40 other citizens of New Marlborough, for the substitution of arbitration in the place of war in settling the disputes among nations.

Reception of Mr. Webster at New York.—By invitation of the Union Safety Committee, Mr. Webster met a large number of the citizens of New York, at the Governor's room in City Hall, on the 24th ult. He was addressed by J. T. Brady, Esq. Mr. Webster, in his reply, was often interrupted with applause.

More Serious Steamboat Accidents.—The steamer Fashion, plying from Pittsburg, Pa., to Elizabeth, collapsed a flue in passing out of one of the locks of the Monongahela slackwater, and four persons were killed, and several severely scalded. The boat was much injured.

CENSUS RETURNS—SOUTH CAROLINA. The population of South Carolina is found to be 639,099. In 1840 it was 555,222, and the increase in ten years is only 83,867.

The free population of South Carolina is 290,385; slaves 358, 415. In 1840, there was 257,117 free men and 298,115 slaves, showing an increase for the last ten years, in the free population of 23,268, and in the slave population of 60,599

ARKANSAS. Total population, 188,795, namely, 163,818 whites, 46,242 slaves, and 656 free blacks.

In 1840 the total population of Arkansas, was 97,574 of whom 19,935 were slaves.

The population of Georgia, it is believed, from partial returns, will exceed 1,000,000—about 600,000 whites and 400,000 blacks. A large increase.

Maine is supposed to have a population of 015,000, being an increase of about 22 per cent.

The gross earnings of the Western Railroad for the year ending Nov. 30, were $1,085,000.

Louisville, Dec. 18.—James Gallagher was hung at St. Louis on Friday last, for the murder of Mary Crosby Gallagher. He protested his innocence of the murder to the last, and declared that he died innocent as a lamb, and happy as a saint.

South Carolina.—Gen. J. H. Means has been elected Governor of South Carolina.

In the Legislature, on the 10th ult., Mr. Memminger offered resolutions, that the recommendation of the Nashville Convention for a Southern Congress be accepted, and that the Legislature forthwith provide for the appointment of delegates; that sum of $200,000 be appropriated for arming and defending the State, and that a police system be established for protecting our people from the evil designs of Northern abolitionists.

Horrid Effects of Rum.—In Providence, on Tuesday evening, the City Marshal found Sarah Billings and her sons John and Edward, all intoxicated at home, and the mother burning chairs to keep warm. John was taken to the watch-house, and Edward went to sleep, leaving his mother op with a jug of rum on the stove. At 3 o'clock in the morning, she was found burned to death, her body baked to a cinder, and the son still dead drunk. She was an American woman, 62 years old.

Distressing Occurrence.—We learn from the Florida Republican of a recent distressing occurrence in Wayne county, in that State. Three children of a Mrs. Brown, "white who were engaged in washing, were heard to scream; and open the mother running to ascertain the cause, she found they had all been severely bitten by a rattlesnake, from the effects of which they subsequently died. While the anxious mother was absent to their relief, her fourth child, that she had left at the place where she was employed, accidently fell into a large tub or pot of boiling water, and was so severely scalded that in this case also death ensued.

☞ The Cashmere shawls prepared by Maharajah Goulab Singh, of Jamoo, for the Industrial Exhibition in London, are valued at £10,000, and are bestowed in free gift on the trustees. Another chief sends a suit of steel armor, inlaid with gold.

☞ A correspondent of the New York Tribune says that Charles Durkee, Free Soil member of Congress from Wisconsin, received in some counties all the votes but from four to six and income township, *every vote polled!* That was truly a 'clean sweep.'

Mrs. Farnham.—Mrs. Eliza W. Farnham, formerly matron of the Sing Sing prison, and the projector of a partially successful scheme of female emigration to California, has become proprietor of a fine farm near San Francisco, the crops of which are worth $60,000. The California Courier gives an account of a judgement in her favor in one of the courts in San Francisco, against Jos. S. Ruckle, for $3,661 27.

☞ The steamer South America took fire near Bayou Sara, and in, less then twenty minutes was totally destroyed; thirty or forty lives were lost. There were on board at the time 200 passengers, including 100 U. S. troops, on their way to Texas; seven of the latter perished. The passengers lost all their baggage; many jumped overboard, and were drowned.

☞ The Maine State Prison, at Thomaston, was destroyed by fire on Monday afternoon. All the shops and the western wing were saved. The prisoners, about 90 in number, were all taken out of their cells, and secured and guarded in the wheelwright shop. The main prison, warden's dwelling-house, and guard-room, were entirely destroyed. The cold was excessive.

☞ A great Union meeting has been held at New-Haven, at which resolutions were passed in favor of supporting the compromise measures; declaring that there is no higher law for political action than the Constitution, and expressing of opposition to all foreign interference with our political institutions.

Jenny Lind met with a most enthusiastic reception in Richmond, Va. The total receipts of her concerts there were about $17,000. She gave $400 to each of the Female Orphan Asylums, and $200 to the Male Asylum.

Richmond, Dec. 23.—Intelligence from Charleston announces the safe arrival of Jenny Lind and suite. The boat was out during the gale, and came near being wrecked.

Texas.—So far as heard from, the vote in Texas on the Ten Million bill stands, for acceptance, 5700; for rejection, 2200. Majority in favor of acceptance, 3500.

Arrest of a Fugitive Slave.—We learn from the Fayetteville (Pa.) Whig, that the first arrest under the Fugitive Slave Law in that county, was made at Uniontown, on the 7th ult. The slave was claimed by a citizen of Maryland. The decision of the Commissioner has not reached us. There was not the slightest excitement on the occasion.

The Fugitive Slave Bill.—A meeting of a few friends of the colored population was held in the Mechanics' Institute room, last evening, to consider the propriety of taking steps for a public demonstration on behalf of the slaves now flying from bondage to Canada. The meeting was unanimous in their resolution to give every aid to those afflicted men. A committee was appointed to draw up a requisition for a public meeting, and to prepare resolutions to be submitted to it for their adoption. We heartily rejoice in this movement. It will be something to the credit of Canada that she has opened wide the arms of benevolence to receive those who find from tyranny and oppression in the neighboring republic.—*Toronto Globe.*

Rights of Woman.—The Indiana Convention, by a vote of 66 to 59, has adopted the following provision:—

'The real and personal property of women, whether owned before marriage or afterward acquired by purchase or gift, (other than from the husband in fraud of his creditors,) devise or descent, shall be and remain secured to them, under equitable conditions, by law.'

Repeal.—The Governor of Florida, in his recent message to the Legislature of that State, says:

'To repeal or essential modification of the law for the recovery of fugitive slaves will, in my judgment, be tantamount to a formal record and notification of the unwillingness of our Northern brethren longer to abide by the Constitution of the United States.'

☞ It is a curious fact, that while the doughface journals of the North are constantly filled with arguments in favor of aiding in the capture of fugitive slaves, they are dumb in regard to the arrest and imprisonment of free colored seamen at the South.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

☞ A man named Olmsted and his wife are in prison in Marshall, Ill., for starving to death two of their children. The children were tied in an out-house, in cold, wet weather, and only had a little corn bread and water to subsist upon, not sufficient, however, to support life. Olmsted is comparatively wealthy.

☞ Said a lady from the West—'What an uncommon to-do people make about Jenny Lind, the Swedish knittin' gal! What's a knittin' gal? My Betsy kin nit a pair of socks a day, an' more.'

'I do not hesitate to express my decided opinion, that the only effectual remedy of evils which must continue to grow from year to year, is to be found in the prompt and peaceable secession of the aggrieved States.'—*Message of Gov. Quitman.*

Echo answers, 'Quit man.'

☞ Senator Berrien lately made a speech in Bibb county, Ga., which is remarkable for its sectional bearing. He said he would recommend to the Georgia Convention that they demand of the people of the free States the prompt and total suppression of all Abolition Societies and abolition agitation, and recommend to the Georgia Legislature to lay a prohibitory tax upon all goods brought into the State, which have not paid duty at the Custom House. As American goods do not pay duties at the Custom House; of course, Mr. Berrien means to prohibit all American goods from entering Georgia.—*Boston Atlas.*

John C. Calhoun.—Gen. Foote, in the course of a speech made by him before the great Union meeting held at New Orleans on the 27th of November, is reported to have stated, upon his personal knowledge, that Mr. Calhoun *did* entertain the project of amending the Constitution, so as to have two Presidents of this Union, one for the North, and another for the South, with distinct and equal powers—each to have the *veto power*; and further, that the Convention of Mississippi, which was a preliminary of the Nashville Convention, was an idea originated with the great Carolina statesman. The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin says, 'These *facts* have heretofore been considered apocryphal. They are so no longer.'

☞ John C. Calhoun's Essays on the Constitution will soon be issued—a work of 500 pages, octavo. A distinguished gentlemen of Virginia proposes to publish a volume of 'Aphorisms and Remarks of Mr. Calhoun,' which he has taken from the conversation of the great Nullifier, during a familiar intercourse of twenty years.

Degeneracy and Defection.—The Christian would will be pained to hear that Rev. Henry Wilberforce, son of the celebrated philanthropist, has, with his wife and children, gone over to the church of Rome. A Romish journal claims that there are 2000 clergymen of the Church of England waiting for the completion of the Romish church organization in England to join big ranks.

☞ The Columbus (Ga.) Sentinel has the following choice bit:—

'We frankly tell you, that so far as we are concerned, we despise the Union and hate the North as we do hell itself.'

☞ Eight young ladies have been awarded diplomas at the Oberlin College, Ohio. One of the ladies was colored.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

APPEAL

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The undersigned Committee being fully aware that, among the moral means to be brought in requisition in order to ameliorate the condition of an oppressed people, and to correct the false sentiments and impressions of a prejudiced community arrayed against them, a periodical, based on just principles, and properly and ably conducted, stands prominent; and having the pleasing satisfaction of regarding, without invidiousness, THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN, edited by Rev. S. R. WARD, of Boston, Massachusetts, as possessing the above characteristics, have associated themselves together for the purpose of contributing their mites towards its support. Being very limited, however, in pecuniary means, they are under the necessity of appealing for aid, as they do now, most respectfully, to the liberality of the friends of human rights in both hemispheres. While the main object to be had in view is the sustaining of the aforesaid paper, yet some portion of the funds arising from their combined efforts is to be applied towards helping the flying fugitives, and to encourage the lecturer who devotes himself to the advocacy of the rights of humanity. They design holding a FAIR during Easter week. The smallest donation in money or any saleable article will be gratefully received and faithfully applied. The Rev. H. H. GARNET, while on his tour in Europe, is duly authorized to receive donations for the aforesaid purpose.

N. B. In all communications, please direct to CATHARINE S. EVANS, care of S. VAN BRAKLE, No. 138 LOCUST street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ABELLA VAN BRAKLE, ELIZABETH BOLIVAR, JANE LOCKEY, SUSAN C. WHITE, MILCHI NICHOLS, MATILDA JOHNSON, JULIA MORGAN, ELIZA TURPIN, JANE HARRICK, MARY GORDON, HANNAH MARIA BIDDY, HANNAH ALEXANDER, *Committee.*

ELIZA ANN BIAS, *President.*
CATHARINE S. EVANS, *Cor. Secretary.*
SARAH NEWMAN, *Treasurer.*

CALL

To the State Convention to be held in Syracuse, January 7th, 8th and 9th, 1851.

To consider the Infernal Bill enacted by the American Congress on the 18th Sept. 1850, for the Recapture of Fugitives from Slavery' said to take such action thereon as Freemen should.

Freemen of New York! Lovers of Liberty! Friends of Humanity, far and near! Come to the Convention! Come, or send delegates, in whose sound discretion, fidelity to principle and moral courage, you can put entire confidence. Let every part of the Empire State be duly represented. Send at least as many delegates to this Convention as you send members to the Assembly. The emergency demands deliberate but determined action. It may not be that we can save our country from the ruin that impends, but we are bound to make as effort.

The Bill that has been enacted by our national Congress is unsurpassed in atrocity by any law of the most despotic governments on earth. If it had been devised by the Austrian Haynau, it would have enhanced his guilt; that it should have been advocated by our American Webster, confounds us with astonishment.

The passage of this bill has made it plain, that liberty and slavery cannot subsist together; and has forced upon our country this great question: Shall tyrants henceforth rule this Republic, or Freemen?

Similar Conventions are to be held in others of the free States, and, we trust, before the end of the present session of Congress, a message will be sent thither from the eastern North, that will admonish the oppressors of the South, and their more unprincipled abettors, that they *have waked up the lion*—that they must recede from the daring encroachments that they have made upon Northern sentiments and Northern liberties—must annul that wicked Bill—or content that it must be at once a *dead letter*, or expect to see this American Union delunged in blood.

SAMUEL J. MAY,
CHAS B. SEDGWICK,
CHARLES A. WHEATON,
IRA H. COBB,
JOHN THOMAS.

☞ It is announced that the distinguished sufferer in the cause of the slave, WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN, will be present at this great Convention.

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN

SPEECH OF HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

In the House of Representatives at Washington,
MONDAY, Dec. 9, 1850.

Mr. Giddings rose and said: I move, Sir, to insert between the resolution last read, and the one succeeding, the following, as a distinct resolution:—

Resolved, That so much of said Message and accompanying documents as relates to the domestic policy, be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. G. continued as follows: It has been usual, sir, for this body, while considering the President's message in Committee of the Whole, to investigate and examine its political character. In accordance with this freedom of discussion which has usually characterized our consideration of the document, I will avail myself of the present moment to examine that portion which relates to our domestic affairs. I did not anticipate, sir, that the message would be under consideration to-day, and I am not, therefore, prepared at present to give a that examination which I should have bestowed upon it, had I more time for preparation, for examining its details. There are some portions of the message which I heartily approve, which I desire to commend, and in which I most heartily coincide. In its general features and character, its boldness, its candor, its perfect frankness, it is highly to be approved. It is what was due from that high functionary. In all his positions, so far as he has laid them down, whose readers can understand. There is no room for any uncertainty, in the President's position. Thus far I most cheerfully commend it. But, sir, I will call your attention to that portion of it which refers to our domestic policy, as being the most interesting to the house and the country.

But before I proceed to the examination of that portion which relates to the fugitive bill, I will call the attention of this House to the President's views of the veto power. On this point, he has not hesitated to speak his own views, and to cast aside and discard the doctrines on which he was elected.

It is well known, that in the canvass of 1848, the Whig party avowed it as one of their cardinal principles, that the President should never exercise the prerogative of vetoing a bill, unless it was clearly unconstitutional. The President now gives us fair in support of the unlimited use of the veto, as ever Jackson or Polk or Tyler professed to go.

For his boldness and frankness on this point he is entitled to our commendation. But I have a curiosity to see how many of his political friends will face about at this bidding of the Executive, and discard their former doctrines.

But it is very evident that the President has no object in this change of views on the subject of the veto. By looking at the latter portion of the message, it is evident that he intends we shall understand, that he will veto any law for the repeal of this fugitive bill; and in order to open the way to that result, with some show of consistency, it was necessary for him to discard the doctrines on which he was elected. For his candor and boldness in thus casting aside the errors of his party, I think him entitled to our approbation.

The President next quotes that portion of the Constitution in which he says, 'The Constitution has made it the duty of the President to see that the laws be faithfully executed.'

The necessity or propriety of this quotation is not no very obvious. I do not think it has been quoted for the last twenty-five years by any President; but it is now evidently quoted in consequence of the difficulties which have attended the arrest of fugitive slaves under this law. It is an intimation that he will use the army and navy to execute this odious enactment.

One prominent feature of the whole message is, however, perfectly obvious. The President intends that the South shall understand that he intends to sustain their institutions.

The Constitution provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States. He knows that our free colored citizens of the North have been seized in Southern States and sold into bondage—held in degrading servitude; that hundreds, and perhaps thousands, are now bowing beneath the lash in Southern chains.

Sir, does he allude to the return of these freemen? Does he tell us that this paramount law of the land shall be sustained—that his will see, that it be duly executed? No, sir! he has not a word nor an allusion to this transcendent outrage upon the Constitution, while he is particular upon those laws which relate to the return of fugitive slaves.

Again: he has seen the agents of Massachusetts driven by mob violence from South Carolina and Louisiana, when seen there to see the laws enforced by their courts for the relief of our freemen who are there held in degrading servitude; but he makes no allusion to these outrages.

I will now quote, with pleasure, a sentiment in which I fully concur. The President says, that 'every citizen who truly loves the Constitution, and desires the continuance of its existence and its blessings, will resolutely and firmly resist any interference in those domestic affairs which the Constitution has clearly and unequivocally left to the exclusive authority of the States.'

This, Mr. Chairman, is the doctrine of the Constitution—the doctrine of the Fremont. It is the doctrine of the Free-Soilers. If there be any one feature in the Constitution, which the whole history of its adoption has made plain, it is, that slavery is a State institution, over which Congress has no control—through which the Federal Government has no legitimate power to interfere. Yet, sir, of the North, will not be constrained, when by your fugitive laws, to interfere with it. The slavery of Virginia belongs to her; if she possess that power and the disposition to uphold it, we cannot put it down or abolish it. If she uses it to abolish it, we have no power to interfere to sustain it.

I have often defined the views of anti-slavery men and of Free-Soilers on this subject. Others have done it; yet we are misapprehended, and misrepresented. The very claims of the Messenger now under consideration shows that the President intended to impute to some portion of our people an intention to interfere with slavery. He should have known that no respectable member of our Northern people have entertained any such wish or intention. But, for the hundredth time, I will say that, under the Confederation, each State held its supreme and sublimited powers over the institution of slavery within its own bird, as the government of Russia holds over its serfs; that on other power upon earth possessed the right to interfere in any manner; that at the adoption of the Constitution, these powers were resigned, and now remain with each State; that no portion of them was delegated to this government; that we have as much power to-day to interfere with Russian serfdom as with Virginia slavery;—yet this fugitive law was a direct and positive attempt to interfere in involve this government and the people of the free States in responsible slavery.

Nothing could have been further from the thoughts of those who framed the Constitution. In that Convention, Mr. Gouverneur Morris said, that 'he never would concur in upholding domestic slavery.' So say I, and so say our people of the North. We never will concur in upholding that institution. Mr. Morris added, 'It is a nefarious institution. It was the curse of heaven upon the States in which it existed.'

So say we. It is a curse upon those States, but the curse is theirs, not ours, and we will not share in it. Your fugitive law shall not compel us to share in its crimes—we will not.

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, said: 'While we had nothing to do with slavery in the States, we should be careful to lend no sanction to it.' Sir, we will lend no sanction to it, nor shall your fugitive law compel us to sanction it. Mr. Dickinson thought it a proper subject for the General Government to interfere with, *as it affected our national happiness!* But Southern members resisted this proposition, and would not consent to any interference.

But, sir, to come more directly to this question of fugitive slaves. The report of the committee, giving the form of the Constitution, contained a clause for the return of fugitives from justice. They were to be delivered up by the Executive of the State to which they fled. It is done at the expense of such State.

On considering this report, Messrs. Butler and Pinckney, of South Carolina, proposed to amend the report, so as to make the duty to surrender up fugitives from labor in the same manner. But Mr. Wilson, of Penn. objected that such an emendment would 'compel the free States to do it at the public expense.'

Mr. Sherman, of Conn., said: 'He could see no more propriety in arresting a fugitive servant or slave at the public expense, than there would be in arresting a horse.' And Mr. Butler, on these suggestions having made, withdrew his proposition. Sir, not a member of that body dared stand up then and advocate an amendment, which should require us in the expense or disgrace of arresting fugitive slaves. Sir, no stronger evidence of the accuracy of the views which I have expressed could possibly have been left on record.

It was the intention of these framers of the Constitution to secure to the southern slave the right to pursue and arrest his slave without molestation or hindrance. They then declared that no law or regulation should be passed by any State, by which the fugitive should be released from service or labor: 'non-intervention' was their doctrine. Under this provision, we are bound to deliver up the fugitive slave to his master, in the same manner that we deliver up our friends to the civil officer. We are so permitted to interfere. We are to stand neutral, and permit the master to take his slave, if he can.

Sir, did these framers of the Constitution intend that Northern freemen should leave their shops, their ploughs, their merchandise, to give chase to fugitive slaves? Why, such an assertion would be a slander, a libel on those patriots. The law we have was framed in accordance with the Constitution. That gives to the master no process for the arrest of his slave. It lends no aid of the Government, or any other person, nor of any citizen of any State, to aid or assist the master in arresting or securing back his slave. That law secures him against interference on the part of any person to prevent him from arresting and returning his slave. Those who had been the framers of the Constitution, assisted in framing this law. They knew the intention of those who framed the Constitution, and I have no doubt carried that intention into the law of '93.

From that day till the agitation of the annexation of Texas, this doctrine of non-interference was held by Southern and by Northern men. In 1843, this new theory of prostituting the power of this Government in favor of slavery was put forth by the then Secretary of State; but no man in this House ever came forward with an argument in favor of that doctrine until the last session of Congress. The gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Thombs,) not now in his seat, was the first to come forward in this Hall with an argument in favor of this new theory of subjecting the people of the free States to the support of slavery.

Now, sir, with the President, I repeat, that no lover of the Constitution will seek to interfere in matters left with the States. We will not be made to interfere with it; but I must hasten to another expression of the President.

He tells us 'the law is the only sure protection of the weak, and the only efficient restraint upon the strong.' This, sir, is said in direct reference to this fugitive slave law. It would seem that the President intended to see how far he could impose upon the intelligence of the people. Sir, what protection does this law lend to the poor, weak, oppressed, degraded slave, whose flesh has often quivered under the lash of his inhuman master, whose youth has been spent in labors for another, whose intellect has been nearly blotted out? When he seeks an asylum in a land of freedom, this worse than barbarous law sends the officers of Government to chase him down. Sir, I have seen the poor fugitive in hopeless flight before his pursuers. Famishing, fainting, and benumbed with the cold, he drags his weary limbs forward, while the whole power of the Government under the President's command, the army and navy, and all the civil officers, are arranged into a constabulary force, are on his track to drag him back to bondage under this law. And this law, the President tells us, is the only sure protection to the miserable slave. The expression appears to me rather insulting to our intelligence.

Sir, there is not a man in this body, there is not an intelligent man in the free States, but knows, if he delivers a fugitive into the custody of his pursuers, that he will be carried to the South, and sold into the cotton or sugar plantations, and his life will be sacrificed in five years, if employed on the sugar plantations, and in seven years on the cotton plants. The man of the North, who look upon this as murder, would as soon turn out and aid the throats of Blackbeard pirates, as to send him back to a land of chains and whips. As soon would he do this as comply with a law which violates every principle of common justice and humanity. The law, sir, holds him to be aids in a murder as guilty as he who strikes the knife to the heart of the victim. Under our law, a man in hanged if he fails to prevent a murder when it is plainly in his power to do so. Such man is held guilty of the act, and he is hanged accordingly. The man who should assist in the capture of a fugitive, would be regarded by us as guilty as he under whose lash the victim expires.

I have compared this capture of a fugitive to a common murder. In doing this, I do injustice to the common murder. To capture a slave, and send him to the South to die under a torture of five years, is far more criminal than ordinary murder.

Sir, we will not commit this crime. Let me say to the President, no power of Government can compel us to involve ourselves in such guilt. No! The freemen of Ohio will never turn out to chase the panting fugitive—they will never be metamorphosed into blood-hounds, to track him to his hiding-place, and seize and drag him out, and deliver him to his tormentors. Rely upon it, they will die first. They may be driven down, they may be trodden to the sword may do their work upon them; they may drag the fugitives in their blood, but never will they stoop to such degradation.

Let no man tell us there is no higher law than this fugitive bill. We feel there is a law of right, of justice, of freedom, implanted in the breast of every intelligent human being, that bids him look with scorn upon this libel upon all that is called law.

But I was about to make some comparisons, but perhaps they may be regarded as indelicate. During last summer, two distinguished gentlemen of the same party occupied much of the public attention. One was said to have committed murder, and the other to have procured the passage of this law. One was hanged for his crime, the other, for his efforts, taken to the Executive Cabinet. One destroyed the life of an individual, the other contributed his efforts for the passage of this law, which resist corrupt hundreds, perhaps thousands, to premature graves. I, sir, cannot speak for others; but for myself, I would rather meet my final Judge with the guilt of him who has gone to his final account, than of him who now sits in yonder Cabinet.

I will ask the attention of the committee to another, a further expression, intended to add weight to the declaration already noticed.

The President says: 'You, gentlemen, and the country, may be assured, that to the utmost of my ability, and to the extent of the power vested in me, I shall at all times, and in all places, take care that the laws be faithfully executed.'

Now, I have told what the effects of that law will be. I have pointed out the course which I think our Northern people will take in regard to it. Let the President hurl his taunts at the freemen of the North. Let him speak of the powers vested in him. Let him use the bayonet, the sword, and the cannon; let him make himself another Hayenai; let him drench our land of freedom in blood; but he will never make us obey that law. The first cannon that opens its mouth upon Northern freemen, tells the death-knell of the Republic! I say what, before God and man, I feel—that the moment your army or navy confronts the freemen of the North, that moment will bring this Republic to its eternal sleep. I make these remarks not by way of menace. I do not intend by it that I am speaking my personal intentions in that respect. I state what every enlightened statesman who has read the history of our race must feel and admit. A free, enlightened, and independent people will never be compelled, by the bayonet, the cannon, or the sword, to aid in carrying into effect this fugitive law.

It is due to our Southern friends, who, from the time of the passing of this law, have perhaps expected that the President, in the event of disunionation to obey it, would send his troops, his cannon, his navy, to carry out the law, to represent, that they should understand that the intelligence and firmness of the freemen of the North cannot be coerced into a compliance with its injunctions, and there is no power on earth that can compel there to it.

I feel, I know, that a sentiment like this will be exerted. I hope and trust it will not. If the President be in lover of our republican institutions; if he desires to sustain this Government; if he be a friend of the Union, he will never attempt to enforce this law, or to carry out the sentiments contained in this message. These menaces are unworthy of the President; indeed, I do not impute them to him so much as to the counsel by which he is guided. We know that, on the 7th of March, a programme of these measures was laid down in the other end of the Capitol, and debated there for months; but this fugitive bill, when presented to this House, was passed under the previous question. No discussion of its provisions was allowed. The feelings of the North were not consulted, nor their views entertained in that hurried, sudden, and unexpected manner. It was hermetically sealed, in order that it might pass and assume the form of law. But, sir, it can never receive the spirit or force of law. The power of public sentiment is opposed to it, and it will remain a dead letter upon our statute-book.

I will now refer to that part of the message in which the President says: 'I believe those measures, referring to this bill,' to have been necessary, and required by the circumstances and condition of the country.'

I rejoice, Mr. Chairman, that he has boldly avowed this fact. The whole North believes that he was in heart and conscience opposed to this bill. Every Whig paper in the North said plainly that the President did not favor this bill, but that he was coerced—that he signed it by compulsion. It was the Whig doctrine concerning the veto that compelled him to sign it. The President's views on the question are now before the country, and he avows his position to be, 'I place himself upon this law; and I wish to say to the House, that, from this time, we all know where the President is. *He is in favor of this law.* He not only places himself there, but his administration and his party must stand or fall by this law, I repeat it! They must sink or swim, live or die, stand or fall with this enactment. We are now where to find the supporters of slavery and the advocates of freedom. Every man throughout the whole country, at the North and South, may now tell his neighbor, with a fair knowledge of the character of the party with whom he acts. Those who support this law must consent to obey it, and to enforce it, in the letter. He who will sustain this law must be willing to pursue the flying bondman as he hastens to a land of freedom.

There is no lingering doubt, no difficulty, no obscurity, resting on that party who supports this administration. All the whigs throughout the country, from Maine to Texas, with south degree of feeling, for once had the pleasure of acting with slaveholders, we had principles; then we waved and acted upon the doctrines I have stated to-day, all the whigs throughout the country feel that their unity is gone; that they have sacrificed their principles and principles, and has descended, step by step, from the position of 1844, until it has literally becoming a slave-catching party.

The President informs us that these measures were adopted in a spirit of conciliation, and for the purpose of conciliation. I believe, says he, 'that a great majority of our fellow-citizens sympathize in that spirit and that purpose, and in the main approve it.' Sir, where does the President find this evidence of approval in the popular mind? Does he direct his conclusions from the result of the elections in Delaware, New Jersey, or Ohio? Does he find nomination in the election of Michigan or Wisconsin? Or in Massachusetts? Does he not read the doom of this measure from these results? Does he not read the handwriting upon the wall? Does he not see the true indications of the public mind, in the popular meetings, the resolutions and expressions of popular indignation, now manifesting itself throughout the entire North? Does the denunciation of distinguished Whigs and Democrats give the President encouragement to believe that this law can be maintained?

A distinguished judge in northern Ohio, a leader of the whig party, does not hesitate to say that he will issue a habeas corpus, and will release any slave brought before him under this law. We see the same in almost all portions of the Northern States. Public sentiment is loud in condemnation of this law; opposition to it is increasing and extending and will go forward and no power can stop it until this law shall be stricken from the statute-book. Who is the President, that he should threaten and menace the people with his power? Why, sir, he is merely entrusted with the execution of the public will. He is the creature of their power, depending upon the popular breath. Sir, they will laugh to scorn his impotent threats.

The President says, near the conclusion of his message, 'I cannot doubt, that the American people, bound together by kindred blood and common traditions, still cherish a paramount regard for the Union of their fathers; and that they are ready to rebuke any attempt to violate its integrity, to disregard the restrictions on which it is based, or to resist the laws which have been enacted under its authority.' A noble sentiment, to which I respond from the deepest feelings of my heart. The Union of our fathers! there is something solemn in it. Look at the Capitol—look at old Faneuil Hall. How dear the Union from the present! I revere the Union of our fathers; there is a pleasing solemnity in the recollections of every thing that pertains to that Union.—But where is it now? How have their sons abandoned it!

Commercial benefits first induced us to abandon the Union of our fathers and annon Louisiana—to associate with a foreign people. Then we again abandoned that Union, and took Florida to our embrace. Then, to extend and perpetuate slavery, we abandoned that Union, and brought in Texas, Texas, assuming her war, and carrying devastation, rapine and bloodshed to the heart of Mexico, in order to extend slavery. And to cap the climax, you have passed this Fugitive Law, and made the citizens of Ohio, and of all the free States, the compelles to Texas slave-hunters. Well, sir, I do not say that Northern men have lost all love and regard for the Union. But one thing is certain, that they do not feel that reverence for it which was the prevalent among us. They feel, sir, less attachment to it than formerly. They now speak of dissolution without hesitation. And if the Union be exerted for their degradation, by subjecting them to the provisions of this Fugitive Law, they would greatly prefer to see it dissolved. On this subject I feel no compunctions. More than eight years since, with twenty other members of this body, I addressed the people of the Free States, foretelling this state of things:

'We hesitate not to say that sectionism, effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal Government, or any of its departments, would be IDEOTICAL WITH MISCONDUCT. It would be a violation of our national compact, in its objects and designs, and the great elementary principles which entered into its formation, of a character so deep and fundamental, and would be an attempt to eternize an institution and a power so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests and abhorrent in the feelings of the free States, in our opinion, not only inevitably to *result* in a dissolution of the Union, but *fully to justify* it. And we are not only assert that the people of the free States ought not to submit to it, but we say, with confidence, THEY WILL NOT SUBMIT TO IT.'

These were the sentiments of one of the ablest statesmen of the nation. They were the sentiments of the 'old man eloquent,' and of many distinguished whigs of that day. And, sir, we know that the prediction has been to pass fulfilled.

Sir, the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers, that was manifested at Bunker's Hill, at Saratoga, and at Yorktown, still exists in the North. The same spirit that resisted the Stamp Act will resist your Fugitive Slave Bill. The spirit which threw the tea into Boston harbor will cast your infamous law at defiance—The spirit which overthrew the power of the British Crown will submit to no force that shall attempt to constrain them to comply with the odious provisions of this enactment.

The Impartial Citizen.

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THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

Extracts from a very able pamphlet recently published by Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill, Boston—entitled, 'A Defence for Fugitive Slaves, against the Acts of Congress of February 12, 1793, and September 18, 1850—by Lysander Spooner':—

The Right of Resistance, and the Right to have the Legality of that Resistance judged of by a Jury.

If it has been shown that the acts of 1793 and of 1850 are unconstitutional, it follows that they can confer no authority upon the judges and marshals appointed to execute them; and those officers are consequently, in law, mere ruffians and kidnappers, who may be lawfully resisted, by any body and every body, like any other ruffians and kidnappers, who assault a person without any legal right.

The person of a person who is assaulted or restrained of his liberty, without authority of law, is not only morally, but legally, a meritorious act; for every body is under obligation to go to the assistance of one who is assaulted by assassins, robbers, ravishers, kidnappers, or ruffians of any kind.

An officer of the government is an officer of the law only when he is proceeding according to law. The moment he stops beyond the law, he, like other men, forfeits his protection, and may be resisted like any other trespasser. An unconstitutional statute is *no law*, in the view of the constitution. It is void, and confers no authority on any one; and whoever attempts to execute it, does so at his peril. His holding a commission is no legal protection for him. If this doctrine were not true, and if as the Supreme Court say in the Prigg case, a man *may, if he choose*, execute an authority granted by an unconstitutional law; Congress may authorize whomsoever they please to ravish women, and butcher children, at pleasure, and the people have no right to resist them.

The constitution contemplates on such submission, on the part of the people, to the usurpations of their government, or to the lawless violence of its officers. On the contrary, it provides that 'The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' This constitutional security for 'the right to keep and bear arms,' implies the right to use them, as much as it implies a constitutional security for the right to buy and keep food, would have implied the right to eat it. The constitution, therefore, takes it for granted that, as the people have the right, they will also have the sense, to use arms, whenever the necessity of the case justifies it. This is the only remedy suggested by the constitution, and it is decidedly the only remedy that can exist, when the government becomes so corrupt as to afford no peaceable redress. The people have a legal right to resort to this remedy at all times, when the government goes beyond, or contrary to, the constitution. And it is only a matter of discretion with them whether to resort to it at any particular time.

'If the state in this argument to say, that if an unconstitutional act be passed, the mischief can be remedied by a relief of it, and that this remedy may be brought about by discussion and the exercise of the right of suffrage, because, if an unconstitutional act be binding until invalidated by repeal, the government may, if it be inclined, by the violence of its measures, suppress the freedom of speech and the press, prohibit the use of the suffrage, and put it beyond the power of the people to reform the government through the exercise of those rights. The government have as much constitutional security for disarming the people, suppressing the freedom of speech and the press, prohibiting the use of the suffrage, and establishing themselves as perpetual and absolute sovereigns, as they have for any other unconstitutional act. And if the first unconstitutional act may not be resisted by force, the last act that may be necessary for the consummation of despotic authority may not be.

'To say that an unconstitutional law must be obeyed until it is repealed, is saying that an unconstitutional law is just as obligatory as a constitutional one,—for the latter is binding only until it is repealed. There would, therefore, be no difference at all between a constitutional and an unconstitutional law, in respect to their binding force; and that would be equivalent to abolishing the constitution, and giving to the government unlimited power.

'The right of the people, therefore, to resist usurpation, on the part of the government, is a strictly *constitutional* right. And the exercise of the right is neither rebellion against the constitution, nor revolution—it is a 'faithful execution' of the constitution itself, by keeping the government within the constitution. It is also a defence of the natural rights of the people, against robbers and trespassers, who attempt to set up their own personal authority and power, in opposition to those of the constitution and people, which they were appointed to administer.

'To say, as the arguments of most persons do, that the people, in their individual and natural capacities, have a right to resist the government, but that they have no right, in the same capacities, to preserve that government by putting down usurpation, and that any attempt to do so is revolution, is blank absurdity.

'The right and the physical power of the people to resist injustice, are really the only securities that any people ever can have for their liberties. Practically, no government knows any limit to its power but the endurance of the people. And our government is no exception to the rule. But that the people are stronger than the government, our representatives would do any thing but lay down their power at the end of two years. And so of the President and Senate. Nothing but the strength of the people, and a knowledge that they will forcibly resist any very gross transgression of the authority granted by them to their representatives, deters these representatives from enriching themselves, and perpetuating their power, by plundering and enslaving the people. Not because they are at heart naturally worse than other men; but because the temptations of avarice and ambition, to which they are exposed, are too great for the mere virtue of ordinary men. And nothing but the fear of popular resistance is adequate to restrain them. As it is, the great study of many of them seems to be to ascertain the utmost limit of popular acquiescence. Once in a while they mistake that limit, and go beyond it.

From the Edinburgh Examiner of Nov. 30.

DASHES AT INIQUITY.

BY LUKE THE LABORER.

Is Luke the Laborer a slaveholder, or an apologist for slaveholding, that he has never yet rolled out his deep-toned thunder tones against this system of domination—of all others the most abominable! Rest assured, O thou hopeful traveller in the footsteps of Peter Pindar and Robert Burns, and of many more who have poured forth the streaming side of their magnificent contempt upon injustice, oppression, and bigotry, that we will ery very much if we suppose that the existence of white slavery, and white slaveholders in thousands amongst us, will be a sufficient excuse at the bar of enlightened posterity, far less at the bar of God, for refusing to frown down this awful confederacy of wickedness on the other side of the Atlantic. You and I, O Luke, are both Chartists, and, as such, are bound to repudiate American slavery—for American slavery is an argument against Chartism.—*Friendly Epistle.*

I dashes
Cease talking, thou Chartist, and quietly sit down,
And acknowledge the blessings that flow from the crown;
'Tis a strange sort of argument, still 'tis true,
That the many crush liberty worse than the few.
Cast thy gaze o'er the channel, to treacherous France,
Dead drunk with deceit, sunk in infamy's trance;
Or cross to the land of the fair setting sun,
And read what Republics for mankind have done!

O this side the salt lake, pray, what can you see,
But a faction of hypocrites cursing the free?
On the other, a commonwealth floating in sin,
A monarchical band where high treason is the skin!
The mind of the slave may be ample and broad,
Embracing the earth, and ypreaching to God;
But woe to the man of his color is black,
His far-spreading genius is not worth a pluck!

A Republican man seller! think on the knave
Who would make his poor brother a chattel and slave;
Reducing proud man, with his angels below,
To the level and rank of the horse or the saw.
Go, match that iniquity—match it who can,
This master-piece crime of the civilized man!
This stealthiest fraud on which angels dwell,
The createst sardism on this side of hell!

I blush when I think that the slaveholders' skin
In color and texture to mine is akin;
Of all the slaves living, the worst, I declare,
Are they who steal man—immortality's heir!
Missouri is long, and Ohio is deep;
Lake Huron is broad in its ocean-like sweep;
But American guilt, who shall measure its span—
Who fathom the depth of this swindle on man?

Ask the Sun and the Moon in what kingdom or clime
They witness the darkest and ugliest crime?
Both Lunar and Sol would immediately tell
In the beautiful West, where the slave-breeders dwell!

Consult the rude breezes that roll through the air,
Where the manglest spoilers have settled their lair?
With thundering tones they would instantly cry,
In the veles of Columbia the reprobates lie!

Oppression is strongest—injustice more bold,
In that land where God's image is purchased and sold,
Like the cotton that grows in the blood-manured fields,
Or the sweets which the tear-watered sugar cane yields.
How long, ye impostors—how long—oh, how long?
Will your laws teach equality, broadly and strong,
While your actions confute all your statutes so grand,
And prove yo ell pirates, *afoot on the land!*

A Market for Men!—Heaven and earth, what a place!
Humanity shombles! to barter the race;
Where brothers are set up, like cattle, for sale,
And body and spirit disposed of by bolo!
Blasphemy is wed to this fiendish device,
And rapine and murder stick fast to the price:
Mortality merchandise—Commerce in man!
Breaks through every law in creation's fair plan!

Come, now, kinsman Jonathan, tell me, I pray,
How can prove the poor Negro inferior clay?
Can he hope with thyself in oppression and fraud?
Or pass thee in trick, or low cunning, my lad?
Republican Rogues! you may boast, day and night,
For he is not your equal in trampling right:
As a cheat among cheats shall the Yankee remain,
Till the last link is broke of the last bondman's chain

Your own Mississippi rolls proudly along,
But nothing compared to your jubilee song:
Your fathers and freedom, both worthy of praise,
Resound to the skies in your hypocrite lays!
Bright Freedom!—Fie, shame!—thus to kindle your strains,
To one far away from Columbia's plains;
The bay of the blood-hound vibrates to and fro,
Where man Man has to hurry from man as a foe!

Great mother of heroes! come, Scotia the brave!
Let thy sympathies flow to the down-trodden slave!
Lift thy voice, and rebuke these who limit the span
Of Liberty's sunlight, the birthright of man!
Let the robbers, commissioned by villanous laws,
Hear thy stern interdict, and the traitors may pause!
There is terror and power in thy mountain command,
To stop the fierce slaveholders' criminal hand!

☞ A Southern orator, lauding the Fugitive Slave Bill, warmed up to such a pitch as to set his whiskers on fire.

THE UNION FEELING IN THE SOUTH.

A LETTER

From the Hon. J. R. Poinsett, on the Great Question of the Day.

Charleston, (S. C.) Dec. 4, 1850.

Fellow-Citizens: My object in addressing you, in this crisis of net affairs, will scarcely be misunderstood. I am a Carolinian by birth and principle, and will own in the world to need no lands and negroes. I have a common interest, then, in this question before the country, and a right to express my views and opinions. Without sec. ha ever, have deported from my determination to abstain from taking part in politics, if I had not lately enjoyed unusual opportunities of observing the conduct and character of the opposition made at the North to our institutions; and if I had not perceived, from the tenor of the speeches and writings published in the State, that the subject is not fully understood in South Carolina. These speeches and writings have tended to irritate the feelings of some, and to alarm the fears of others among our fellow-citizens of the North. Many, however, among them, have regarded these outbursts of passion merely as without consequence, and have assembled together, in vast meetings, to testify their devotion to the Union, and their firm determination to maintain the laws of the country. On one of these occasions, on my passage through Philadelphia, I was a spectator of the proceedings, that I might witness their proceedings, and hear testimony to what that our fellow-citizens of Pennsylvania were seregated with the kindest feelings towards us, and determined to see the laws, affecting our property, enforced within their State.

I resisted the importunities of my numerous friends there, because I did not desire to take part in the proceedings of another State—as a Carolinian, I desired to speak to my fellow-citizens of Carolina, from my own humble mansion here. I did not wish to appear to rebuke the winds and waves of our agitated sea from a distant shore, but reserved my efforts to calm them, until my return among you. But in justice to the great and good men who assembled at New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, to vindicate the laws, and to declare their firm determination to maintain them, I feel bound to say, that they were animated by the purest and noblest motives, and have, throughout, evinced the most praiseworthy zeal and patriotism. I am people, well intimately acquainted with many of them; and believe they will maintain to the utmost the sentiments they expressed on those occasions. The great error, it appears to me, that we have committed, is that we have given too much consequence to the wicked and designing men who strive to produce discord among us, and to destroy the peace and prosperity of the country, that they may revel on the spoils, or elevate themselves to power by pandering to the passions and prejudices of the vilest factions. Dupes upon it, these men are moral lepers, despised by the masses, as well as by the enlightened portions of the community, every where. They are powerful for evil, I know, however; they made the Constitution of France, from the period of the first French Revolution, when a small organized faction enlaged France in blood, to the present day, we all know the power exercised by a well organized and unscrupulous faction of the people, however insignificant in number and character.

The admission of California into the Union, as a State, is honestly believed, and represented to be, the most prominent of our wrongs, and the adoption of that clause in our Constitution excluding slaves, the greatest outrage committed upon our rights. I see nothing of the irregularity of the admission of California, because I firmly believe that if the clause above alluded to had been omitted, the complaint of the Constitution being violated in the fact of her admission would have proceeded from the North, rather than from the South. But I think there is an error in the cause assigned for the adoption of that clause. The admission of slavery in California is generally attributed, in the South, to the improper interference of Government, whereas it arose from the spontaneous feelings of the people there. The mission of Mr. Butler King, whatever the instructions he took, was of no use whatever. There, as every where in this country, the people would have revolted at the uncalled for interference of the general government. I have seen and conversed with returned emigrants from that State, some successful beyond their sanguine expectations, while others were disappointed and poor. They all, both rich and poor, concurred in the opinion, that the exclusion of slavery from California was owing to the unwillingness of the white man to work side by side with the negro—a feeling so universal at the North, that I have never seen negroes employed in their great workshops, and on asking the reason, was informed by the proprietors, that if they attempted to introduce negro laborers into their works, the whites would leave them. This feeling governed the vote on this question in California. It is a great mistake to suppose that, at the period of the adoption of the Constitution, the population consisted only of squatters, and of the simple and ignorant conquered people. California was peopled with unexampled rapidity, and the inhabitants were from our most industrious and enterprising citizens. They were neither few in number nor disqualified in character to frame a Constitution for themselves; indeed, their orderly conduct, while abandoned by their legitimate government, was dwelt upon with pride by us, and excited the admiration of the civilized world. We may complain, with some justice, of the admission of California with the exclusion of slavery; but if we had depopulated South Carolina of our negroes, and taken them to California, I firmly believe that they would have been expelled from the State at the first meeting of its legislature, for I know full well that the people there were determined not to admit them.

The next great outrage complained of is the adjustment of the boundary of Texas. I will not prolong this paper, and occupy your time by arguing the question of the validity of the boundary claimed by Texas, but content myself with stating my belief that if Mr. Madison had been captured by the British at Bladensburg, and under terror of his life had signed a treaty ceding the then territory of Maine, Congress and we, the people, would have denied that Great Britain had thereby acquired a title to that portion of our country. The object of offering $10,000,000 to Texas was not what it has been represented, but to prevent a civil war, otherwise inevitable—a war, in the course of which New Mexico would have been crushed by the superior forces of Texas, or government have interfered to protect that territory, alternatives to be deprecated by every American who respects the Constitution, and loves justice. It was not made by the President, but by a law of Congress; and if Texas voluntarily chooses to compound a doubtful title, and to accept the offer made her, surely there is no cause for calling her hard names, and applying to such a people abusive epithets.

The next subject complained of is the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and this measure is characterised as advancing abolition. For my own part, I think the measure we have often witnessed in Washington, and so often heard severely blamed by both Northern and Southern men, tended much more to advance abolition than the passage of this law.

It is certainly to be lamented that the balance of power between the slave and free States could not be maintained in the Senate. We have struggled for it in vain. It is with States as with individuals. Equality of strength or fortune cannot be maintained by either; but this is no legitimate cause of strife or revolution. And yet we are told that the remedy for these evils is to be sought for in revolution—for what is secession but revolution? Is the right of secession to be found in the Constitution? If it existed, I grant, under the old confederacy, for that, as a Texan, [illegible] was framed and adopted after so mn deliberation to form a more perfect union of the States. The first time we ever heard of the right of secession, was during the proceedings of the Hartford Convention, and at that period to people received the doctrine with more indignation and contempt than ourselves. Is fact, if any State possessed the power to secede from the Union whenever it thought proper to do so, our Constitution would be a mockery, and our boasted strength is a great and powerful nation would be despised by foreign powers. It is true, if Virginia, N. Carolina, Tennessee, S. Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi and Texas were to form a confederacy, and agree to secede, there might be no opposition for a time. But many of those States form but the entrance and portico to the great edifice reared in the West. How long would the inhabitants of the mighty structure endure such privations they must suffer, if their ingress and egress were in the hands of foreigners? Would they permit Louisiana to be the ally of some maritime powers that might occupy New Orleans, and harass the internal commerce of the Mississippi valley? I think not. No line can be drawn that will not involve questions of boundary and right, only to be settled by the fast appeal, and this country would soon exhibit the miserable aspect of the Spanish American States. Besides, such a confederacy would be powerless against the attacks of the abolitionists of all the world. The sympathies of civilized Europe are against our institutions, and if they be not protected by the Constitution and the much despised Union, our slaves would not be worth ten years' purchase. In such a confederacy, how many causes of discontent would exist! How could we, with our habits of eternal agitation, be satisfied with our station in life? Our relative importance in the Southern confederacy would dim with every year, unless we could change our habit altogether, and, instead of devoting all our energies to political agitation, as we have done for the last twenty years, turn our minds to the promotion of commerce, manufactures, and easy communication by land and water, from the interior to the coast. But under the lead of South Carolina, we see a confederacy will never be created. We are unfortunately not renowned for our wisdom or prudence, and our impetuous and our tumult will be alike in vain to drive our sister States into measures of a Venice for the fast what the future may bring forth time shall show. But, I warn the northern men who love their country, and desire to preserve the Union that they must not suffer their own agitators, nor those who may own self-respect prevents me from claiming as they deserve—man, who are not fanatics or fanatics are honest, but political demagogues of the worst description, using their money and trusting their talents, to deceive and seduce the people; and who would not hesitate to elevate themselves to power over the reeking ruins of their country. The opposition, commenced under my own eyes, to the infamous measures of these men, must be continued by the united efforts of the good men of all parties, and the Constitution will be safe, and the Union preserved.

If there are any among us so wild as to think of separate action, I ask them I would say, that they mistake violence for strength. Let them examine the map and consult the census, and they will see our relative weakness, and understand with what we are South Carolina might be prevented from indicting any injury, except by suicide.

But I will not pursue this humiliating theme; it is improbable that such a measure will be resorted to. It would be as absurd as for one to throw himself from a precipice in the expectation of injuring his enemy by the fall.

Fellow-citizens, my task is done. I felt impelled to address you as a friend and brother, by the interests I have at stake in this question, by my zeal for the honor and welfare of my native State, by the long experience I have had of the fearful consequences of revolution, and by my devotion to the Union, to which, under Heaven, I believe we owe our unexampled prosperity as a nation.

J. R. POINSETT.

From the London Times.

GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P.

There are two important relies for which we possess the highest possible sanction, and which have been confirmed by the largest possible experience. The first is, not to offend against the multitude of a city; and the second is, not to meddle with our neighbor's affairs. We are sorry to say that one of our countrymen, a member of our Legislature, the representative of the Tower Hamlets, and, as we believe, a man of God, of the Emperor of Delhi, is acting just now in direct violation of both these ancient maxims. Mr. George Thompson, M. P., a radical reformer, and general ameliorator of British, East Indian, American, and all other institutions, is just now following in the wake of and in the fearful consequences of, the Abolitionists of the United States. A picturesque scene lately described in these columns has already acquainted our readers with the object of this visitation. It is nothing less than to abolish slavery, by the breath of his nostrils, that nefarious institution, which, if we cannot but regard it as the darkest stain on the escutcheon of American liberty, and as pregnant with unknown ills, we must also remember to be a British importation, the offspring of our own misgovernment, and almost inextricably wound in with the domestic and political customs and laws of the States. Except under the just provocation caused by the exuberant impudence of brother Jonathan is his remarks on the country of his ancestors, no prudent Englishman would argue that there are two sides to the question of American slavery. No Englishman, with a single-minded intention for the good of the slaves and the free colored men, would propose and agitate for immediate abolition. He would not demand an act which would at one stroke deprive masters of servants and servants of masters, capital of labor and labor of capital, and, in fact, shake a long-established state of society, not merely to its foundations, but to its very middle elements. Such, however, is the innocent recreation in which Mr. George Thompson is engaging the interval of his Parliamentary labors, and preparing for the hospitalities and amenities of Christmas. It is possible that Mr. G. Thompson may take a different view of the two rules we have mentioned above. He may set them one against the other, and hold that he has all the more right to defy the prejudices or the comfort of the American slave-owners, because he is a foreigner, and that he has a special call to undertake this agitation, because public opinion on the other side of the Atlantic makes it unsafe or inconvenient to citizens of the Union. We beg, however, to suggest that, when a course of conduct falls under the direct operation of two separate rules, it is doubly confirmed.

Mr. Thompson's exhibition at Boston, in the renowned Faneuil Hall, having terminated with some performances not included in the programme, viz., a fight, a dance, and a selection of popular music, that gentleman shook the dust off his feet, and went, with 150 anti-slavery gentlemen, ladies, and colored persons, to the church. Worcester, which is reputed to be a quiet place, and civil enough, refused him the Boston precedent. The speeches made on this occasion, however, are far from satisfying right his position or as intruder and agitator in matters which did not concern him. A resolution proposed by a Mr. Garrison illustrates the species of entanglement which Mr. G. Thompson has helped to foster between the fellow-citizens of one federation, one State, and one metropolis:—

'Resolved, That the manner in which the Boston *Times, Bee, Herald, Mail, Pilot*, and other lawless and disorderly journals, conducted and sensational, this pernicious assault, demonstrates that the editors, proprietors and reporters of these journals are profligate, shameless, and unwarily ruffians, to destitute of principle as highwaymen and burglars, the enemies of the country, and fit associates for the companions of the common jail and State prison; and that, while such incendiary journals are extensively patronized, the peace of the community is constantly liable to be invaded; neither life nor property is safe; and the foundations of public morality are fearfully weakened.'

For gentlemen whose object it is to improve the relations of society, this is rather strange. Mr. G. Thompson, however, does not appear to be much discountenanced this amiable bit of philanthropy. On the contrary, he began with referring to his operations at Boston as 'fighting the beasts at Ephesus,' and prophetic allusion to the treatment he might possibly expect in the South, should curiosity lead him in that direction:—

'Talk of this country being free,' said Mr. Thompson; 'it is not free. No honest Englishman, expressing his honest feelings, could even travel through it. He himself might wish to visit the southern states in Kentucky, but he would not do it, at least, with any assurance of returning alive. He could not see the fairest of women' at the South—he could not cross the Potomac—he could not travel any where in the South with one half the liberty that would be accorded to him within the most despotic territories of Europe. And if he could not—if the country were not free—then its example and its history would be cited by the advocates of despotism and priestcraft all over the world as an evidence of the utter failure of republican so-called free institutions.'

Certainly, these are very great privations. A gentleman who cannot visit the mammoth cave in Kentucky without a considerable chance of meeting courage out of it, has cause over the fatum of wandering in Europe, where he may be seized by the amphibious occupants, and who cannot cross the Potomac without the prospect of acquiring an indignant and a plunge, at variance with all notions of comfort and elegance, must be a martyr, even if he have himself under these disabilities, for flagrant rebellion to law, by sifting every man's house with enemies, by spreading discontent among the weak, and exasperation among the strong—in a word, by rendering the country impossible of habitable under its existing institutions, with but a doubtful chance of peace under any other.

Let us not be supposed to discourage the native abolitionists, or to arouse the obstinacy with which the slave-owners have stuck to the letter of their bond. That obstinacy we believe to be as much culpable and perilous than the intemperate and offensive zeal of the Northern abolitionists. Slavery is yet a question of time. It is scarcely possible to conceive that a hundred years hence there will be one slave in the United States, not to say in the whole continent of America. The slave-owners see the ramparts rising, the trenches opened, the communications established, and the blockade closing round them that is one day to reduce their to unconditional surrender. We doubt not for an instant that our children, or our children's children, will see the chains drop in one hour from the limbs of three million slaves. The Fugitive Slave Bill is only a last legislative effort against that which is more powerful than legislatures—the progress of human affairs. Every acre added to the territory of the Union, and every free-born child added to its population, every immigrant that lands on its shores, is another weight in the scale of abolition. Then why, except because they are demented and doomed, do the slave-owners take up steps whatever to prepare for that great day of reckoning? Why do they assume the perpetual stability of an institution at variance with the whole tenor and course of modern civilization? We do not hesitate to advise them to set their house in order. If it is harder to do so now than it was seventy years back, instead of being easier, so the great statesmen of that day hoped and expected—if time has hitherto aggravated rather than removed the enormous difficulties of the question, what will be the case thirty years hence, when, perhaps, there will be no land left for abolition, without either the slave or his master being condemned for the change? The choice lies between gradual and sudden abolition, and it is for the slave States themselves to choose which of these two they will have—for end they must.

The Common Council of Chicago and the Fugitive Slave Law.—A special meeting of the Common Council of the city of Chicago, Ill., was held on the 26th ult., for the purpose of taking final action upon the various resolutions before that body, on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law. The resolutions (forbidding the officers of the city from engaging in arresting fugitives) heretofore adopted were afterward reconsidered, were brought up for action, and the following preamble and resolution were adopted in their stead, by a vote of ten to three:—

Whereas, the Fugitive Slave Act, recently passed by Congress, is revolting to our moral sense, and an outrage upon our feelings of justice and humanity; and whereas, the duties of our officers, under the Constitution and laws have thrown around personal liberty, and its direct tendency is to alienate the people from their love and veneration for the Government; and whereas, the duties of our officers, to do not, therefore, compel us to our duty, or the duty of the city officers of the city of Chicago, to aid or assist in the arrest of fugitives from oppression; and by withholding such aid and assistance, we do not believe that our harbor appropriations will be withheld, our railroad injured, our commerce destroyed, or that treason would be committed against the Government.

☞ The productions of Messrs. Cole, Church, and Gifford, are annually contributed to the value of the whole cotton crop of the country.

From the Richmond Enquirer.

IMPORTANT DEBATE

IN THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION, ON THE EXPULSION OF FREE NEGROES.

On motion of Mr. Whittle, the House took up the following resolution offered by him yesterday: on his motion, the blank was filled with the word 'seven:'

Resolved, That a committee of seven members be appointed to inquire into the expediency of inserting a clause in the Constitution, declaring void all laws now in force, by which slaves may hereafter be emancipated, and their descendants may be permitted to remain within the limits of the Commonwealth; and to restrain the legislative department of the government from passing any law granting permission to any such emancipated slave, or his or her descendants, to remain within the Commonwealth; and to provide that it shall be competent to the legislature to pass laws for the removal of free negroes and mulattoes beyond the limits of the Commonwealth, either with or without the consent of said free negroes and mulattoes.

Mr. Whittle offered some reasons why this resolution should be referred to a special committee. He thought the large number of subjects which had been referred to the legislative committee would prevent that committee from examining it as fully as its great importance demanded. It was a question which involved the peace of society of our State. It concerned a tribe of people among us, who were potent for evil, and impotent for any good.

Mr. Lyons offered the following amendment, to come in after the word 'Commonwealth,' which was accepted by Mr. Whittle:—

'And after the lapse of twelve months, no deed or will emancipating slaves shall be admitted to record in any court in this State.'

Mr. Lyons said, the object of his amendment was not to prevent any man from emancipating, in a proper way, his slaves during his life-time, but to prevent a man, who, after getting all the labor from his slaves during his life-time, at the time of his death seeks to get posthumous reputation by emancipating his slaves, and to save the community from the evil which was inflicted upon it by free negroes. Besides this, these emancipations at the time of death were frequently urged by the enemies of slavery, as an evidence of repentance for having committed the sin of holding slaves, and he desired to put a quietus upon even the suspicion of this being true.

Mr. Byrd desired time to look into this resolution, as it might regulate his vote upon it. He moved to lay it, as amended, on the table. Motion rejected.

Mr. Neeson offered the following amendment:

'Also to report the proper method of defraying the expenses of deporting such free negroes and mulattoes as may be removed under any act of the Legislature.'

Mr. Botts regarded this as a very important question—the disposition which was to be made of this class of people. He was little disposed, nor prepared to enter into an argument upon the question. But for the present, for the purpose of testing the sense of the House, he would offer the following as a substitute for the resolution.

[The resolution is inserted below.]

Mr. Hopkins, of W., hoped that the resolution, if adopted, would go to the legislative, and not a special committee. He saw no reason for varying from the ordinary committee.

Mr. Whittle urged that the legislative committee was not properly constituted to give a proper consideration to the question. He deemed it of sufficient importance to be put to rest by a constitutional provision. All he wished was, to give the legislature power to act, if it should become necessary, in this particular. He did not propose, as the member from Marion's amendment indicated, to engraft any system upon the Constitution, but merely to declare a general principle; which was all that ought to be done when a body was going to write the law in iron. This tribe of people had increased in our State to an alarming extent. They were adverse in feeling, adverse in sentiment, and adverse in interest, to every community in which they are found. They had increased some 47 per cent. in the West, and some seven or eight per cent. in his own district.

Mr. Stewart, of Morgan, had been a member of a committee in the legislature on this subject, and remembered that the examination made at that time on the subject of free negroes fully confirmed all that had been said by the member from Pittsylvania.

Mr. Streaghan offered the following as an amendment to the amendment of Mr. Neeson:

'And to purchase territory from the Federal Government, in latitude South of 35 degrees, upon which to locate such free negroes and mulattoes as may be expelled from this Commonwealth.'

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. Neeson's amendment was also rejected.

Mr. Botts then modified his substitute, explained the difference between it and the resolution of the member from Pittsylvania, expressed his dissatisfaction and disapprobation of the resolution. In his judgment, it proposed to interfere with the vested rights of such of these free negroes as had obtained permission to remain in the Commonwealth. He was desirous of acting upon this subject, but not with cruelty or harshness. Here might be a man who, at the time of his death, might emancipate his slaves—they might be old and infirm, and yet you proposed to separate them from their families and friends, without providing means for their transportation.

Mr. Lyons explained his amendment.

Mr. Whittle appealed to him to withdraw it. He feared it would embarrass his proposition.

Mr. Strother urged the adoption of the resolution of the member from Pittsylvania. He was prepared, whenever the proper time arrived, to see a law passed in obedience to its provisions. These free negroes were not citizens; they had none of the rights of citizens; they are not an integral portion of our community; and their presence among us induces a disease which is eating into the very bowels of the body politic.

Mr. Scheffey was opposed to the bad precedent which would be established by creating these special committees, and hoped they would not be raised.

Mr. Hopkins, of W., moved to amend the resolution so as to make it one of reference to the 'Legislative Committee.'

Mr. Ferguson offered a resolution creating a Committee on Slaves, the Free Negroes and Mulattoes of the Commonwealth. [Afterwards withdrawn.]

Mr. Botts did not desire to embarrass the proposition of any member, nor to stifle inquiry. He withdrew his amendment, and would offer it separately.

Mr. Taylor demanded the ayes and noes upon the motion of Mr. Hopkins, of W., to strike out a portion of the first line of the resolution of reference to the legislative committee. The vote stood as follows: Ayes 100, Nays 20.

The amendment of Mr. Hopkins, of W., was adopted.

Mr. Whittle's resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. Botts's resolution was adopted, and is as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Legislative Department of the Government be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing, that no slave hereafter to be emancipated shall be entitled to his or her freedom, unless the person so emancipating such slave or slaves shall first make provision for his or their removal beyond the limits of the United States, or for the support of such as may be authorised by the Legislature to remain within the Commonwealth.

Mr. Lyon's resolution was adopted, and is as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Legislative Department be instructed to inquire into the expediency of inserting in the Constitution, a clause providing that no deed or will emancipating a slave or slaves shall be admitted to record in any court in this Commonwealth, so far as it does emancipate such slave or slaves.

LETTER FROM JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

The following are the principal portions of a letter from Mr. Giddings to citizens of Palmyra, who had invited him to attend an Anti-Fugitive Law meeting in that place. We copy from the *Ravenna Star.* It is such talk as the times demand.

'Had this law commanded me to commit common murder, or ordinary piracy, I might have taken into consideration the propriety of obeying it. But it requires me to give chase to the flying bondman as he hastens to a land of freedom—to seize him and rivet the cold iron upon his trembling limbs, to drag him back and deliver him over to bondage, to chains, to the scourge, to a barbarous death by torture under the lash of an inhuman overseer. Every intelligent person knows that all reclaimed fugitives are immediately sold and carried to that Golgotha of the South, where Mr. Clay assures us that the average length of their lives does not exceed *five or seven years.*—The Fugitive Slave Law commands us to participate in arresting and sending victims to this Southern immolation, by torture a thousand times more cruel than ordinary assassination. I would be as willing to handle the scourge, to sink the thong into his quivering flesh, and to tear from him the life which God has given him, as to seize him and hand him over to his tormentors, with the full knowledge and conviction that they will do it. Nor is the crime of the slave-catcher less in the sight of God and good men than is the guilt of him who consummates the outrage by this final sacrifice of the victim.

Yet we are told we must obey this law and perpetuate these crimes, until a slave-ridden Congress shall see fit to reclaim us from such sin against God, by repealing the law. '*Whether it be right to obey God rather than man, judge ye.*'

From my innermost soul I abhor, detest and repudiate this law. I despise the human being who would obey it, if such a being has existence.

I should regard such a man as a moral nuisance, contaminating the air of freedom, and would kick him from my door should he attempt to enter my dwelling.

The authors of this law may take from me my substance, may imprison me, or, take my life, but they have not the power to degrade me by compelling me to commit such transcendant crimes against my fellow-man and against God's law.

I rejoice exceedingly that the people of the free States comprehend and appreciate this insult to every freeman at the North. Public feeling is aroused, popular indignation is gushing, trumpet-tongued to those servants of the people who dared thus degrade the American character by constituting us the catchpoles of Southern Slave-hunters.

The great leader of the Democratic party has been rebuked in his own district, in his own State. Michigan and Wisconsin are no longer *Slave States.* They are now the abodes of *freemen.* Illinois, too, is moving. She has discarded some of her public servants who were not regarded as reliable for freedom. New York, the home of the President, is hurling defiance at all who would enslave her people. Delaware has reproved and repudiated her public men who sustained the infamous law; and New Jersey now stands arrayed against the administration who approved this nefarious enactment. Even old Massachusetts has spoken in thunder tones in execration of this law.

From every portion of the free States we have the cheering intelligence that Freedom's hosts are moving with an irresistible power. Ours is the cause of truth and humanity. Our triumph is near; but let no friend lay aside his armor. Let our watchword be *Onward*—and victory, glorious victory will crown our efforts.

J. R. GIDDINGS.

FREE NEGROES IN KENTUCKY.

THE HOUSE resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, for the purpose of considering the bill concerning 'negroes and mulattoes.' A long debate ensued as to filling the blanks in the bill with the amount of fees, &c., to be paid the clerks for performing the duties imposed, and with the amount of the penalty for failing to obey the summons of the clerks. The county court clerks were directed to issue, in July next, summons to every free negro within his county, commanding him, under the penalty of a fine not exceeding ten dollars, to appear within ten days, and produce his freedom papers, or the best evidence of his freedom. This evidence, together with the age, color, &c. of the negro, the clerk is required to make a record of. The sums received as penalties, and a part of the sum which the clerk receives from the negro, are to be set apart as a fund for aiding in the transportation for life of free negroes to Liberia. If the penalty is not paid, the negro will be sold to the highest bidder.—*Louisville Courier.*

☞ Heartless and cruel must be the men who can thus infamously legislate! But justice will not sleep forever, and woe to this guilty nation when it awakes!

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1850.

From official returns, the following are the aggregates of the militia of the several States for the past fiscal year, including the number of muskets each State is entitled to, under the apportionment act:—

States.	*No. of Militia.*	*No. of Arms.*
Maine,	44,465	325
New Hampshire,	27,567	208
Massachusetts,	101,781	742
Vermont,	23,915	174
Rhode Island,	13,563	100
Connecticut,	57,719	421
New York,	201,452	1488
New Jersey,	39,171	285
Pennsylvania,	278,070	2011
Delaware,	9,229	87
Maryland,	46,864	341
Virginia,	124,202	905
North Carolina,	79,448	578
South Carolina,	55,912	402
Georgia,	57,209	418
Alabama,	44,331	323
Louisiana,	43,823	319
Mississippi,	45,385	331
Tennessee,	71,252	519
Kentucky,	88,626	646
Ohio,	176,455	1266
Indiana,	56,919	893
Illinois,	120,218	876
Missouri,	61,000	444
Arkansas,	19,137	125
Michigan,	60,017	437
Florida,	12,123	88
Texas,	17,786	144
Wisconsin,	32,203	235
Dist. of Columbia,	1,249	9
Total,	2,006,068	14,615

Wisconsin.—The complete returns of the census of Wisconsin show the aggregate population of that State to be 305,121. The progress of the State since 1840 is shown by the following table:—

Year.	*Population.*	*Increase.*
1840	30,945	
1842	44,478	13,533
1846, June,	155,277	111,799
1847, Dec.,	210,546	55,271
1850, June,	305,121	94,575

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON,
SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.
GERRIT SMITH,
OF NEW YORK.
FOR VICE PRESIDENT.
SAMUEL R. WARD,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE HIGHER LAW.

One well-nigh sickens at the reading of the popular pro-slavery journals of the day, and at the hearing of the popular pro-slavery preachers of the day, upon the subject of the Higher Law. A distinguished lawyer, a Senator from the Empire State, in the course of some remarks during the latter part of the last session of Congress, said that there is a law higher than the Constitution, in respect to matters where the Constitution comes into conflict with inalienable rights and natural justice. In a moment, every slaveholder, and every slaveholder's man Friday, took fire at the truthful remarks of the noble Senator, and from that day to this, politicians and preachers have been forming parties and drawing lines upon one side or the other of the higher law doctrine. In vain did the great New Yorker defend this doctrine from the best authorities. In vain have lawyers of all grades, from the highest to the lowest, recognised the authority of the doctrine. For they could not do otherwise. In vain have the leading preachers of the day been called upon to recollect their Protestant, Puritan and Revolutionary Fathers in the ministry, whose great celebrity lay in the earnestness and self-sacrifice with which they declared for and defended this doctrine.

A great many persons in the Free Soil party of New England, and among the more liberal of the members of the Whig and the Democratic parties, in all the North, stand by the higher law doctrine, and the unflinching Senator who avowed it; but they, at the same time, are (with the New York Senator) ready to declare that the Constitution binds them to do a great many things in behalf of slavery. They regard the Constitution as demanding the extradition of fugitive slaves, and all they demand is that it shall be done, when done, *according to the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance of its provisions.* We know not of a hundred men in the Massachusetts Free Soil party, who do not regard the matter in this light. And the organs of the more liberal Whigs and Democrats very plainly allow and avow the doctrine.

We propose, by way of showing the position of the Liberty Party in regard to this matter, to state what that party believe to be the truth concerning it, and to invite any of our readers who do not belong to the Liberty Party to examine and decide whether or not we have the truth on our side.

In the first place, we deny that any jot or tittle of slavery finds the least degree of favor in the Federal Constitution from beginning to ending. We do not believe there is any law in any State, or any law made by the United States Government favoring slavery, that will endure a Constitutional testing. And if any candid one will read Smith, Goodell or Spooner, or all of them, on this subject, we think he will be induced to agree with us. From the Preamble, to the last Amendment, there is not a word in the Constitution describing a slave or a slaveholder, or the relation betwixt slave and slaveholder. The very clauses upon which slavocrats of the South base their claims, and slavocrats of the North admit those claims, describe as well whites as blacks, freemen as slaves. Besides, in close propinquity with such clauses are others prohibiting, in the very strongest terms, any one of the things which necessarily enter into and compose slavery, and demand things which are fatal to every part of that accursed institution. No reader of the Constitution can fail to see this, and no man who takes the opposite view can do so without going out of the Constitution, to some miserable, illegal, and illogical subterfuge about the 'intentions of the framers,' the 'history of the Convention,' or, what is more contemptible, assuming that the rights guaranteed were never meant for black men, and the wrongs prohibited were not designed to shield and secure the liberties of black men. We condescend not to argue against such stuff, for the reason that, here in Massachusetts, as well as every where else, black men have the benefits of the laws, are subject to the penalties of the laws, and sustain all the relations to the laws which any other men sustain, no one presuming aught to the contrary. Under the laws, S. R. Ward (a good specimen of a black man, Capt. Rynders being judge) may sue and may be sued, collect, disburse, hold and acquire. But the law no where says a word about Ward's complexion. Does it follow, therefore, that the laws afford him no protection? guarantee to him no rights? No sane, sensible man dreams of such a thing. Why is it, then, that rights guaranteed or protection afforded to men, citizens,—all men, all citizens,—are not applicable as well to black as to white? We insist that such an interpretation of the Constitution as is now popular, and as many abolitionists agree to, is just as applicable to State laws in the North, in New England, as to the Constitution. And who shall say us nay? The very necessities to which such Constitutional expounders are driven, show most triumphantly the anti-slavery character, and perfect impartiality of that document.

Besides, no slave State, no slaveholding port, has a single law favoring slavery, providing securities for it, making defences for it by restraining the liberties and despoiling the rights of black seamen, or in any other way upholding slavery, but that tramples under foot some plain, explicit, sacred provision of the Federal Constitution. We shall, at some time future, call attention to the clauses referred to, though we have done so with such frequency during the discussion of the Fillmore Negro-Catching Law, that it is scarcely necessary to repeat it.

Now, the Liberty Party takes the Constitution just as it is, and when the shallow, frivolous and ridiculous sophistries of the other side are adduced, we regard them as negative testimony to the correctness of our position.

But suppose the Federal Constitution and the slaveholding laws of the States and of Congress were all in harmony. Suppose the Constitution did, in so many words, ordain the temporary or the perpetual enslavement of the descendants of Africa, or any other class of citizens. And suppose that every one of the fifteen slave States, as such, and every southern Atlantic port, as such, had made slave laws and kidnapping laws in perfect accordance with the Constitution. Nay, more, suppose that upon each law of this sort, there had been a solemn Supreme Court decision, affirming the entire and perfect Constitutionality of each and every one of them. And suppose, too, that with a unanimity unbroken, all the Northern State Courts, and all the religious people, and all the politicians, of whatever grade, shade, or school, had come to the conclusion that all this was law, and right. Even then, while God has made of one blood all nations; while all men are Heaven-endowed with the right—the inalienable right—to liberty; while God demands the non-return of the fleeing servant; while the Law of Love and the Golden Rule remain; while slavery is the most flagrant and sacrilegious violation of the right of men and the prerogatives of God; while, in a word, there remains any distinction betwixt right and wrong, such a Constitution, such laws, and such court decrees, would be the sheerest, the most guilty falsehoods. They would lack every element of law, and would therefore be of no binding force, no legal worth, no real authority. And wherefore? Simply because, in the language of the fearless Gerrit Smith, neither can any one of the crimes which are component parts of slavery, nor slavery, the incomparably Satanic compound itself, be legalised. What is morally wrong can not be made legally right. What a shame it is that preachers and politicians pretend not to know, and refuse to obey, this grand, glorious, universal, God-given Higher Law.

LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA.

We have just had a full exposition of the power, cruelty and outrage of the great 'peace law.' The facts have been too widely detailed to need any additional particulars in this case. But as the colored man in this country is the great subject of comment by the press, and the especial object of vituperation and prejudice by the great majority of the public, and the target for every knave to shoot at or trample upon, I think we can do no greater service to the cause of freedom and humanity than to continue to hold up to public gaze all those who may be found in the nefarious business of kidnapping, or in any way aiding in carrying out the abominable Fugitive Slave Law. The story of the outrages perpetrated recently in Philadelphia by Ingraham, Alberti & Co., upon a colored man by the name of Adam Gibson, cannot be too often repeated; nor can the names of those engaged in the villany be too widely known and abhorred.

It is an undeniable fact, that Adam Gibson, a young (married) man, about twenty-three years of age—of unquestionable character for morals, industry and veracity—was seized by an armed force of kidnappers, on the 22d day of December, 1850, in the city of Philadelphia, and being brought before Edward D. Ingraham, U. S. (fugitive slave) Commissioner, was most brutally separated from his wife, child, home and friends, and without an hour's delay hurried into bondage. The parties concerned in the enslavement of Gibson were the notorious George Alberti, Frisby Price, George T. Price, Edward D. Ingraham, Lawyer Seaman, and several 'Killers.'

It may not be amiss to allude, briefly, to the common profession of some of the parties engaged. It is well known that for many years, Ingraham has been almost exclusively the slaveholder's tool, in this city, and for prejudice and enmity to the colored people generally perhaps he is without an equal.

George Alberti is universally known as the hangman, penitentiary convict, robber of graves and kidnapper; without any further detail concerning him, every body, with any feelings, would set him down at once to be the vilest man in the world, except that 'old serpent,' Ingraham.

As to Frisby Price, it will be remembered that he was the *principal witness* against Adam, notwithstanding he was under heavy *bail* at the identical time for kidnapping a woman and her child, who had been decoyed by him from New Jersey, and finally plunged into hopeless bondage. His very looks are a sufficient guaranty of his utter detestableness.

As to George T. Price, he may have, heretofore, stood a little fairer in the estimation of the public than some with whom he is identified; but it was reluctantly drawn out of him, that he had been in the habit of corresponding with Alberti and Knight, (the pretended claimant,) and his having gone *bail* for his infamous cousin, Frisby, confirmed the public mind that he was no better than the rest, and with the rest must answer for the injustice done to Adam. To be sure, G. F. P. did not profess to have known much about Adam, and if that hard-hearted Ingraham had possessed the least grain of justice, his word would not have weighed a feather against Adam. But it was quite apparent, at the commencement of the investigation, that Ingraham was perfectly willing to be controlled by the oath of the scape-gallowses, Price and Alberti, irrespective of the most positive testimony, from whatever source it might have emanated. It is well known that Ingraham had openly declared that the oath of a *black* man he would not take, under any consideration, in connection with an alleged fugitive slave case; and indeed, he most wantonly verified his previous promises in this case to the very letter. Two respectable colored men were brought in while the examination was going on—men who knew what they were about, and whose character for honesty is untarnished—testified in a clear and convincing manner, to the satisfaction of all present but Ingraham and his partners, that they had known Gibson from his boyhood, and also his master, who had freed him. A 'will' answering to the testimony made by the colored men was brought, which clearly proved the correctness of their statement,—but all to no avail. It was a chance for Ingraham to 'relieve' his heart by exercising his tyranny, and at the same time receive a bribe of ten dollars from 'Uncle Sam.'

As to the others concerned in the arrest of Adam, I shall not take the pains to name them separately. Suffice it to say, that they were of the most notorious of the 'Killer' school—men utterly destitute of all decency, morality or sobriety—men of the most vulgar and lawless order in all *Moyamensing.* But the reader will bear in mind, that the *latter class* are not to be considered *meaner* nor *lower* than Ingraham and Alberti—that would be utterly improbable.

But notwithstanding the hatred of Ingraham, the sly and deeply-laid schemes of the notorious Alberti and his coadjutors, justice proved victorious; and Adam's freedom was soon procured, to the unspeakable joy of his wife and numerous friends. He was hurried to Knight, the claimant, but Knight, through fear of being apprehended, or having a partial regard for honesty, immediately on seeing him, said that he was 'not his man.' But the particulars relative to Adam's journey to the land of slavery—his being refused, &c., you will have read in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* ere this reaches you. For this reason, I shall not say any thing further on this point, as I wish to inform you that six of the wretches who conspired to kidnap Adam are now under arrest for the outrage; and in a very prosperous way of finding themselves, at no distant day, safely enclosed in our State Prison, where they belong.

Public indignation is very strong against the entire party; and many are especially anxious to have justice meted out to Ingraham and Seaman, as well as the others who are less fortunate, though equally guilty; but as yet, they are at a loss to know what course to pursue with said Ingraham and Seaman.

For the satisfaction of the readers of the *Impartial Citizen,* I wish simply to state a little mark of contempt which happened to be visited upon Ingraham, some time during the following night after Adam had been so basely consigned to slavery by him. Here it comes, briefly. Ingraham was visited with a very odious pollution about the door of his domicile, (much to the discomfiture of a large party which happened to be at the next door neighbor's that night); besides, his door and front exhibited the appearance of an indecent slaughter-house, from the great quantity of *blood* and corruption, which intimated that a voracious animal lived within.

But this was not the only visit that Commissioner Ingraham has been honored with since he sanctioned the monstrous outrage upon Gibson. One evening, at a large meeting held at the Philadelphia Institute, it was unanimously resolved, that the meeting should repair to Ingraham's house for the purpose of giving him *nine hearty groans,* as a token of contempt. Accordingly, a large number proceeded to the house, and if they did'nt groan, the Irishman who mistook them for an elephant at the menagerie, was sadly mistaken.

It is said that Ingraham keeps a watchman now to guard him. Indeed, the 'old club foot' needs watching, no one will deny.

Another gross outrage upon an unoffending colored family, near Coatesville, Chester county, Pa. In the dead hours of night, on the 27th of December, 1850. *Deputy Marshal Hutsell, Constable Ayre,* a Maryland *slaveholder,* and two or three other ruffians, (no better than pirates,) went to the peaceful home of a family with the delusive story that misfortune had befallen them, and their object was only to obtain the favor of a light whereby they might mend their 'traces,' which they said had been broken. At the earnest pleadings of the *solicitors,* the kindness of the inmates was touched; but no sooner had the door opened, than in rushed the savages, armed with pistols, &c. Their intentions being obvious to the inmates, they at once resorted to the only measures, in such a dilemma, that secures freedom and repels foes, viz., self-defence; and notwithstanding the fury exhibited by the villains, they were soon put to flight by the bravery and heroism of our colored persons—two men and two women. To be sure, the kidnappers fired several shots among their antagonists, and very probably with the intent to kill, but fortunately they missed their aim, and soon found it expedient to retreat. They said they would return with renewed force, and so they did, but they found no further occasion to exercise their bravery. This very brief account of the most thrilling and horrible affair must suffice for the present.

The case of Long, in New York, has excited the most intense interest among friends here.

Strong apprehensions are felt here, that the law passed in 1847 to prevent kidnapping, &c., in this State, will be repealed by the pro-slavery feeling existing at this time. But perhaps the late outrages may have a tendency to prevent this. There certainly has been a great change among a large number of the community since.

W. S.

Philadelphia, January 4th, 1851.

☞ Dr. Jayne, of Philadelphia, has made an immense fortune by the manufacture and sale of Hair Tonic. Several black men are doing well at a similar business. Mr. H. W. Foster, of Lowell, in this State, sells over 30,000 bottles annually of his deservedly popular Mountain Compound. Mr. Anderson, of New London, Ct., is introducing an article to the public which bids fair to receive a liberal patronage. And Mr. Lewis H. Nelson, of 13 Beekman street, N. Y., makes perhaps as good an article as any in the country. Mr. William Rich, of Troy, N. Y., is the manufacturer of a Hair Wash, which has but few successful rivals where it is known. A Mr. Washington, of New Haven, Ct., makes a cure for baldness, &c., which netts him a handsome income. Well, we are nobody, but we are glad some of our brethren will become 'some.' If each of these gentlemen should realize $100,000 from his Tonic, we should rejoice. If they push the business, as the Razor Strop Man does, and the Soap Man, they will make as much money as Dr. Jayne has; and that they will deserve it as well, we doubt not at all.

☞ The religion of Christ, as taught by our Lord and his Apostles, is as different from the teachings of your pro-slavery divines in this city and New York, as daylight is from darkness. Those who preach favorably to the Fugitive Slave Law, contradict Christ and His Apostles, and they therefore deserve no respect nor attention from honest, humane men. Their miserable counterfeit Manology is not Theology. The latter means words of God, the former words of man; and the first, and that only, is what such priests teach and preach. May they be estimated according to their real character!

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

LETTER FROM BENJAMIN COATES

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 25th, 1850.

REV. SAMUEL R. WARD:—

DEAR SIR,—I sent to you a few newspapers of yesterday, and the day previous, detailing a very interesting case, under the late Fugitive Slave Law, which has created great interest here, and will tend to make that outrageous law deservedly unpopular, by exposing to public gaze its features in all their deformity. The Commissioner has shown himself one well fitted for such a law, which violates the most sacred rights of man. Was it not that Northern men were themselves slaves, willing slaves, to their Southern masters, this law could never have been passed, and I am very unwilling to believe that the Spirit of Liberty has become so extinct in the American mind as to tolerate, for any length of time, such gross injustice and inhumanity. Congress probably will not repeal it this session, and although I blush for my country and mourn her degradation in the eyes of the world, that such an outrage could be perpetrated by the Legislature of this Republican, (!) this Christian (?) nation, yet I have not the least doubt that it will be overruled for good. I believe that a more fatal blow to slavery could not have been struck, than the passage of this most infamous law, which will arouse many who have heretofore been lukewarm or indifferent on the subject of slavery. While slavery was confined to the South, these were content not to meddle with it; but now it is brought to their own doors, and the attempt is directly made by this law to make every man at the North participator in it—and to make them slave-catchers, if not slaveholders. At this, even the indifferent will revolt, for it is not to be supposed that any number of men can be found, in *any part* of the *free* North, who will aid in capturing and manacling a man, to return him to slavery. Thus the question of slavery or freedom must be brought directly home to every man, and each must decide for himself whether to be a slave or freeman. I notice by your paper that you are not disposed to let the subject stop; but your paper, unfortunately, has not a very large circulation among those who have the power to repeal the law. I wish it were otherwise, and I regret very much to learn, from the number of week before last, that it is not so well supported as it should be by those most immediately interested. Every colored man in the free States who can read should take a copy of both the *North Star*, and *Impartial Citizen*, and *pay for them*—and this they can do with but very little sacrifice or discomfort to themselves. If those who think they cannot afford it would *this day* deny themselves their Christmas dinner, the money saved would in many cases enable them to pay for one of those papers, and living on bread and potatoes for a week would make most of them rich enough to pay for the other. Having a great many demands on my purse at this time, I regret that I can not assist as I would like in every effort of the colored man for improvement; and although neither the editors of the *North Star* nor the *Impartial Citizen*, come up to my views of what it is their duty to do—to give their readers *all the information* that pertains to their interest, on *all subjects*, and allowing them to judge freely for themselves as to what will best promote their individual happiness, as will as that of their race, including those in bondage—you will of course understand that I refer particularly to your exclusion of every thing relating to Liberia, which appears to me entirely inconsistent with your profession as a reformer, to the enlightened spirit of the age, and with the enlarged views that claim for man, of whatever clime, race or color equal rights and privileges—however I may differ with both yourself and Frederick Douglass in this respect, I cannot believe that either of you can long allow your prejudices on any subject so far to sway your judgment as to fail to see that it is inconsistent with all your professions, and that to prevent a colored man from emigrating to Africa or any where else, either by force, by intimidation, or by withholding from him information which you possess, and which he ought to have, is a species of tyranny and oppression, and part of the very system of slavery which you so much condemn. I feel the more free to criticise, (or censure, if you please,) where I can find much to commend; and I look upon the successful establishment of such papers as yours, as among the most cheering signs of the times, and if so supported as they should be, they must be the means of spreading information, and of elevating a down-trodden people. Such men as Mr. Douglass and yourself I honor and respect, for the use you both make of your talents to benefit your race; and the very polite and liberal offer you made to me some time since to use your columns to discuss the subject of Colonization, I assure you was fully appreciated. But as the elevation of the colored race in this country and throughout the world must mainly depend on *their own efforts*, I could not feel that this offer (liberal as it undoubtedly was) relieved you from your *duty* in this respect; and I have been not a little *surprised* that you should not feel a lively interest in this Republic of colored men who are making such rapid advances to social and political prosperity,—who settled on the coast of Africa, and, after encountering all the difficulties and hardships incident to a new country, and without the previous education that the first colonists of America possessed, have yet attained an honorable position among the independent nations of the civilized world.

I have made my letter much longer than I had intended when I commenced it. If I can find leisure soon, and you should have room for it, I intend writing to you on the subject of Colonization for your paper; for I want to see such men as yourself *thorough abolitionists*, and I do not think any one can be a complete one, slavery man, without being willing to make use of *all* proper means to break down slavery and elevate the free colored man in every part of the world—and Liberia is, in my opinion, likely to be a great instrumentality to accomplish both objects. I, however, wish much success to every other effort, and as the *Impartial Citizen*, together with your personal exertions, are calculated to accomplish a great good for your people, I sincerely hope both you and the paper may be liberally sustained by all who feel an interest in the great work in which you are engaged. If to contribute my mite towards so good a cause in only an earnest of my good wishes, I enclose $5, which I will thank you to appropriate as follows—to subscribe for one copy of the *Citizen* for His Excellency, Joseph J. Roberts, President of Liberia, and one copy for H. Teague, Esq., Monrovia, and one copy for Hon. Stephen A. Benton, Bassa Cove, Liberia—to be forwarded by any vessel from Boston or Salem, Mass., or to be left at the Colonization office, Boston, care of Rev. Joseph Tracy. Please appropriate one dollar for a second years' subscription to the *Citizen* for myself, and for the balance you may occasionally send a copy of the *Citizen* to some *Southern member of Congress*, who need information as to the rights and feelings of the colored population.

Yours, very truly,

BENJAMIN COATES.

JOURNAL SKETCHES.

DEATH OF A BELOVED DAUGHTER.

SYRACUSE, Dec. 30th, 1850.

BROTHER WARD:

My Sketches have recorded the afflictions of others; their bereavements have often deeply affected my heart. Now, as a mourning family, we need the sympathies and prayers of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. As weeping parents, we record the death of our eldest daughter—our first-born child—SOPHIA. We know you weep with those who weep. You know that she suffered much for several years. We always felt grateful that you manifested so much interest in her case. She ever hailed your visits with joy. But she has gone; her spirit peacefully left the body Saturday morning, 10 o'clock, Dec. 21st, 1850. That irritation of the spinal nerves, which caused so much suffering, increased for some months past. Her system became more and more feverish. Some five weeks since, she had an attack of intermittent fever; and the scene was closed by the typhus fever. I cannot allow myself to dwell on the bodily pains which she endured, as the effects of her complicated and chronic maladies; but I must turn my attention to the manifestations of her mind and of her heart. You and your readers well make due allowance, should you discover evident tokens of the partiality of a heart-stricken father.

SOPHIA loved home most ardently. Being so much detained at home, she cherished the domestic affections in a unusual degree. She could not study in accordance with fixed rules; yet such was the activity of her mind, that she could not be content without study. Her desire for knowledge, as expressed by one of her hasty notes to her father, may be seen, in connection with other traits of her character, in the following extracts:—

'I wish you might remain at home,
And never again be called to roam;
But when Earth's pilgrimage is o'er,
And thou to that bright Heaven shall soar,
Then will thy wearied spirit rest;
For, le those mansions of the blest,
No tollsome *exercises* are known,
But all may rest around God's throne.
And in that fair and holy sphere
Thou will not find a bitter tear,
For *thy fellow-men will not be sold*,
(Though dark they are) *for glittering gold*:
In Heaven no bondage there can be,
But all, in that pure land, *are free!*

Dear Father! so gentle, so patient, so mild,
I wish you were here to learn your poor child,
For few other teachers ever could find
The burning for *knowledge* that dwells in my mind.
LEARNT! learnt! is my thought at dawn of light,
It haunts my pillow in dreams of night;
For, 'long long ago,' I fixed my aim,
To be a writer of learning and fame;
But should Ha who 'doeth all things well,'
See fit my bright visions of joy to dispel,
Then, through the grace of his dear Son,
Meekly I'll say—'THY WILL AS DONE.'

Two weeks previous to her decease, she asked me—'Father, when you lecture against slavery, what argument do you make most prominent?' After a reply, she said—'Do you insist upon this sufficiently—*that Jesus Christ hates slavery?*' She continued in substance thus—'Real Christians must acknowledge the force of *that* argument; and sinners need it. Do exhort them to repent, and to serve a Savior who hates slavery with all his heart.' When assured that her exhortation should be duly regarded, she smiled as if her soul was satisfied that a desired object had been accomplished. Her birth was at Newfield, Tompkins county, N. Y., Nov. 24, 1833. She died at the early of 17 years, one month, and 19 days. Fondly will affection cherish the memory of that affectionate daughter and tender sister—SOPHIA PENNIMAN JOHNSON.

Yours—'Rejoicing in tribulation'— J. R. J.

TYRANNY OVER A SICK BED.

Sacred Liberty, with her great variety of 'inalienable rights,' no long fettered and so tightly bound by the thousand minute ramifications of custom and usage, as well as by the direct attacks of legal oppression, seems about to arise, Samson like, and, renewing her vows of *separation* to God, 'calling no man and no body of men master,' to burst her fetters, great and small, and once more stand erect, to the glory of God and the well-being of mankind.

Sir, I wish to know *by what authority* the dying man or woman, while in the use of their faculties, and considered capable of making their wills, are deprived often of their right of conversing with whom they please, and then on the most tender and sacred points, relating even the to rights of conscience; an that the earnest, reiterated wish, repeated for days together, to speak to a ministerial friend, is effectually baffled. I wish to know *by what authority* either *family* or *physician* assume to themselves the power of thus trampling under foot the most cherished rights of man. Are they aware of the responsibility they are taking upon themselves when they thus say, and act it out—*We think it better* for them that we shall thus deprive them of the right of priests judgment respecting themselves? This is the very arrogance of tyranny. The slaveholder says an of his slave; the despot says an of the people—we think it better for them

But surely, the plea made use of shows much ignorance of the mental and physical constitution of man; at least, of that part of mankind in whom the mighty sense of justice and of 'inalienable rights' has not been paralyzed and stultified by the constant preaching of that base counterfeit, 'passive obedience'—as different from the healthful, buoyant, elastic, delightsome obedience which God required, as the obedience of the slave is from that of the loving, intelligent child.

The physician says, 'We cannot consent to the minister's coming, so we wish to avoid excitement, and keep the mind quiet and composed.' Examine this plea in the light of *religion*. What mere soothing, mere composing, mere tranquillizing to the mind, than the ministrations of the Gospel! Is it not one of the most responsible *duties* of the minister of religion to visit the sick? For *this* the 'great Physician' of body and soul has given him his diploma; and shall all the diplomas of man's medical colleges venture to stand between him and the dying soul? It is his *duty* to go, whether invited or not; but O! how fearful the vocation, when the dying one is yearning after his 'spiritual father in the Gospel,' and he who 'has begotten him' to a saving hope through grace is yearning to administer one word more of spiritual comfort to his 'own son in the faith;' and yet MAN will dare to step in between! I would not stand in that man's position for all the skill and science of all the colleges in Christendom.

But let us examine it in the light of *nature* and *common sense*. What more likely to irritate, to excite—and to excite, not pleasantly, but to excite most painfully, most acutely, say, in some instances, even to desperation,—than to have the constant earnest desire of the heart and mind crossed and baffled? Surely, the excitement is likely to be higher, and of a *worse character*, which would arise from being prevented from seeing a friend, known to be at hand, than from a short, quiet interview; and should it cross the mind of the sufferer,—they have *no right* thus to prevent me from doing as I wish in this matter, they are taking advantage of my circumstances to trample upon my rights,—these feelings may in some minds excite even phrensy.

L. P. C.

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ How like a man Mr. Coates speaks out on the Fugitive Slave Law! The proceedings in the case of Adam Gibson might well draw out and excite the indignation of our friend, and any other lover of freedom. It gives us great pleasure to be permitted to lay before our readers such stirring words from a Colonizationist. It shows that other men than abolitionists abominate the new Kidnapping Law. That *that* law is, as Wendell Phillips says, 'a law for the more easy kidnapping of freemen,' is perfectly clear, from the actions—the abominable actions—of Mr. Commissioner Ingraham, of Philadelphia.

☞ Miss Mary Ann Garrison has removed from Cambridgeport to No. 8, Southac street, in this city, where she would be glad to receive all orders, in her profession of dress and shirt making, cloak making, or any kind of sewing.

☞ Mr. Dedge, 63 Hanover street, takes as good Daguerreo pictures as any artist in Boston. If you doubt, call, see and sit, and Mr. Dodge will conquer all your doubts.

☞ Mr. Lunsford Lane is hereby appointed agent for the *Citizen*. Mr. L. is to travel through New Hampshire and Vermont, next month.

☞ Subscribers in Cortland county can pay Mrs. S. R. Ward, our Agent, in Cortland Village, north end.

☞ We want twenty Travelling Agents for the *Citizen*, to whom we will give twenty per cent.

☞ We are very anxious to commence the third volume of the *Citizen* with an increased list of subscribers. Will not our friends bestir themselves in this behalf? Send us five names and four dollars, just as often as you please. If our paper is of any value, it might as well have its list doubled as not.

Death of Ex-Governors Plumer and Bell.—We learn that Hon. William Plumer died at his residence in Epping, on Monday last, the 23d inst., and that Hon. Samuel Bell, of Chester, deceased on the following Wednesday morning.

Mr. Plumer was chosen Governor of the State in 1812, '16, '17, and '18. He was elected Clerk of the House in 1790; Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1797; President of the Senate in 1810 and '11; and held the office of Senator in Congress from 1802 to 1807. He was 92 years old, having attained a greater age than any other chief magistrate of the State.

Mr. Bell was Speaker of the House in 1805 and '6; President of the Senate in 1807 and '8; chosen Governor for four years in succession, commencing in 1819; and as 1823 he was elected Senator to Congress, which office he held six years. He was aged 81.

The 'Rochester Knockings.'—We learn by the Jonesville (Mich.) Telegraph, that the 'rapping spirits' have made their appearance at Litchfield, in Hillsdale county, and are creating quite a disturbance among the usually peaceable inhabitants of that town. The scene of operations is the residence of Deacon Stevens, and the Deacon and family have left the Congregational Church because the spirits have declared it not Orthodox.

☞ Dr. Dewey is delivering Lyceum Lectures in New England, in which he takes occasion to say, that he would send his mother back into slavery, if obedience to law required it. The slave-hunters had better engage the hound at once.—*Lowell American.*

☞ The Boston Traveller, in its eagerness to applaud obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, speaks in praise of the return of a fugitive from Springfield, and his subsequent purchase, *forty years ago*. The Traveller had overlooked the date.

☞ Miss Lehman, the accomplished and graceful actress, who was wounded the other evening at Nibblo's Tivoli, New York, has since died of the injuries she received. Mr. Nibblo, in respect to her memory, closed his place of amusement on Tuesday evening.

Unprecedented.—The official returns from the 1st district of Illinois state that Col. Bissell, Democrat, has been elected to Congress, having received every vote, 12,941.

Visitors to the Cupola of the State House.—Over 85,820 persons have visited the cupola of the State House during the past year.

☞ President Fillmore has issued a proclamation, declaring the Texas Boundary Bill of the last session to be in full force and operation, having been assented to by the State of Texas.

☞ Orders have been received at the Charlestown Navy Yard to fit out the U. S. ship Ontario, probably to carry out American articles to the World's Fair, London.

☞ A distressing accident occurred at Reynoldsville, Jefferson Co., the other day, during Quarterly Meeting. An invitation was given for persons to come forward for prayer, a large number presented themselves, and the congregation pressed forward to see the proceedings, when the joists under the floor gave way, and about 150 persons, men, women and children were precipitated into the cellar, to a heap, with a blazing stove in the centre. Several were infused more or less—four being badly burned. One has since died.

Attempt to Kidnap in Ohio—Failure.—The Ripley (O.,) Bee publishes the following:

'Bishop, a colored man, who has been in this State some time over three years, perhaps longer, was at work in his blacksmith shop, near the Beech Woods Factory, on Friday of last week. A horseman rode up, and asked him to examine his horse's foot and see what ailed it. He looked at one foot, and could find nothing the matter, and was requested to examine another. By this time four or five strangers had come up, and Bishop not liking the appearance of things, stepped back into the shop, as if to get some tool, and instead of returning, went through the back door into the adjoining field, and started across the field.

He was pursued by some on foot, and some on horseback, across the fields and over fences, and through corn-stalks, weeds and brush. Bishop ran to where a farmer, who was hauling a load of corn, had loosed his horses. By the time he arrived, one of the pursuers was close on him. Bishop mounted one of the horses belonging to the team, and as he mounted he was shot at some three or four times by the man, who, by this time, was within four feet of him. He returned the fire, and lodged a ball against a pistol in the breeches pocket of the enemy.

But, to cut the story short, Bishop escaped. The Fugitive Slave Law and its myrmidons were not sufficient for his capture.

It is said that Bishop is a slave of a Mr. Campbell of Nicholas Co., Ky., who was one of the number in pursuit. But the fact that one of them falsely represented himself to be a United States Marshal, and under pretence that he had a warrant for the arrest of Bishop, induced the citizens of Ohio to aid in his arrest, and even presented a pistol to the breast of one of them who refused to obey him, causes the whole affair to be looked upon with suspicion.

Shooting with intent to kill, even at a fugitive, we suppose is, under the laws Ohio, a penitentiary offence.

Conflict with Fugitive Slaves.—On Friday last, a gentleman from Maryland, in search of a fugitive slave, accompanied by a Deputy United States Marshal, and constable John Agen, proceeded in a vehicle to the vicinity of Coatsville, on the Columbia Railroad, where it was understood the fugitive was secreted. They arrived in the neighborhood of the house in question about two o'clock to the morning, and aroused the inmates by asking for a light to mend the traces of their vehicles, which they pretended to have broken. A colored woman came to the door, when the officers rushed into the house and commenced a search. The owner recognized his slave, but the other colored persons in the house interfered, and, armed with axes and fire arms, succeeded in enabling the fugitive to escape. They also assaulted the officers, who were, in self-defence, forced to use their pistols, and it is believed several of the colored persons were wounded. The slave-owner recognized among the man in the house several that he knew to be slaves who have recently escaped from plantations in the neighborhood of his own.—*Phil. Ledger.*

Robbery and Murder.—On Friday, the 27th ult., Mr. Geo. Haywood, depot master at Lincoln, was mortally wounded under the following circumstances:—A suspicious looking stranger arrived in Lincoln in the 11 o'clock train from Boston, and Mr. H. had his attention called to the man. At noon, Mr. H. locked up the ticket office, and went off as if going to dinner as usual; but in about ten minutes he returned to the depot, found the door of the office broken open, and the stranger inside overhauling the things in the desk. The man escaped from the building by jumping through a window, and was followed in close pursuit. When the robber perceived that Mr. H. was gaining on him, he turned, and threatened to kill him if he advanced another step. Mr. H. disregarded the menace, and was fired at with a pistol, the ball taking effect in his groin, causing death the next morning.

The abscondered was arrested, and full 400 men were scouring the country. The ruffian got off, however, the Monday morning, when he was traced by the dickerings from relatives in Waltham, and there arrested at his boarding-house. He is Stephen D. Carey, a notorious rogue, though young. He was committed, after examination on Tuesday, to Cambridge jail, there to await the action of the Grand Jury in February next.

An Abortive Attempt at Abduction.—We saw, yesterday, a rather queer sight at the jail in this city. It was a strapping negro man, whose complexion is a daguerreotype of night itself, dressed up in woman's clothes. He was in one apartment, while, in another, we saw his travelling companion, not very pretty, but decent enough looking white woman. The account which the negro man gives of himself is, that he belongs to a McCulley, in Orange county, North Carolina—that he was induced by the white woman to leave his master, and accompany her as far as Washington in the dress of a woman; that they had succeeded in getting as far as the junction of the Baltimore and Frederickburg and Louisa roads, when they were informed that the negro could go no further without a pass. As the negro had no pass, the couple had to retrace their steps in the return train to Richmond, and thence travelled on through this place to Gaston, where the conducter, suspecting something wrong, brought them going further, and brought them to this place and lodged them in jail. The negro, who says his name is Abraham, seems to be quite intelligent, and by no means dejected at the failure of his stratagem to elope.—*Petersburg, (Va.) Intelligencer.*

☞ John P. Hale's address to Cincinnati, on Forefathers' Day, was upon the history of religious liberty, from the time of Wickliffe to the landing of the Pilgrims. On a succeeding evening, he lectured before the Mechanic's Institute. He also, says a correspondent of the 'Traveller, attended a dinner to Amin Bey, and in the course of his remarks, made the following capitol hit at the Fugitive Slave Law:—'I thank the Sultan,' said he, 'that he has given protection to the Hungarian patriot and refugee, Kossuth, (tremendous cheering,) and I thank God that there is no *fugitive slave law for nations*.' (Cheering repeated.)

Singular Circumstance.—On Monday evening last, a widow lady named Smith, residing at the South End, who has been sick a short time with phrenitis, recently died, and preparatives were begun to fit the body for burial. During the night, however, signs of life were discerned, and she ultimately came to, and lived until Tuesday night, when she really died, and is to be buried to-day. After her revival, she discoursed with her daughters, telling them that she should die, and giving them directions about the arrangements. Dr. Ferry, hearing of the circumstances, called upon her, and upon leaving, said that he would call again the next morning. She replied, however, that she should not then be alive, and she did die during the night.—*Traveller.*

☞ The correspondence between Secretary Webster and the Austrian Charge to Hungary, has been communicated to Congress. The Austrian took umbrage because of the sympathy manifested for the Hungarians during their unfortunate struggle, and threatened to imposing incoveniences upon our commerce. Mr. W. replies that our Government has maintained a strict neutrality as usual, that it was all proper to make arrangements to welcome Hungary into the family of nations, in case she maintained her independence, and that as to any hypothetical retaliation, the United States are willing to take their chances.

☞ Wm. Curtis, plasterer, at Cincinnati, has fallen heir to $7,000,000 in England.

Fatal Accident.—We are informed that a woman was killed on the Pawtucket Turnpike on Thursday evening. She was riding in a sleigh, when a runaway horse came from the opposite direction, and run the end of the shaft through her neck, killing her instantly.

☞ A vessel from London to Cadiz picked up a Prussian captain, who, for three days and nights, had floated on a spar, twenty miles from land, without tasting food or water.

☞ At the great Richmond (Va.) meeting, somebody moved non-intercourse with Great Britain, (as well as with the North,) the being aggressive against slavery. Cotton said Na! Tobacco said No! It was rejected.

Fatal Accident in Bridgewater.—James Sullivan, for many years in the employ of Lazell, Perkins & Co., was on Saturday morning, about 10 o'clock, instantly killed at the large shears in their Steam Rolling Mill. He stepped on the lower lever as it was rising up, lost his balance, and fell amongst the gear wheels, which crushed his head and body in a horrid manner. His brains were scattered in many places, and his heart literally torn from his body. Mr. S. was about 30 years of age, and leaves a wife and child to mourn his sudden death. This is the first fatal or serious accident that ever occurred in this establishment, which has been in operation about forty years.—*Merc. Jour.*

DIED—In Syracuse, N. Y., Dec. 21st, of typhus fever, Miss Sophia P. Johnson, eldest daughter of Rev. J. R. Johnson, aged 17. [For particulars, see 'Journal Sketches.']

Notices of Meetings, &c.

APPEAL

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The undersigned Committee being fully aware that, among the moral means to be brought in requisition in order to ameliorate the condition of an oppressed people, and to correct the false sentiments and impressions of a prejudiced community arrayed against them, a periodical, based on just principles, and properly and ably conducted, stands pre-eminent; and having the pleasing satisfaction of regarding, without invidiousness, THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN, edited by Rev. S. R. WARD, of Boston, Massachusetts, as possessing the above characteristics, have associated themselves together for the purpose of contributing their mites towards its support. Being very limited, however, in pecuniary means, they are under the necessity of appealing for aid, as they do now, most respectfully, to the liberality of the friends of human rights in both hemispheres. While the main object to be had in view is the sustaining of the aforesaid paper, yet some portion of the funds arising from their combined efforts is to be applied towards helping the flying fugitives, and to encourage the lecturer who devotes himself to the advocacy of the rights of humanity. They design holding a FAIR during Easter week. The smallest donation in money, or any saleable article will be gratefully received and faithfully applied. The Rev. H. H. GARNET, while on his tour in Europe, is duly authorized to receive donations for the aforesaid purpose.

N. B. In all communications, please direct to CATHARINE S. EVANS, care of S. VAN BRAKLE, No. 138 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ADELIA VAN BRAKLE, ELIZABETH BOLIVAR, JANE LACOUNT, SOPHIA C. WHITE, MILCHI NICAGE, MATILDA JOHNSON, JULIA MORGAN, ELIZA TURNER, JANE HARRISON, MARY GORDON, HANNAH MARIA BUNDY, HANNAH ALEXANDER, *Committee.*

ELIZA ANN BIAS, *President.*

CATHARINE S. EVANS, *Cor. Secretary.*

HANAH NEWMAN, *Treasurer.*

SELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

HAYTI.

Some sixteen hundred miles due south from this city, nearly the same distance eastward from Vera Cruz, and a little south of east of Cuba, stretches the island of Hayti, the second in size and importance of the West Indies, the first of any consequence discovered and colonized by Columbus, and in climate and natural resources one of the most delightful and alluring portions of the earth. Its surface is mainly rugged, rising often into lofty mountains, though several spacious plains diversify it; but its hills are of exuberant fertility, even to their tops. Its soil is a deep, vegetable mold, resting on a shelly limestone. It is profusely watered by lakes, streams and rivers, four of the rivers being large and navigable, while its harbors are numerous and rarely surpassed. Its few lands are deadly to European constitutions, but not to African, while its hills are unsurpassed in salubrity. It embosoms mines of gold, silver, copper, salt and iron, none of which have been worked for many years. The gold had become unproductive before its working was abandoned, but may not be confined to the localities explored, while the other minerals named yet exist in profusion. A great part of the island is still covered with dense primitive forests of mahogany, logwood, ironwood, cedars, &c. Its rivers and bays yield an abundant supply of turtle, shell-fish, &c. The island is 400 miles long, but will hardly average 100 wide, containing 29,500 square miles, or about the size of the five New England States, excluding Maine. It would abundantly subsist a population of five millions, and was estimated to contain one million, ignorant, simple, easy-living, happy people, when Columbus discovered it, whom civilized rapacity and tyranny exterminated in the course of a very few years. As the colonists were now reduced to the desperate extremity of working for themselves or stealing new laborers, they commenced the importation of slaves from Africa, and gradually increased the number to more than half a million. Meanwhile, the French had settled on one side of the island not possessed by the Spaniards, and each vied with the other in extorting the largest aggregate of products and wealth from the lash-extorted labor of their slaves. The result was, of course, a marvellous state of commercial prosperity—that is, the producers, having no pay preceding scarcely any fuel nor clothing, and getting very little food, were enabled to turn off very large hayrests of sugar, coffee, cotton and indigo per annum.

The great French Revolution wrought a signal change in French Hayti, and soon after, by sympathy, in Spanish also. The French Convention decreed the emancipation of the slaves; the planters hesitated to comply; and even after the negroes had been admitted to the freedom guaranteed them by law, attempted to reduce them again into slavery! The consequence was a bloody and desolating civil war, in which the whites were exterminated or driven from the island. Bonaparte made a final effort to subjugate the blacks, but the fine army he sent to Hayti under Leclerc was destroyed by the blacks and the climate, and Hayti has ever since been practically independent, though her independence was not acquiesced by France till 1826, and then on exhibition of the payment by the island to the (step) mother country of a sum ($30,000,000) which is utterly beyond the means of the former. Some part of it has been paid; the residue probably never will be.

The Haytians are an indolent people. Their soil yields in abundance and with very little labor the absolute necessaries of life, and their long apprenticeship to labor under the discipline of the slave-driver's lash has not imbued them with any very vivid ideas of either the dignity or the attractiveness of hard, steady work. Their fathers made a vast quantity of sugar for the benefit of their owners; the present generation choose to make but little, and pervert a good share of that little into a very bad rum, which they are fools enough to like as well as white folks. We trust they will not always be so benighted.

Yet Hayti is by no means so wretched and unimportant as her studied depreciation by the oppressors and defamers of the African race would represent her. That her people too generally love idleness and low sensual gratification, is too true; what else did their white masters examine ever teach them? Then they have adopted without thought, from their European models, the vicious system of land monopoly, when the very first fruit of their emancipation should have been the securing to every citizen, present and future, a patch of ground whereon to live. The sum of the clamor against the Haytians is that they have got, in half a century, unlearned the lessons of perversity and debasement instamped upon them during generations of servitude and degradation. We trust even this reproach will not always be merited.

Ignorant, yet feeble and devoid of history as they are, it is unfortunate, but scarcely surprising, that they have not been able to maintain domestic union nor republican liberty. Their form of government has oscillated from a republic to a monarchy, and is at present (that of the French part of the island) turned to Empire. The people of the part of the island anciently Spanish call themselves Dominicans (from St. Domingo, the first settlement and capital), and are now independent of the French part, though they have been united in one republic. We trust they will be again. Division in an island of such moderate size is an inevitable source of weakness, expense, dissension and misery. We do not blame the Dominicans, for we do not clearly understand the grounds of their secession; but we know that Hayti is not large enough to contain two nations, and that internal union is essential to its respectability, tranquility and strength. We trust a few years will witness their re-union.

But the champions of slavery are hard at work, and have been for years, to perpetuate the discord in Hayti, and with it the weakness of her people. Secret emissaries from our own Government (not even by the present nor by the late Cabinet) have been busy in Dominica fomenting strife and defeating reconciliation with Hayti. Schemes for the conquest and subjugation of Hayti by gangs of Southwestern crusaders, eager to spread on her soil the black banner of oppression and slavery, have been openly displayed in our Satanic journals. Even the notice taken of Haytian affairs in the late Presidential Message was (unconsciously) dictated by a spirit unfriendly to Hayti. Even when she was a Republic, and in danger of resubjugation by a European power, no word of cheer was addressed her by our Government. Even her independence has never been formally acknowledged by the United States, though a fact as undoubted as sunshine. All this is in direct, persistent, contumacious defiance of the vaunted first principle of our Government, that a government in fact is a government of right, and that we are precluded from inquiring into its legitimacy. From the date of her independence to this day, we have treated Hayti unworthily, injuriously—why?

This time is at hand when this course of conduct will be seen to be as injurious as it is unworthy. The trade of this country with Hayti, though far less than it has been and will be, is yet respectable and is now increasing. And it is all highly advantageous to us. We have the carrying both ways and most of the profits. She sends us coffee, mahogany, &c., which we do not produce, and takes from us almost everything we can best afford to send her. She has not been accustomed to consume our fabrics extensively, but they have been tried of late by her people, and are growing in favor, supplanting the more showy but less desirable products of French and English looms. We have now before us a mercantile letter from a leading house in Port-au-Prince to one in this city, from which we are permitted to make the following extract:

> We are much disappointed by the delay of the present coffee crop deliveries, which prevented us until now from getting a sufficient quantity to address you, the rather because we have found among the patterns you sent us lately several articles which will suit very well our market and find a quick sale. But, now that the weather begins to improve a little, we think that, on the first days of next December, we will be able to open our transactions with you, in sending you a parcel of coffee, accompanied by an order for American manufactured cotton goods.
>
> It is a fact that which surely you are well aware, that American dry goods are taking a great development in this country, and menace before long to conquer a complete supremacy over English manufactured cotton goods, by reason of the conditions of durability and perfection the former offer.
>
> We import large quantities of American dry goods, from Boston, but your patterns offer some articles which not only cost higher at Boston, but are of superior quality with you. Therefore, we will receive with much pleasure and interest any patterns of new styles of goods, any information concerning that important branch of business that you shall be able to favor us with.

From the Liberator.

POCKET LINED WITH BRITISH GOLD—THE PLOT REVEALED!!

It will be seen that the 'Refuge of Oppression,' in this week's Liberator, is chiefly occupied with articles culled from Southern journals, full of venom and fury against George Thompson, M. P., on account of his present transient visit to this country. To expose and refute—once for all—the absurd, false and malicious accusations brought against that distinguished friend of freedom, touching the object of his visit and the auspices under which he came, we feel justified in breaking the seal of private and confidential correspondence, and therefore publish the following letter, received by us from Mr. Thompson in October last, which letter contained the first and only intelligence we received of his intention to visit the United States. How heavily his pockets are lined with British gold, and what designs he has upon our glorious Union, let this letter testify! We call upon those editors who desire to see justice done, to give this article an insertion in their columns.

Matlock, Derbyshire, Eng., Oct. 3, 1850.

My Dear Garrison:

Start not when I announce to you that I have engaged a passage in Boston in the 'Canada' Mail Steamer, which sails from Liverpool on the 19th inst., and that, should no accident happen to me or the vessel, I hope to take you by the hand on or before the 1st of November.

Now, for the objects I seek by this trip for the second time to the shores of the United States.

1. I have an ardent desire to revisit your country, and to renew my acquaintance with those who were my friends in 1836, and to become acquainted, also, with those who, since that eventful period, have become the friends and champions of the cause I advocate; and may therefore be disposed to give a not unfriendly reception to one, who, like yourself, was early in the field, and did not shun either the reproach or the danger to which abolitionists were exposed during the reign of mob-supremacy. Believe me, it will be most refreshing to me to mingle with the whole-hearted reformers of your city, and of the old Bay State. I gave you some reason to expect me more than two months ago. My visit at that time, however, was impracticable. Parliament was not up, and when it did rise, some other engagements, as well as the state of my domestic affairs, prevented me from carrying my wish into fulfilment. I now think I see the possibility of my being absent for four months, without the disregard of any claims upon my time or labors in this country.

2. In addition to my desire to see you and the friends of our common cause, I have a project to carry out, of which America is the field. For some years before I entered Parliament, and at the time I entered, it, I had been, and was, in the receipt of an income sufficient to meet all my wants, and to support the position to which I aspired. In less than three months after I became a legislator, that income wholly failed me, and for three years I have been supporting myself and my family upon that which I had hoped I should be able to leave behind me. I am now poor; but hopeful, with unimpaired mental energy, with a constitution yet sound and strong, and a character unassailable by any imputation of selfishness or corruption.

In these circumstances, my thoughts have been turned to the way in which I might, by honorable, independent and useful exertion, repair, in some degree, my shattered fortunes, and provide things honest in the sight of all men. It has occurred to me that, by a visit to the United States of America, at the season of the year when lectures are most in request, I might realise not only enough to pay my expenses, but something also to sustain me for a time after my return. I have, therefore, so far resolved to act upon this idea, as to engage a berth in the Canada, and shall try the experiment, if encouraged and aided by my personal friends in Boston. My visit, then, will be of a business character.

When I alone in the world, I need not visit America to find the means to live. Could I bring myself to prostitute my talents to party purposes or base objects, I might live here and sustain those I love. Could I condescend to ask favors, I might, perhaps, find employment, and masters and dictators, as well as labor and its emoluments. I am not alone in the world—I cannot misuse my powers—I will not ask favors of those above me—and I am determined to preserve my independence and my freedom of action as long as I can. These circumstances have appeared to me sufficient to decide me on exporting myself, my lectures, and my self-supporting project, to the shores of New England. I should be truly glad if I could land in Liverpool next spring with the reflection that I was master of enough to carry me over the session of Parliament, and keep the pot boiling at home, while I rebuked the ministry from my seat, as the unpaid representative of the people.

Well, in the prospect of my being speedily with you, what do I ask of you, as an old friend? First, that you will receive me as the friend who, when the road to fame and fortune was open to him at the bar of England, cast in his lot with you, and took joyfully his share with you in the perils of the old campaign. That you will believe me as warmly as ever the advocate of the cause of the slave. This, let the last refugee that has come to ourshores testify. That you will not believe me mercenary. I could sing in a garret, with a crust before me, if I had but myself to care for. That you will believe it is only the love of independence and of my family, and my desire to be, here, the incorruptible and unpaid advocate of the people, that makes me devise this scheme for putting money in my pocket. That you will not think the worse of me, because I do not come to throw myself, as I did before, into the anti-slavery cause, *exclusively*; but to discourse on topics that will bring those to hear me who will not refuse to pay their 25 or 50 cents for the opportunity. Finally, that you will aid my plan, I authorise you to communicate the contents of this letter to Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, and Edmund Quincy, and such others as you or they may see fit to take into your counsels. I authorize you to make it known, through the most convenient channels, that I shall be willing to give lectures, limited to one, on the terms of other foreign lecturers. I authorize you to arrange for my beginning to lecture within one week of my landing. I can remain with you till the last day of February. Be careful, I shall be equal to three lectures a week, in or out of Boston. These I should like to be able to give and not more; to be delivered in such places, and under such circumstances, as promise the best results.

Until I am with you, I cannot decide the topics of my lectures. All branches of Indian History—the rise and progress of the British power—the resources, condition and prospects of the country, &c. &c., I am familiar with. *Lectures* on the state of parties in England, the representative system, &c. &c., you may have for the asking. But of this, when I am on the spot.

While thus pursuing with ardor my own personal ends, think not I shall play the part of a *Reed*, a *Cox*, or a *Mathew*. If not committed already, *enough*, commit me again, until I shall not even in the last, be free from the baptism of ultra abolitionism; but at the same time, enter as a brother, a father, and a friend, into my object, and suffer me to accomplish the purpose upon which I have set my heart. If the first trip answers, you may see me annually; and I know not but I may lay my bones in the soil sanctified by the footprints of the Pilgrim Fathers.

I have been working very hard lately for the reform movement. The voyage will recruit me. Farewell till we meet.

My affectionate remembrances to all around you.

Yours, dear Garrison, ever most truly,

GEO. THOMPSON.

NEW YORK CENTRAL COLLEGE.

To the friends of Education, Industry and Virtue:

The present Circular is published to make known briefly such provisions and characteristics of this institution as by numerous letters are requested to be described by us. The College was incorporated in December, 1845, was open for the reception of students in September, 1849, and completed its second term on the 28th of March. The Academic and Collegiate year consists of forty weeks. The third term commenced on Thursday morning, April 4th, and closed on the 4th of July. The institution, impartial in its privileges, is open to all persons, of both sexes, who bear credentials of good moral character, and subscribe to the rules* for its internal regulation.

The principles at the basis of the institution are such as practical religion and Christian civilization demand.

1. It is unchangeably pledged to the morality of anti-slavery, and it will ever strive to sustain the unity, equality and brotherhood of the human race.

2. It advocates and secures for woman equal advantages in literary, scientific, moral and physical education, that she may occupy her true position, and be enabled to co-operate fully in moulding the public sentiment and actions of the world.

3. In providing as early as practicable the means of labor shall be as universal, proportionately, as the school privileges, it encourages and ennobles honest toil, hoping thus to form in the rising generation habits of industry, to render all useful employment respectable, and indeed to give honorable character to physical as well as mental labor, health to the body, as well as vigor to the mind.

The Bible is regarded as both the text and text book in morals, and is placed among the classics, to be studied in our own and in the original languages, without partiality for denominational preferences.

MANUAL LABOR.

This essential feature of the institution, essential to the health, best progress and habits of the students, will receive due attention, and the best facilities possible will be afforded for the profitable disposition and application of the students' industry. In proximity with the building is a suitable plot for a culinary and fruit garden, containing ten acres of land. Ground to be appropriated to the growth of field grains, and other products, will be cultivated by the students, who may labor either on pay by the hour, under the immediate direction of a sensible agent, or, if they prefer it, by themselves, on chosen sections of the garden or other land, if their skill shall warrant it. The chopping and splitting of wood for fuel—a fine grove being on the farm at a convenient distance—will furnish healthful and profitable employment for many hands immediately, as fuel will be required in the spring term to some extent, and to the amount of at least two hundred cords *in preparation*, for the next cold season, dry wood being more suitable for furnaces.

Prices for labor will be regulated by the rates in this vicinity.

WORK OF FEMALES.

The Female students residing at the boarding hall, will, in classes, be expected to do all the labor connected with that building; and although this may not be lucrative, it will be carrying out an important feature of the institution, and will furnish considerable towards paying the tuition or board.

The female Professors also reside at the boarding hall, and, in connection with the Stewardess, will direct in all matters that more nearly relate to the interests, industry, and government of the young ladies.

It will be the undeviating purpose of the Faculty to act the part of kind and faithful advisers as well as instructors towards all who may come under their care, and with particular solicitude to guard both their physical health and moral improvement.

The Institutio comprises an Academic and Collegiate Department.

ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT.

No pupil will be admitted under twelve years of age, unless from peculiar circumstances the Faculty shall deem it expedient. Instruction will be given in any of the branches enumerated below, in such degrees as properly belong to a good preparation for admission into the Freshman class.

COURSE OF STUDY.

Brown's English Grammar; Morse's Geography; Willard's History; Thomson's Arithmetic; Day's Algebra; Draper's Natural Philosophy; Draper's Chemistry; Agricultural Chemistry; Cutter's Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene; Preston's Book Keeping; Mattison's Elements of Astronomy; French; Pinney's Larger Grammar and Reader; McClintock's and Crook's First and Second Books in Latin; Andrew's and Stodderd's Latin Grammar; Cæsar's Commentaries; Virgil; Cicero's Select Orations; McClintock's and Crook's First and Second Collectanea Evangelica, (Brooks); Anonymous Greek and Roman Antiquities, (Arnold).

The following valuable reference books should be used through the Academic and Collegiate Departments.

Leverett's Latin Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek English Lexicon, (Drisler's); Anthon's Classical Dictionary; Fiske's Translation of Eschenburg's Manual of Classical Literature; Kuhner's Greek Grammar; Zumpt's Latin Grammar; Rapsaton's Latin Synonyms; Findley's or Butler's Atlas Classica; Webster's English Dictionary, and Mandeville's Elements of Reading and Oratory; Rush on the Voice.

Vocal and instrumental music will be duly cultivated, and the instruction generally varied, according as the Faculty shall think the peculiar and best interests of the students of both sexes require.

COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT.

TERMS OF ADMISSION.

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class are examined in the Latin and Greek Grammars, in the writing or translation of Greek and Latin into English, Sallust or Cæsar's Commentaries, Virgil, Cicero's Select Orations, the Greek Reader or an equivalent, the Greek of the four Gospels, English Grammar and Arithmetic.

Every student admitted to a class higher than the Freshmen, is examined on all the previous studies of the class which he wishes to enter.

No one can be admitted to the Freshman Class until he has completed his fourteenth year; and no one to an advanced standing without a corresponding increase of age.

An accurate and thorough acquaintance with the studies required for admission, is indispensably necessary in order to receive the full advantage of the College course.

COURSE OF STUDY AND INSTRUCTION.

Freshman Year.—Lincoln's Livy; Cicero de Senectute et de Amicitia; Xenophon's Cyropædia, (Owen); Homer's Odyssey, (Owen); Classical Mythology and Geography, and Grecian and Roman Antiquities, in Fiske's Translation of Eschenburg's Manual of Classical Literature; Algebra and Geometry; Orthonpy and Elocution; Weekly Declamation and Composition; French, Pinney's Larger Grammar; Histories de Lame Fleury.

Sophomore Year.—Horace's Odes, Satires, Epistles and the art of Poetry; Cicero de Officiis; Demosthenes' Oration on the Crown, (Champlin); Sophocles, Œdipus Tyrannus; Arithmology of Literature and Art, in Eschenburg; Geometry Concluded; Day's Mathematics; Logarithms; Plane Trigonometry; Mensuration of Superfices and Solids; Isoperimetry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances; Navigation and Surveying; Coffin's Conic Sections; French, Grammatical Exercises continued; Lacoix et Modale de Litterature; Pracaise, (Chapsal); Weekly Translations and Dictates.

Junior Year.—Tacitus, History, de Mor Germ, and Vita Agricolæ, (Tyler); Xenophon's Memorabilia, (Packard); Homer's Iliad; Greenlief Hebrew Grammar, (Conant); Hebrew Scriptures; History of Classical Literature, Eschenburg; Spherical Trigonometry; Olmsted's Natural Philosophy, Mechanics; Hydrostatics; Pneumatics; Electricity; Magnetism and Optics; Chemistry; Natural Theology, embracing Anatomy and Physiology; Zoology; Rhetoric, (Whately); Astronomy, (Olmsted) Botany, (Wood); French, Grammaire et Exercices, (Noel et Chapsal); Histoire; French Poetry; Original Declamations. The following works may be referred to by the student: Bridgewater Treatises; Shepherd's and Dana's Mineralogy, Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History; Wilson's and Paxton's Anatomy.

Senior Year.—Intellectual Philosophy, (Brown and Stewart); Paley's Evidences of Christianity; Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric; Kame's Elements of Criticism; Moral Philosophy; Butler's Analogy; Political Economy; Cousin's Psychology; History of Philosophy, (Cousin); Hitchcock's Geology; Latin and Greek reviewed, and Hebrew continued. Original Declamations; French Lecons d'Analyse Grammaticale, (Chapsal); Compositions Francaises; French Classics. The following books may be used as references: Locke, Reid, Payne, Abercrombie, Upham, Edwards on the Will, and on the Nature of True Virtue, Wardlaw's Christian Ethics, and Whewell's Elements of Morality.

EXPENSES, ETC.

The tuition in the Academic Department (instrumental music and drawing excepted) is $3,00 per term, three terms in the year; in the Collegiate course, $30,00 per annum—in all cases to be paid in advance. Music, $8,00 per term; $24,00 for use of instrument. Drawing, $3,00 per term. If the student is obliged to leave by sickness, the tuition fee will be proportionately refunded. Board at the Boarding-Hall, $1,00 per week, to be paid in advance, or satisfactory security given to the Steward for its payment, by labor or otherwise.

If a student's earnings amount to more than enough to pay his bill of board, the surplus will serve to discharge other bills when they exist, or will be paid over to him at the close of the term.

Room-rent in the College edifice, $5,00, per annum, each student. The charge for heating rooms will be a fair proportion of the expense, the house being warmed by furnaces.

Room-rent for female students in the Boarding-Hall, $3,00 per annum, each student. A moderate charge will be made for heating rooms. The rooms appropriated to students in the Boarding-Hall are exclusively occupied by females; males being admitted only to the common Dining-Hall.

The students' rooms are furnished only with a table, bedstead and two chairs. The deficiency is supplied by the occupants.

EXAMINATIONS.

Public examinations of all the classes in each Department will be held at or near the close of the terms.

PUBLIC PERFORMANCES.

1. Exhibition, in the second and third terms.
2. Declamation, on Tuesday evening preceding Commencement.
3. Commencement, on the Fourth of July.

On the day preceding Commencement, several public Orations or Addresses may be expected from persons invited from abroad.

VACATIONS.

1. Eight weeks following Commencement.
2. Four weeks following the 3d December.
3. A short recess of one week will be given thirteen weeks prior to Commencement.

As the Institution is young and without wealth at its command, it looks to those who love its principles for encouragement and support. Any donations in Money, Books, Maps, Apparatus, &c., &c., will be thankfully received, in behalf of the College, by

Isaac Fisher, Treasurer,
McGrawville, Cortland County, New-York.

Donations will also be received and forwarded by James McCune Smith, 57 West Broadway, New York City.

By order of the Trustees,

A. H. BENEDICT, Corresponding Secretary.
McGrawville, Cortland Co., N. Y., May 15, 1850.

* It is required that the students abstain from all intoxicating drinks; and from smoking and the chewing use of tobacco in or about the College buildings, &c.

The Impartial Citizen.

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REMARKS OF THOMAS RUSSELL, ESQ.

of Boston, at the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Dec. 28th, 1850.

Mr Friends—I shall not apologize for venturing to accept the invitation to address you. Our eloquent friend, Mr Phillips, gave us, a few days since, a recipe for turning a Free Soiler into an Abolitionist. He says it only needs a proper amount of abuse.—Now, if abuse is to be secured by addressing the friends of Liberty, by whatever name they may be called, and wherever they may be assembled, I am quite ready to try the prescription. (Applause.)

There are two subjects, which just now interest every Northern freeman most deeply, and upon which all should be as one man,—the threatened enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the attempt to put down Free Discussion. We are forbidden to agitate the subject of Slavery, or to speak the praises of Freedom; and at the same time, we are commanded to return the trembling bondman who has fled Northward for shelter from his pursuers. Yes, we must even be willing to send our own mothers into slavery; for thus says the Grand Mufti of Unitarianism.

I cannot better express my feelings on these points, than by repeating an anecdote, which has, at least, the merit of antiquity. The story goes, that a Sabbath School teacher once read to a pupil the account of the forty children who were devoured by two she-bears, for mocking the old prophet. The hopeful youth looked up in his teacher's face, and called out, "Go up, thou bald-head! Now bring on your bears!" (Laughter.) Now, we are told that the escaping slave shall be returned to his master; that the Fugitive Bill shall be enforced by arms; that agitation shall be quieted, and free discussion shall be put down. And we answer, that the fugitive shall not be delivered up; free speech shall not be restrained; the slave shall dwell with us, "where it liketh him best;" and agitation shall not cease from the land.—And now, Mr. Fillmore and gentlemen, "bring on your bears!" (Applause.)

If you wish for a more classical answer to Southern demands, you may find it in that famous scene in Shakspeare's *Henry IV.* where Hotspur is speaking of the King's demand for his Scottish prisoners:—

"By Heaven! he shall not have a Scot of them;
No, if a Scot would save his soul, he shall not;
I'll keep them by this hand."

So do the freemen of Massachusetts reply to the haughty demands of the Southern slave-hunters.—They shall not have a slave of them!. No, if a slave would save that Union which some of them love better than their souls, they shall not! We'll keep them all! And some of you here ready to complete the quotation, and to say, "We'll keep them by *these hands!*" (Cheers.)

And Shakspeare teaches us a further lesson. The murdering king, feeling the claims of his cousin, Mortimer, had forbidden Hotspur ever to breathe his name. But hear the reply of the impetuous Englishman:—

"I'll catch him when he is asleep,
And in his ear I'll holloo, *Mortimer!*
Yea, I'll have a starling trained to speak
Nothing but *Mortimer*, and give it him
To keep his finger still in motion."

So do our statesmen forbid us to name the name of that liberty, which place in the people's heart they have endeavored to unarp. But we will shout *Liberty* in their slumbering ears; and from day to day, and from year to year, thousands of true-hearted men shall cry aloud and spare not, speaking everywhere and always nothing but *Liberty!* (Applause.)

I wonder that any man, however gigantic his intellect, however great his influence, should expect to reconcile New England men to the loss of free speech. It seems sometimes that the adoration of Daniel Webster's worshippers has affected his judgment, and that he believes himself really "Godlike"—only that as a kind Creator said, "Let there be light, and there was light"; so Daniel Webster thinks he has but to decree, "Let there be darkness," and forthwith all the world shall become blind!

Nothing better illustrates the position of our great "Unionists," than the familiar story of the English monarch, who placed his chair upon the beach, and forbade the waves to pass beyond a line which had been traced upon the sand. The angry waves lifted their proud hearts, and flowed far above the bound with which the king had sought to limit their approach. So do our great men attempt to imitate the omnipotence of God, and say to the mighty ocean of anti-slavery agitation, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther—here shall thy proud waves be stayed."—The foaming billows only roll higher and higher on the strand,

"While every nation, every sea,
Trembles, and dreads the swelling tide."

But our statesmen not only order us to obey their decrees; they attempt to reason with us from the Scriptures, and they tell us that they have not read the Old Testament or the New correctly, who think they find in either any authority for disobeying a law which they regard as wrong. Surely, the author of this sentiment has never read so far in his Bible as that famous passage, where Peter says, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." I fear that his habit of reading must have stopped short at that other famous passage, where the same Simon Peter denied his master with an oath. (Applause.)

This Scriptural reasoning, in defence of the Fugitive Slave Bill, is rather calculated to injure the Bible in the estimation of men, than to support that wicked Act. You, who have been forced to vindicate the Constitution against the inhuman construction given it by our statesmen, what now defend the Scriptures from the insults heaped upon them by grave Doctors of Divinity. But as a question of morals, it matters little whether you look to the Old Testament or the New, or to the freshor revelation written by the finger of God upon the heart of every human being. In every where you find a denial of what Lord Brougham has called, in deathless words, "that wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man."

And now, bidding farewell to the Fugitive Slave Bill, I propose to say a few words of the principles and prospects of the anti-slavery cause. Those principles I read in the rootlets that adorn these walls:—"*All men are created equal*"—"*Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you.*" And the method of proclaiming these noble sentiments is written upon that other standard—"*I am in earnest; I will not retreat; I will not excuse; I will not equivocate; and I* WILL BE HEARD." (Cheers.) It seems to me that the anti-slavery cause may well be illustrated by the story of the Pilgrims; and I refer to them now, not only because we have just come up from Plymouth, glowing with Pilgrim associations, but because the friends of slavery, meeting in New York on the anniversary of the landing, have been engaged in describing the memory of our fathers, by quoting them in opposition to the cause of humanity.

You are charged with being bigoted and fanatical. Do not deny the accusation! A bigot, as we understand that word, is a man who believes his principles with his whole heart; a fanatic is one who carries those principles into his life. Tried by this definition, what were our Pilgrim Fathers? No cowardly spirituous, no timid compromisers steered the Mayflower across the sea, and made New England what she is to-day. None but ultras, none but fanatics, crowded the deck of that noble vessel. The early history of our Commonwealth is not the history of Conscription. Patriotism laid the corner-stone, and iron bigotry watched every rising pillar of the State. We are the children of bigots; all that we have, and are, and hope, we owe to fanaticism. Let us not disdain to walk humbly in the footsteps of our fathers.

Does it sometimes appear, that the friends of liberty are weak and powerless, when compared with the forces mustered on the side of the oppressor? Do your hearts ever faint when you see, on the one part, a little band of faithful men and women, and on the other, wealth, talent, influence, prejudice,—every source of power, except the Truth? Look once more at the story of our Pilgrim ancestors. Go back with me to the day when the white sail of the Mayflower is first seen across the blue waters of Plymouth Bay, like a faint cloud upon the horizon,—a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand! yet charged with what immortal and infinite destinies for the old continent and the new! And now contrast the weakness of that band of shivering exiles with the greatness of the work before them, and learn that truth, which every season illustrates, and which I love to repeat—that SO MAN IS WEAK WHO IS IN EARNEST FOR THE RIGHT. (Applause.)

Do the prospects of Freedom ever seem dark? Are you ever inclined to despair of its triumph? Go back once more to the Pilgrims, and tell us what is the cause, has ever seen so dark a time as that cheerless November day, when the icy sails of the Mayflower were furled in Cape Cod harbor, and when our fathers met in her narrow cabin to form that famous compact designed to perpetuate liberty, falsely quoted in defence of wrong. Tell me, have even you (to Mr. Garrison) ever known an hour so dark as that cold morning in March, when our fathers met upon the Rock, to lay the fiftieth of their number beneath the ground whence Governor Carver and Rose Standish, and so much of the strength and beauty of their little band already reposed;—or at that time of danger in June, when the skies were as brass, and the earth as iron; when the green blade was withering, and the hope of the year was almost cut off? Well said Governor Thompson, that the God who guided the Mayflower still survives to aid his own good cause. That God who softened the rigor of the winter of 1620, and soothed the heart of Massasoit to kindness and love; the God who stayed the pestilence, while a remnant of his people yet remained, and who did not withhold his rain in the hour of need; that God now lays bare his arm to protect the cause of Liberty, and holds the friends of the bondman as in the hollow of his hand. (Applause.)

We look to these examples, to find instances of triumphant faith and all-conquering truth. We may find a glorious parallel in the progress of our own cause. The Pilgrims numbered one hundred and one,—just one hundred more than anti-slavery could boast, when its pioneer first embraced the cause of the slave. (Cheers.) I see before me the man, within whose single heart there were wrapped up, twenty years ago, as in a germ, all the victories and glories, past, present and future, of this great cause. You all know his history. He was thrown into prison; but the gloom of a dungeon could not quench the fire of freedom in his soul. He was attacked by mobs; they could not trample out the life of that precious germ. (Applause.) And now look round you, and see how that little seed has grown. Its shoots are scattered like cedars; its branches cover the earth; and its leaves shall yet be for the healing of this nation.

I need say nothing of your prospects, except to repeat these familiar sentiments: "*The Almighty has no attribute, which can take part with the slaveholder*"—"*God himself is with us*" *for our Captain.* We could desire no better pledge of success than the truth contained in these words; nor are we without signs of promise, that forsaken by the cause of that reign of right, to which your efforts and your prayers have long been directed.

"The hour of triumph comes apace,
The promised, destined hour;
When Earth, upon a ransomed race
Her bounteous gifts shall shower.
Ring, Liberty, thy glorious bell,
And high, by morn, thy banner swell
Let trump on trump the triumph tell
Of Heaven's redeeming power."

Lunacy.—The legislature of South Carolina, has before it a bill, requiring every white male person above a certain age arriving in South Carolina from a slaveholding State, or who has resided in such State, within the two years previous, to immediately report himself to a magistrate in writing, stating his name, age, occupation, and place of residence; and, on default of such report, such person is to be committed to jail until he do make such report of himself!

LUDICROUS AND PITIABLE!

Mr. Ritchie, (the Satanic Editor of the Washington Union,) having heard that Jenny Lind had given $1000 to the Abolition Society, wrote to Mr. Barnum to inquire whether this was so? Mr. Barnum replies as follows:—

Barnum's Hotel, Baltimore, December 14, 1850.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of yesterday, inquiring whether there is any truth in the report, that Mlle Jenny Lind has given a donation to an association of abolitionists, I beg to state most emphatically, that *there is not the slightest foundation for such a statement.* I feel no hesitation in saying that this lady never gave a farthing for any such purpose, and that her oft-expressed admiration for our noble system of government convinces me that she prizes too deeply the glorious institutions of our country to lend the slightest sanction in any attack upon the union of these States.

I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant,

P. T. BARNUM.

Mr. Ritchie says that he was determined to see that lady right-with the sunny South, which she was about to visit, and that, in addition to Mr. Barnum's denial, he also "had it from the lips of M'lle Jenny Lind herself, that she had never given any money to the abolitionists, and never meant to give any." Would'—he ejaculates—"would that we could impart to this paper the charming naiveté with which she expressed herself on this subject!"

From the Albany Atlas.

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE—THE UNION SAVED!

We had yesterday the inexpressible felicity of laying before our readers a correspondence between Thos. Ritchie of Washington, who (breaking through all the restraints of a narrow conventionalism and more delicacy,) boldly alluded to the "secret and insidious report," which attributed to Miss Jenny Lind the guilt of assistance in certain "alarming and detestable projects"; and Mr. Barnum, who assured the venerable editor that he felt convinced, that Miss L., had no intention "to lend the slightest sanction to any attack upon the Union of the States."

The correspondence,—an enduring memorial of that vigilance which is the salvation of all republics,—did not end here. If the "Nightingale" really intended to attack the Union of the States, she was doomed to fail by our native bird—our Ritchie—a bird that has a second time, sky'd timely warning, saved a republic. But the supplementary correspondence which we supply, shows that the vigilance of our faithful sentinel at the capital was not exhausted by a single effort.

Ritchie to Barnum—No. 2.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1850.

Dear Sir,—I understand that there is an insidious report in secret circulation calculated, if not designed, to injure you in the estimation of the people of the city and of the South, and to cast a doubt upon the reputation of an ancient and venerable family with you. It is stated, I believe, in substance, that the late Miss Joice Heath was a "fugitive from service," and that the fever with which she was received at the North was due less to her intrinsic merits as a woman, (and I am proud to say a Virginian,) than to the alarming and detestable enterprises which the abolitionists of the North have felt and manifested towards the fugitive bill of '93, the principles of '98, and the compromises of the Constitution.

Do me the favor to say whether this report is not without the slightest foundation.

With sentiments of high consideration,

Thomas Ritchie.

To P. T. Barnum.

Mr. Barnum to Mr. Ritchie—No. 2.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1850.

Venerable and Dear Sir,—Permit me to thank you for the promptitude with which you have unfolded to me the insidious reports, which have attributed alarming and detestable projects against the Union, to the late Joice Heath, and which, if true, would necessarily involve an imputation upon my devotion to the Constitution. Let me assure you that from my intercourse with the late J. H., I have no hesitation in saying that that excellent lady would never have sanctioned, at any time during her prolonged life, any attack upon the Union of the States—that she was sympathetically attached to the principles of '98, and the compromises of the Constitution; and the peculiar institutions of the South; and I am sure would, if either had been endangered, have been the first to rally to your side to fight, bleed and die in the defence. As to myself, let me assure you that the memories of the compromises of the Constitution, and the principles of '98, and of yourself, their defender, will occupy a place in my mind, henceforth side by side with that of that venerable and estimable woman, your compatriot, whose fame you have thus enabled me to defend.

P. T. Barnum.

To Thomas Ritchie.

Ritchie to Barnum—No. 3.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1850.

Dear Sir,—An insidious report has just been put secretly in circulation, that you daily exhibit to the abolitionists of the North, a black man in the place of turning Cuba, with the intention of reflecting upon the peculiar institution of the South. The public mind is in such an excitable state, and the Union is in such danger of dissolution, that I feel it my duty to call upon you to disabuse the citizens of the South on this subject.

Yours in haste,

Thomas Ritchie.

To P. T. Barnum.

Barnum to Ritchie—No. 3.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1850.

Dear Sir,—It is true that I did exhibit at my Museum, in New York, a negro of spotted color; but it is false that I intended either to reflect upon your peculiar institutions or upon the public men in this city, who are said to have reversed the process, and in have changed their complexion in an opposite direction. Let me enable you also to appease a public feeling that may have been excited on this matter, by assuring you that, upon the passage of the Compromise as a finality, I immediately arrested the process of bleaching to which the negro was subjected, and that upon reading the letter of Mr. Webster, he so far conquered his prejudices as to consent to preserve his complexion half black and half white, rather than by inclining to either side, to disturb the balance of the Union, and precipitate our institutions into the gulf which, as you have repeatedly observed in your paper, and have impressed upon your readers, yawns beneath. That patriotic negro, sir, a Virginian like yourself and the late Mrs. Heath, now stands a living and walking impersonation of the spirit of concession, conciliation and compromise. With profound respect,

P. T. Barnum.

To Thomas Ritchie.

Ritchie to Barnum—No. 4.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1850.

Dear Sir,—Another secret and insidious report has just been started; it is that the Fejee Mermaid, you have intended to satirize the recent coalition (so called) upon the Compromise bill, between my friend, Gen. Foote, of Mississippi, (impudently typified by the monkey head of the Fejee monster aforesaid,) and the distinguished Secretary of State, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, who is said to be personated by the Codfish in which the ingenious Barnum is alluded to terminate.

I need hardly tell you how much such a report is calculated to alarm and irritate the recent friends of the Compromise, and particularly the city of the South.

Enable me to contradict the aspersion, if false.

Yours,

Thomas Ritchie.

To P. T. Barnum.

Barnum to Ritchie—No. 4.

Washington, Dec. 12, 1850.

Dear Sir,—Permit me to give you my solemn assurance, that I intended to point no such moral as you have alluded to, while adorning the tail of the Mermaid for my Museum. You style that work "an ingenious fabrication." Such praise from one so experienced is high indeed. But permit me to add, that it is not only ingenious but patriotic. The Mermaid is the type of the conjunction of interests of the two sections of the country. Strike off the head, and what is it? Cut off the tail, and what is the mutilated remainder? Sir, I stand by the Mermaid as it is! Touch the Mermaid, and what becomes of our property, our contracts, our institutions, and the hopes of the world? Come, Sir, come!

With deep feeling yours,

P. T. Barnum.

To Thomas Ritchie.

Ritchie to Barnum—No. 5.

Washington, Dec. 12—Midnight.

Dear Sir,—I have just been aroused from a brief repose, after the exhaustion of a continual watching over the Union of the States (at every moment in danger of being dissolved) by Gen. Foote, of Miss., who informs me that innumerable malcontents have been circulated, and that as soon as a loan can be effected at the State Bank for the purpose of buying powder, the confederacy, already undermined, will be blown up. Gen. F. informs me that Gen. Quattlebum has taken command of that hostilities, if commenced; will not stop short of victory, or the utter annihilation of the extent and chivalrous aces of the South, always anxious to die for their country.

These preparations have been made upon hearing that Gen. Stratton—otherwise called Gen. Thomas Thumb—has been approaching the South, with the intention of crossing the Potomac. That Gen. T. is a Northern man, I believe is admitted—that he entertains Northern feelings, it is natural for us to apprehend. It is alleged, too, that this Gen. Tom Thumpson, he is an emissary of England and France, bribed with foreign gold to break up the Union of the States. If Northern military chieftains are thus to invade the South with impunity, I need not say that I too feel my apprehension for the direction of the Union, if it be not, in that case, the union has arrived, and that Virginia must again assume the lead in the defence of the Union, (pretending secession) by re-enacting the resolutions of '98. I shall, then, conclude by assuring you that while I myself, and Gen. Foote, would be willing to meet you and the military General Thumb the promise not to cross the Potomac. Gen. T. is ambitious; he has held acquaintance with Kings and Queens; he might aspire to distinguish himself in a crisis like this, for which he feels himself fitted, and upon fields where he could win fame and distinction. But Gen. T. is no Cæsar. He will not cross the Rubicon. He has no design at present upon the Union of the States; if he ever had, his guilty ambition would be chastened by the contemplation of the disorder and panic which even rumors of hostile designs have created, and by those exhortations in favor of the Constitution (and its Compromises) which have flowed from your eloquent pen.

I beg you to accept my thanks and blessings for your services in the cause of the Union, and particularly Gen. Foote, whom my friend General Thumb holds in high estimation, that the alarm in this matter is without foundation.

P. T. Barnum.

To Thomas Ritchie.

Thus closed a correspondence, copies of which, and of the letters about Miss Lind, previously published, were immediately forwarded to the Governors of the Southern States, and to the Legislature of South Carolina. The effect has been most happy. South Carolina has abandoned her armament, Quattlebum has sheathed his sword. Order reigns at Washington, and Mr. Ritchie, who has been secluded in a long vigil in behalf of the Union, can now turn his attention to his printing contracts, and those little jobs with which patriots, after a crisis, occasionally regale and reward themselves.

FRIGHTFUL!

☞ The following preamble and resolutions were introduced into the Legislature of South Carolina by B. F. Perry, Esq.:

House of Representatives,
Nov. 29, 1850.

Whereas, the recent legislation of Congress, on the subject of slavery, and the continued aggressions of the North on the rights of the South, render it necessary that all the slaveholding States should take common counsel and action for their own security and safety; and whereas, the Nashville Convention have recommended a Southern Congress, for the purpose of considering our grievances, and prescribing the mode and measure of redress:—

Be it therefore Resolved, That this Legislature do hereby heartily concur in the proposition to convene a Congress of the Southern States, for the purpose of obtaining security for the future, as well as indemnity for the past; and the committee on the Judiciary are hereby instructed to report a bill for the election of representatives, on the part of South Carolina, to such Congress.

Be it further Resolved, That in case any of the Southern States should refuse or neglect to appoint delegates to a Southern Congress, then it shall be the duty of his Excellency the Governor to send delegates to such States, to urge the people and the Legislatures thereof to unite with the other Southern States, in a Congress of the whole South.

From the Syracuse "Liberty Party Paper."

RECEPTION OF W. L. CHAPLIN AT THE CITY OF SYRACUSE.

The Congregational Church was filled to a jam, aisles and all, at an early hour. About half past six, the issue of appliance at the entrance began, and soon passed over the assembly like a boisterous wave, and S. J. May was making his way through the crowd, followed by Gen. Chaplin, J. C. Hathaway, and W. R. Smith. An anthem to Liberty was chanted in the gallery, after which Mr. May, in an appropriate speech, introduced Mr. Chaplin to the assembly. He rose in the midst of great applause.

So soon as the introductory ceremony was concluded, L. W. Loguen, of this city, came forward and addressed him as follows:

Gen. Chaplin,—I am a colored man and a fugitive slave. In behalf of the colored men and fugitive slaves of my country, I wish to address you. I arise, Sir, as their organ, to express the gratitude of our people that you have escaped from the cruel prison, and have come among us, that we may look upon you, and indulge the unutterable feelings of gratitude for the self-sacrificing kindness you have shown us, in our present and suffering condition.

Sir, we give you our thanks. We know your labors, your devotion, and your sacrifices in our behalf, and from our inmost souls we thank you. We thank God that you have lived; that he has given to the world such a man, to be our deliverer, our comforter, a self-sacrificing fearless benefactor. I can see around, here and there, in this vast assembly, many faces turned to you, lighted up with expressions of unutterable thankfulness. They are persons, Sir, that owe their comforts, their families, and their liberties to your noble daring and great-hearted philanthropy. They look to you as their deliverer from the infernal prison-house.

Sir, the black man has many friends—but they are not all of that kind who are ready to go down and meet us at the spot where American tyranny has placed us, and there, where help is most needed, and its proffer most grateful, to offer themselves as our deliverers. There is where the slave wants help. Had he sufficient aid at that point, his chains would be broken in a thousand fragments, and he would instantly rejoice in freedom. Sir, your name will dwell on the lips of the colored man forever. Our children, to the latest time, will repeat your name with gratitude, and dwell on it with delight.

When shut up in the Maryland prison, we have prayed for you. We asked God, in the favor of our souls, as the faithful prayed for Peter, to deliver you from your dungeon, that we might see your face, and that your voice might fall upon our families, and be heard on our hills and valleys, where you formerly so ably, and at such great sacrifice, pleaded for the slave. We prayed that you might be spared to continue your labors of love and mercy—that God would still make you instrumental in delivering our fathers, and mothers, and sisters, and brothers, from the cruel clutches of Slavery.

May God bless you and deliver you from the hand of the wicked, and make you still a glorious instrument of mercy to the poor!

The Liberty Party Paper, in the course of its account of the proceedings of a Convention held at Syracuse, N. Y. on the 7th and 8th instant, in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Bill, says—

We witnessed here one of the most thrilling and melting scenes we ever did witness. The Financial Committee reported that they must raise the enormous sum of $19,000, and save the generous men, some of whom had obligated themselves, or the amount of their entire estates, and save the noble Chaplin, also, from returning and giving his life to his murderers, as the means of saving those estates. The report was accepted, and the contributions were the wings to from the immense assembly to make the sum of $1000, the amount assessed upon it. During this scene, Chaplin sat by our side, with his arm resting on the table, and his head covering a part of his forehead and eyes, in a vain attempt to conceal the emotion of his swelling bosom. To one who knew him as well as we do, these emotions were apparent.

A voice from the remote part of the house called, "let us see Mr. Chaplin!" Louder and louder still came the call from the vast assembly. His feelings held him to his seat, and we took him by the arm, and led him, with a modesty and sensibility which such an occasion only could affect and which, for the moment, seemed to choke his utterance. He stood before the great assembly, but could not speak. Such a tempest of applause was soon raised as never before shook the City Hall. Long and continued the shout went up—men waving their hats and shouting, "God bless him!" "Glorious fellow!" "Chaplin forever!" Huzzah upon huzzah rolled up for minutes—not a particle of dust that had been deposited on the floor was left behind in the air. Women and youth and sons shouted and wept. We saw men and women, whose limbs were stiff with age, and whose appearance testified that they were present to witness the conduct of their posterity, on a great occasion—we saw them looking with swimming eyes upon the erect person and manly frame of the hero. We thought of those lines of Walter Scott:

"Woe betide a nation when she sees the tears of beardless men."

It was a scene that eclipsed any pageant that we ever read of congratulation that kings and conquerors might envy but not enjoy. We would rather mix the gush of popular gratitude and thankfulness that flowed upon our heroic Chaplin, than all the kings and empire that the conquerors of the earth attained.

When the applause had died away, General Chaplin said, if he thought the contributions were making for him, and on great principles were involved, he would arrest them, and go back to a Maryland prison, and suffer and die as others suffer. He was willing to identify himself with the poor imprisoned, said he, in a Maryland penitentiary, is a great, but not the greatest calamity. He might die there, but, in his opinion, also, there was a calamity, greater still than death—it is the scourging, withering, killing consciousness that you have left the power to perish, when they have stretched their hands to you for mercy and deliverance. But we can't report his speech.

A lady said to me, that the applause of that occasion seemed like sacrificing of hearts on the altar of freedom, and that a response was echoed from Heaven. We never witnessed a sublimer effect.

☞ It is gravely asserted by some person who professes to know, that there is a combined movement on foot in the South to change the public opinion in California to such an extent as to procure the election of a Legislature favorable to altering the Constitution of that State, so as to make it lawful to hold and possess slaves. It is said that money will be provided and agents sent out to bring about such a result.

☞ The Governor of South Carolina, in his message to the Legislature of that State, proposes the extradition of the 3900 free negroes which it contains.

☞ A petition to Congress, against the Fugitive Slave Law, from Salem, Ohio, was about forty in length, and signed by a double column of names.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,
OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

☞ We give this excellent Address, and the resolutions of the great Convention in New York State, to our readers, to the displacement of editorial and every thing else.

ANTI-FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW MEETING.

At a large meeting of persons from various parts of the State of New York, held in the city of Syracuse, January 9th, 1851; and of which Frederick Douglass was President, the following Resolutions and Address were unanimously adopted. The Address is the same, and, with an inconsiderable exception, the Resolutions are the same, as those which were reported by Gerrit Smith, to the State Convention, held in said city, January 7th, 8th and 9th, 1851.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That we pour out upon the Fugitive Slave Law the fullest measure of our contempt, and hate, and execration; and pledge ourselves to resist it actively as well as passively, and by all such means as shall, in our esteem, promise the most effectual resistance.

2. Resolved, That they who consent to be the agents of Southern oppressors for executing this law, whether as Commissioner or Marshal, or in any other capacity, are to be regarded as kidnappers and land-pirates.

3. Resolved, That it is our duty to peril life, liberty, and property, in behalf of the fugitive slave, to as great an extent as we would peril them in behalf of ourselves.

4. Resolved, That obviously and grossly unconstitutional as is this law, nevertheless, this is not the chief reason why we condemn and defy it:—for equally, whether they are constitutional or unconstitutional, do we condemn and defy all laws, which insult Him, who is above all Constitutions, and which, aiming not to protect, but to destroy right, are therefore to be regarded as no laws.

5. Resolved, That horrible as is this law, we must bear in mind, that it is but a perfectly natural and not at all to be wondered at exaction of slavery; and that hence our first and great work is to get rid of the issue, but of slavery—as it would be our first and great work to pursue and kill the mad dog, instead of pausing until we had effected the cure of one of his bites.

6. Resolved, That between corrupt politics on the one hand, and corrupt churches on the other—between the politicians and parties who enacted this law, and the priests who are preaching its enforcement, there is no hope for this nation unless it shall very speedily be brought to prefer honesty to knavery, both in its religious teachers and civil rulers.

7. Resolved, That were the current religion of the country to be exchanged for blank infidelity, the abolition of slavery would be comparatively easy.

8. Resolved, That inasmuch as every national party in this nation must, because it is a national party, spare, if not indeed positively favor slavery, it follows that whoever belongs to the Whig or Democratic party, or to any ecclesiastical National party, does, however unwillingly or unwittingly, give his influence and support to slavery.

9. Resolved, That inasmuch as sound principles and sound teachers are as indispensable in our institutions of learning, as in our pulpits, we rejoice to know, that, under the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment, there are already several Colleges in our country, which are open to colored students; and that there are two of them, in which colored students find themselves emphatically at home. These are Oberlin College, in Ohio, and Central College, in New York—in the latter of which there is a colored Professor.

10. Resolved, That the time has come, and had long ago come, for gathering a Northern political party, which shall be both determined and able to carry out the principles of the Federal Constitution, and the principles of humanity and religion, in overthrowing the base and bloody system of American Slavery, and in establishing a righteous civil government.

11. Resolved, That we welcome the presence in this Convention of William L. Chaplin, and render thanks to Almighty God for having preserved him alive while under the blows and threats of scurrilous ruffians, and while in the dreary prison, to which villanous and piratical Governments had committed him.

12. Resolved, That instead of rebuking and scorning, we honor and love this true brother for having done that for which Jesus Christ will say unto him before an assembled world: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me.'

13. Resolved, That if William L. Chaplin has done violence to the principles of republicanism and Christianity in suffering a couple of his fellow-men to seek to procure their escape from slavery by getting into his carriage, then are Republicanism and Christianity the deadliest enemies of humanity, and the cruelest lies that have ever been propagated.

14. Whereas, Notwithstanding the considerable amount of donations towards effecting the liberation of our brother Chaplin, he was obliged by reason of the exorbitant bail required of him to borrow large sums of money from various individuals: therefore,

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with him under his pecuniary embarrassments, and warmly desire that the benevolent may soon relieve him of them.

15. Resolved, That the liberation of Chaplin is an occasion for remembering afresh, and praying afresh, Drayton and Sayres, and calling afresh upon this hypocritical and cruel nation to set these outraged and afflicted brethren at liberty.

16. Whereas, Inasmuch as the imprisonment of Drayton and Sayres, for aiding their fellow-men to escape from the horrors of slavery, is an imprisonment for what not only humanity and religion pronounce a virtue, but for what the law of the Declaration of Independence, since it declares 'that all men are created equal' pronounces a virtue; and for what the law of the Federal Constitution, since it declares its object to be 'to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty,' does also pronounce a virtue; therefore,

Resolved, That it would be not a lawless act, but a lawful as well as a humane and religious act, to demolish the prison of these philanthropists, and let them go free.

ADDRESS.

To the People of the State of New York:

A recent law of Congress calls on you to assist in reducing your fellow men to slavery. Were these fellow men criminals, slavery would be a punishment beyond, and infinitely beyond, their deserts. To subject a man to the most capricious, cruel, and irresponsible despotism—a despotism, too, which absolutely annihilates all his rights, and sinks him from manhood to chattelhood—is more than is due to even the greatest crimes. But these fellow men are not criminals. They are your peaceable, guiltless, harmless neighbors. And they are not insensible to the wrongs inflicted upon them. They have interests and sensibilities like your own. They love wife and children, even as you do. As susceptible on yourselves are they of joy and sorrow. As sweet to them, as to you, is liberty. And when bereaved of this priceless blessing, their desolation and wretchedness are as perfect, as would be your own, under the like bereavement.

Why, then, if these things are so, should you do the great wrong of reducing these innocent people to slavery? The answer to this inquiry is, that law commands it. We admit our reverence and love for law, and our obligation to obey it. We say with the Apostle, that 'the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just and good.' But, then, all is not law which is called law. That which lacks truth, and justice, and all the elements of law, is, at the most, but nominal law. Genuine and real law is for the protection of rights. It is sham law, and no law, which is for the destruction of rights. But slavery despoiles the whole field of human rights. It leaves not one right to its victims. Hence, every law in favor of slavery is, most emphatically, sham law—is, most emphatically, no law.

But, it is said, that the law in question must be obeyed, because it is a Constitutional law, and because the Constitution called for the law. We see nothing, however, to justify the enactment of this law in that provision of the Constitution which the law was enacted to enforce. If that provision calls for any legislation, it is, most certainly, State, and not National, legislation. But were it so, that it calls for National legislation, it would, of course, be such as does no violence, and attempts no violence, to the provision of the Constitution respecting the writ of habeas corpus, or to that respecting the right of trial by jury, or to any other of its provisions. Again—this law was enacted for the sole purpose of replunging into slavery those who had fled from its horrors. But by no fair construction of language can this provision be said to refer to fugitives from slavery. It is said, however, that, notwithstanding the Constitution is, upon its surface, and in its obvious meaning, a paper *against* slavery, there is, nevertheless, in this and in some other of its provisions, a hidden meaning *for* slavery. To this we reply, that it is quite licentious enough to pass from an obvious to an occult meaning of words—from the certain legal meaning of words to some one of the ten thousand of their uncertain historical and traditional meanings—even when this is done for the furtherance of the cause of justice:—but, that to do this for the purpose of gaining success for injustice and villany, and injection end villany of enormous enormity, is to go very far beyond the limits of endurance.

What, however, if this law were in harmony with the Constitution?—that would be no authority for the law, if the law is contrary to truth. Constitutions and laws, so far as they are repugnant to truth, are void. If the great Apostle had to confess, that he could 'do nothing against the truth,' the like confession must be made for Constitutions and laws. They are powerless against the everlasting bulwarks of reason and religion.

Because it is the sacred work of our fathers, is another of the reasons assigned why we must obey the Constitution and every part of it. Our brief, early, and sufficient answer to this is, that whatever respect we owe to our dead fathers, we owe more to the living God.

We are told, too, that if we reject the Constitution, or any part of it, we cannot consistently, and cannot, of right, vote under it;—and that, hence, we must cling to it, and to every part of it, in order to save to ourselves the precious and important right of suffrage—the precious and important right of participating in the choice of our civil rulers. In answer to this we declare, that it is a very gross and a very pernicious fallacy, that our right to vote is created by and held under the Constitution. Our right to select our civil rulers comes from God; inheres in our social being; and overrides all Constitutions and enactments. It is true, that men are at liberty to provide their conventional regulations for the exercise of this right;—but they cannot create the right, or take it away, or at all encroach upon it. Hence, the provisions of the Federal Constitution, which makes the taking of a certain oath the conditions of the chosen ruler's entering upon the duties of his office, should be repealed, because it is in derogation of the natural and absolute right of the people to choose their rulers. Hence, too, they are wrong, manifestly wrong, who, because of this required oath, relinquish, or hold in abeyance, this natural and absolute right. They should persevere in the exercise of it, as did the nonvitotests of Daniel O'Connell; and if any, whom they wish to make rulers, shall have conscience against taking the oath of office, they should, nevertheless, elect them. Their perseverance would be as successful, as was the perseverance of O'Connell's constituents. The oath would be waived, when refused; or, better still, it would be withdrawn from the Constitution.

But, in answer to all our reasons for not obeying this law for making slaves of our neighbors, we are told, that we must obey it for the reason that civil government must be obeyed. But, the command to obey it comes to us with the limitation, which accompanies the command to obey our parents. If we must obey our parents only 'in the Lord'—that is, only to the extent that their commands harmonize with the Divine commands—so must we obey civil governments with the like qualification. Civil government is, to the same extent that every person is subject to the supreme and immutable laws of God; and whenever it violates those laws, it is entitled to no authority or obedience.

The doctrine, that wrong may be done, if commanded by civil government, is utterly fallacious. It is a doctrine which found no favor with the young Hebrews, who preferred the fery furnace to obeying a sinful command of the government. Nor did it find any favor with him, who had rather be cast into the lion's den, than comply with a wicked requirement of the government. The Apostles, too, refused to obey such a requirement; and they based their refusal expressly on the ground of the paramount authority of God.

We are admonished to obey this law, as we would escape the crime, and the peril, of rebellion. But, when the civil government tramples on the Divine authority, it is the civil government which is the rebel—and not the citizen, who refuses to follow it. The Government, which has enacted this diabolical law, has involved itself to the deepest and guiltiest rebellion—rebellion against Jehovah himself. But the citizen, who refuses to bear a part in enforcing it, keeps himself clear of the sin of rebellion.

We are summoned, in the name of patriotism, to obey this law. But this law, being treason to God and man, we cannot serve our country by obeying it. '*Righteousness* exalteth a nation':—and whensoever we shall be insulted by a true patriotism, it will be to a course of righteousness. It will invoke us to honor, and not to insult God; to stand by, and not to oppress His poor.

We are told, that we are not at liberty to decide for ourselves what is Constitutional and lawful; and the further falsehood is added, that the Constitution appoints the judges under it its sole expounders. We are also told to listen submissively to what eminent clergymen pronounce to be the ethics in the case. But, whilst we accept the papal doctrine which would bind our conscience by other men's interpretations of religion, we hold in no higher esteem the equally lying doctrine, which denies our right to judge for ourselves what is Constitutional and lawful.

We see, then, that no pleas of respect for law, or for civil government, or for the Constitution, or for any of its expounders, or for any of the expounders of Christianity, and that no threats of the stigma or punishment of rebellion, and no appeals in the name of patriotism, should be allowed to bend the effect to bring us to the side of this infernal and horrible law. Come these pleas, and threats, and appeals, from the meetings which commercial political men are getting up all over the North, under the name of 'Union Meetings'; or come they from the mercenaries and knaves, who have got possession of so large a shareof the American pulpits, we are to be deaf to them all.

The way is, now, prepared for us to say, that we will resist this law;—will resist it, at all hazards of property, or liberty, or life—and by all such means as shall promise to him who uses them the most effectual resistance. We cannot be Christians, we cannot be men, and do otherwise. He is no Christian, who has been made to be numbered out of sight, who can join in the attempt to reduce his innocent neighbor and brother to slavery; or who can witness such attempt, without striving to defeat it. This is not extravagant language in European ears; and if it is such in American ears, it is only because slavery has subsidized the American press and pulpit, and benighted, infatuated, and debauched the American people. It is manifest that, wherever slavery reigns, there must be a very imperfect perception of the claims of humanity and religion.

Fellow citizens! we stop not with exhorting you to trample this law under foot. This law is one, and but one, of the demands of American slavery upon you:—and, as long as American slavery lives, it will, ever and anon, be putting forth demands upon you—demands, all of which will be deeply revolting to an enlightened conscience and a sound humanity. Your war with this law is, therefore, not to be limited to this law:—but it is to be extended to slavery itself. For, until slavery is overthrown, you will be continually exposed to its tyrannous and galling claims. For your own sake, then, you have need to strike at slavery. But, if so, how much more should you strike at it, for the slave's sake! If you, who are said but the outer and feebler reaches of the power of slavery, are, nevertheless, so impatient under that power, what must not be the agony of those who are in the very centre of its iron grasp? If you, who are in but the penumbra of slavery, complain so much of its chilling shadows, how horrid must be their condition, who are in the blackness of its darkness! Oh, to be a slave! To wake every morning with the consciousness of being a slave! To carry the weary load of this consciousness all the day long! Surely, surely, earth has no other lot so hard as that of the slave!

Does slavery, then, concern you for yourselves? Immeasurably more should it concern you for the millions of your enslaved country. Is it your duty to deliver yourselves from its toils? Infinitely higher is your duty to free the slave. What hinders you from giving this help? Say you, that the Constitution does? We admit, that, in most of the interpretations of that instrument, there is an abundance of pro-slavery. But we affirm that, in the instrument itself, there is none. We admit, that pro-slavery is to be found in some of the clashing and uncertain histories of the instrument. But we affirm, that, for the purpose of interpreting it, we have nothing to do with these histories; and that we are to determine its character and claims from its pages, and not from its histories. We admit, that there is some historical evidence, that certain persons had the purpose to get slavery into the Constitution. But the question is—did they get it in? Their purpose is nothing, if it was not successful.

What, however, if the Constitution, instead of requiring, as it clearly does, the immediate extinction of slavery, requires it to be upheld?—rein, altogether as vain, is such requirement, against the obligations which flow from the natural and unchangeable relations of man to each other. These relations, being before and above any relations created by the Constitution, must be sustained and honored, even though all artificial and conventional relations do thereby perish.

Is it said, that we are not to interfere with the institutions of our sister States?—and that slavery in Virginia or Georgia is beyond our legitimate reach? We answer that, wherever in our nation or in any other nation, the rights of men are cloven down, there is a work for us to do, in behalf of our common humanity. Neither by State nor National lines are our sympathies to be bounded:—and, wherever our sympathies are called for, thither should we go in person, if that be needful to make our sympathies most effective. It is a fiction of men, instead of the truth of God, that we have not the right to help such of the oppressed as dwell beyond the limits of our State or nation. The same right have we to fly to the succor of the oppressed Italian or Hungarian, as to redress the wrongs of our countrymen and neighbors. It is tyrants, who are not willing to be disturbed in their oppression of their subjects—it is those who have instilled into this well-nigh universal mind the lesson, that a man has no right to carry his philanthropic efforts beyond his own country. But that lesson is scorned, wherever the doctrine of the human brotherhood is intelligently and lovingly apprehended. Drawn as many lines upon the surface of the earth, and make as many nations as you will, this case is on wise affect the rights which pertain to membership in the human family. These were as fully the rights of the Samaritan, when in Judea, as when in Samaria; and, hence, his liberty to minister to his man want, as well in the one nation as in the other. These rights are unimpaired in the beloved Joseph Sturge and Elihu Burritt;—and, hence, their liberty to go among the contending powers of Europe for the purpose of making peace. They are unimpaired in the eloquent and excellent George Thompson also;—and, hence, he may come to the shores of America to plead the cause of the down-trodden. It is true, that Sturge and Burritt are not Danes, and that Thompson is not an American. But, Sturge and Burritt are brothers of Danes, and Thompson is the brother of Americans: and, surely, one brother has the right to help another, meet they where they may, in the wide world.

Deny our right to deliver the millions of our countrymen who are crushed in the iron folds of slavery? Why, if wherever a nominal Christianity prevails, (and the prevailing Christianity of no nation is more than nominal,) there were a real Christianity, then would it be acknowledged, over all Christendom, that, to break up the nest of pirates in our Southern States, as to break up every other nest of pirates, is the first work of Christianity, and a work to which no State nor national boundaries should be suffered to present any impediments.

We presume not, fellow citizens, to prescribe what you shall do for the overthrow of American slavery. It is for you to determine, as you are able to do wisely, by what means you shall undertake to compass this object. But we cannot close this Address without reminding you, that in vain will be all your efforts to this end, whilst you are identified with American religion or American politics. These are the great props of American slavery. America boasts of her republicanism and also of her religion. But there is not in the wide world another such compound of hypocrisy, meanness, and cruelty, as is to be seen in her republicanism, and, also, in her religion. We mean by American religion, that religion which our national ecclesiastical parties have gotten up for the purpose of accommodating the men-thieves of the South and their guilttier partners in the North—that religion which, only the other day, shut out men from an Episcopal Convention for no other reason then the color of their skins—that religion, whose cunning, calculating ministers, from one end of your State to the other—from the Spencers of Brooklyn to the Lords of Buffalo—are preaching obedience to the law which calls on you to sink your fellow man into the hell of slavery. We mean by American politics that, sinister, which our national political parties have willfully adapted to the palates of the dealers in human flesh at the South, and to the palates of the dealers in Southern cotton at the North, and to the palates of office-seekers, both North and South. We mean by American politics, the Whig and Democratic politics, which unacted that law, under the terrors of which the poor of the earth hide themselves together, or fly affrighted to the wilds and snows of Canada; and under the power of which parents, children, husbands, wives, are dragged down into the matchless horrors of slavery. We mean by American politics, the politics which crewed the nonberless 'Union Meetings' of this North with Whig and Democratic traitors to Freedom and to God. We mean by American politics, the politics which have, so recently and so suddenly, led the Whig and Democratic parties, both to and out of Congress, to adopt the hush policy in regard to slavery. Many of their newspapers have, ere now, uttered brave words against slavery;—but even these have nearly all found themselves obliged to come into this hush-policy.

We scarcely need add, that the base, haggard, murderous creatures, which we have declared American politics and American religion to be, must necessarily, so long as slavery is the ruling interest of the nation, be the politics and the religion—the one of our National political parties, and the other of our National ecclesiastical parties. For it is manifest that the South, so long as she is under the sway of slavery, will come into no party—will abide in no party, whether in Church or State—that does not conform to the demands of slavery. Whatever, then, you shall, or shall out, undertake to do for the overthrow of American slavery, it is obvious, as we have virtually said before, that you can do nothing effectual to this end, only in so far as you are extricated from the meshes of National parties, both political and ecclesiastical. To be in any such parties is to be, whether you know it or not, and whether you will it or not, on the side of slavery.

We take pleasure in admitting that there are many persons in the Whig and Democratic parties, who cherish a sincere desire for the abolition of slavery, and who make more or less effort to this end. But, it is manifest that the anti-slavery influence of such desire and effort is as nothing, compared with the pro-slavery influence which they exert in sustaining a mighty pro-slavery party. Surely, surely, if an individual would maintain his power at any point, he must not join and sustain a party which is exerting a counter power at that point.

So, too, do we take pleasure in admitting, that there are many persons in the Whig and Democratic parties, who cherish a sincere desire for the repeal or nullification of the Fugitive Slave Law, and who make more or less effort to this end. But pre-eminently absurd is the idea, that they are in effect, as well as in desire and effort, against this law. For, not only is it true, that these parties are desperately pro-slavery, and, from the fact of their being National parties, necessarily pro-slavery; but it is also true, that this law has become the great bond of union in the case of each of these parties, and that each of them is to be kept from dissolution only so long as this law is unrepealed and enforced. If he, then, who adheres to a party which is held together by the continuance and cement of this satanic law, may be honest in believing that the weight of his influence can be against the law, he is, nevertheless, foolish in entertaining such a belief. The Whig and Democratic parties made the law. The Whig and Democratic parties uphold the law. The Whig and Democratic parties must, on penalty of being broken up, continue to uphold the law. Nothing, then, is more plain than that the first work of him who is in one of these parties, and who would contribute to put an end to this law, is to break out of his party, and to cease to vote for slaveholders, and for the makers, and defenders, and keepers, of slave-catching and slave-holding laws. Do what else he will, he is, until he does this, for the law. Until he does this, he is to be held responsible for the murderous law, instead of being fellowshipped by its consistent and effective enemies. His first work is his own repentance, instead of bringing others to repentance:—and for us to admit that he can expose our cause, and stand by our side, without having done this first work, is for us to cheapen, and disgrace, and condemn ourselves, our position, and our cause.

This nation is perishing, because of its National parties; and whoever would contribute to save it, must stand aloof from them. The most reasonable hope that the Free Soil party, which was organized in this State two or three years ago, would prove useful, was grounded in the fact, that it was not a National party. And it might, possibly, have proved useful in some respects, had it continued to be a Northern party. But the leaves and fishes are to be found in National parties; and so it said there, more than the success of the anti-slavery cause, that the majority of its leaders were after; it is no mystery that this party has, with honorable exceptions among its members, identified itself with a National party. Free Soil parties were organized, about the time, in several other States. But little or no good will come from them, notwithstanding that many noble men are in them. These parties refuse to be concerned for the three millions of slaves in the States:—and, in respect to fugitive slaves, the highest ground which even their Mr. Giddings takes in his late Free Soil Speech is, that, whilst they will not hinder the fiend-work of re-plunging them into slavery, they will not help it. It is, nevertheless, by means of such parties, that these good men except to accomplish good. Alas! when will even good men give up their atheistic contrivance for doing good? Why should they hope for success in a policy which is counter to the Divine policy? God's is the positive and glorious policy of doing good. Theirs is the negative and miserable policy of doing no harm. He denounces not him only who makes the poor cry, but him also, who 'stopeth his ears at the cry of the poor.' He denounces not the wicked, who drawn his fellow men unto death, but him also, who 'forbeard to deliver them that are drawn unto death.' The Free Soil parties flatter themselves, that God denounces but the slaveholder. No too, he, forever, does He denounce them, who suffer the slave to be held. The Free Soil parties flatter themselves, that God denounces but the slave-catcher. But we less certain and fearful are His denunciations against them, who suffer the slave to be caught.

The excuse of these Free Soil parties for keeping themselves within this circle of negations, is that the Federal Constitution keeps them there. Unhappy reading of the Constitution is theirs! But, what if the Constitution is as they read it? What, in that case, have they to do, but to break away from it, as they should from every 'covenant with death and agreement with hell'? None of us are absolutely bound to be Constitutionalists. But all of us are absolutely bound to be men. If we cannot be Constitutionalists, and yet be men, then we cannot be Constitutionalists. If we cannot follow the Constitution without forsaking our manhood, then we cannot follow the Constitution. If to claim that God has made us keepers of all our brothers—of our brother who is pining in slavery, and of our brother who is escaping from it—is to disobey the Constitution, then we must disobey it.

Happy, thrice happy, would it be, were the good man of the land to constitute a political party, which should be intent on realising the idea of a righteous civil government—a government which would sympathize with the slave, and the landless, and protect its subjects from the curse of war and the curse of the traffic in intoxicating drinks. How soon such a party would rid the country of slavery, and land-monopoly, and rum-selling, and save the earnings of its laborers from being wasted in war and the preparations for war! But, so it is, that the good men of the land do, with few exceptions, belong to the National political parties—and these are pro-slavery, land-monopoly, war, and rum-selling parties! What infatuation in such men to belong to such parties! And what infatuation would it be in us to hope for the advancement of our country in the cause of truth, and virtue, and religion, whilst the great mass of her good men are found in such wicked and pernicious connections! Make up your minds, fellow citizens, that your country must perish, unless the good cease to it hasten to quit the National, and, because National, pro-slavery parties. We beg you not to misunderstand us at this point. We do not hold that civil government, however perfect in its theory or in its administration, is the ground of salvation. Religion alone has this honor;—and civil government is but her servant. She will, however, undertake no contradiction. She will not seek to save the world by means and agencies hostile to its salvation. She will not employ to this end war, instead of peace; drunkenness, instead of temperance; licentiousness, instead of purity; unrighteous civil government, instead of righteous civil rulers, and unrighteous political parties, instead of their opposites.

Our last words are to the colored people of the State of New York, and, in speaking to them, we

speak to the colored people of all the Northern States also. Brethren! we need your help to overthrow the bloody and satanic system of American slavery. We cannot dispense with it. Much less can we afford to have you an obstacle in our way. So it is, however, that you have, hitherto, been such an obstacle. The Colonization Society, which you hate with a great, but not too great, hatred, proposes to remove you to Africa. Your reply to this proposal is, that you meet remain here to sympathize with your enslaved brethren, and help deliver them. Pardon me for saying, that you wholly mistake the effect of your presence. Were you removed from the land, the work of delivering the slave would not be half as difficult as it now is. You are the mill-stone around his neck. It is true that, were your conduct and character what they should be, the effect of your presence would be most favorable to the slave. Indeed, be could not, in that case, remain a slave.

What is most needful for the deliverance of the enslaved is, that their oppressors shall see them to be men. If they shall see these, whom they abuse and trample under foot, to be men—Heaven-endowed, immortal men—the sight will render them morally incapable of continuing their guilty relation. They will fly back from that relation, horror-struck at the revelation of its enormities. But, how, by any other means could they be brought so effectually to see the manhood and dignity of their slaves, as in the light of your conduct and character, were not that conduct and character what they should be for self-denial, purity, beauty and elevation? Nothing is more true than that that part of the race which is out of slavery, reflects the advantage, or disadvantage, of its character—of its excellence or debasement—upon that part of the race which is still in slavery. An instance of this truth is in the slaveholders' habit of justifying their enslavement of your brethren by the standing and plausible, and greatly influential plea of your degradation—of your unfitness for freedom.

You admit your degradation:—but you seek to excuse it on the ground, that it is forced—that it is involuntary. As involuntary degradation! We are half disposed to deny its possibility; and to treat the language as a solecism. At any rate, we feel comparatively no concern for what of your degradation comes from the hands of others. It is your *self-degradation* which fills us with sorrow—sorrow for yourselves, and still more for the millions, whose fate turns so largely on your bearing. We know, and it grieves us to know, that white men are your murderers. But our far deeper grief is, that you are suicides.

We call to God, brethren, that you were inspired with self-respect! Then would others be inspired with respect for you:—and then would the days of American slavery be numbered. We entreat you to rise up, and to quit yourselves like men, in all your political, and ecclesiastical, and social, relations. An instance of your lack of self-respect—many of you consent to worship in churches which have the negro-pew; and many of you are in connection with pro-slavery ecclesiastical bodies, and have church-fellowship with those who buy and sell your brethren, and who, of course, have no moral principle against buying and selling you; and many of you belong to the same political parties with the slaveholders and of the upholders of slavery, and the upholders of the 'Fugitive Slave Law'; and, so entirely prostrate is your self-respect, that you go to the polls, and vote for men who refuse to eat with you—to sit by your side in the house of worship—or let their children sit by the side of yours in the school, and who would kick you out of their parlors, were you to presume to enter them. Say we not truly, brethren, that you are the heaviest burden which the anti-slavery cause has to carry? Indeed, compared with this, all its other burdens are light.

Perhaps it will be said, in excuse for your abjectness and self-contempt, that so long as you are clustered in cities and villages, and confined to servile employments, your spirit must, necessarily, be servile, your votes at the disposal of your employers, and your religion whatever is most convenient. Why, then, do you not scatter yourselves over the country in the capacity of independent and upright farmers and mechanics?

All truly good men do, of course, sympathize with you. You are oppressed—deeply, cruelly, wickedly oppressed;—and, that is reason enough why they should sympathize with you. Nevertheless, great injustice is done to Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, and others, when they are taxed with inconsistency for passing over you, and giving their sympathies to the Hungarians. Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass, and the like, belong to the vulgar herd of men;—and when has that vulgar herd been known to sympathize with a people, simply because they were oppressed? Never! never! There must be heart, where there is such sympathy. But all men, including even such selfish and prostituted persons as Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass, are capable of sympathizing with the brave, self-denying and heroic endeavors, which, here and there, the oppressed put forth to throw off their oppressions. Hence, the interest of Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, and the like, in the Hungarians, whilst, at the same time, they forget others, who are more heavily oppressed, but who, nevertheless, instead of arousing themselves, like the Hungarians, to put an end to their oppressions, have sunk down tamely, and servilely, and helplessly, under them.

Let the colored people of the North display bravery, and self-sacrifice, and heroism, in their own behalf, and in behalf of their brethren in bonds:—let them be seen "in every city to gather themselves together and to stand for their life," as did the handful of oppressed Jews in the reign of King Ahasuerus; and let them be seen resolved to perish rather than return to slavery, or let them be seen sternly refusing to consume the products which are heavy with the groans and wet with the sweat, and tears, and blood, of the slave: or let them be seen as sternly refusing to worship with the devil-worshippers, who hold negro-pews: or as sternly refusing to go into political parties, in which slaveholders feel at home, and to vote for their oppressors, traducers, and despisers:—let such things, we say, be seen in the colored people of the North, and it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell, that such things will have power to enlist the sympathies, and extort the praise and admiration of all men. Even Daniel Webster and Lewis Cass, now negro-murderers, will then be negro-admirers. Then Daniel S. Dickinson, exchanging for a genuine reverence the spirit in him which he deems to be a reverence, but which is truly a spaniel and servile spirit, will dare to be carried back to Old Virginia, no longer for the purpose of kissing the feet of her slaveholding patriarchs, but for the purpose of honoring her black men. And, then, even the slaveholders, throwing away their whips and branding-irons, will join the abolitionists.

Brethren, we are not ermindful, that, in speaking to you, and of you, as we have done, we have spoken plainly and freely. But, we have spoken honestly and truly. We admit, and we take pleasure in admitting, that what we have spoken does not apply to you all. There are among you men, who would sooner lay down their lives than join a pro-slavery church or a pro-slavery political party. These are men of self-respect and self-denial—men of the heroic and the martyr spirit. May God multiply such, and make them an effectual leaven in the mass of their servile and self-degraded brethren.

In conclusion, we disclaim the idea, that your character has suffered more from your unfavorable circumstances than the character of white men would have suffered from the like circumstances. Had white men been under as protracted and severe a process of debasement as you have been, there would, doubtless, be quite as much to lament in their condition and character, as there is in yours. But, let it not soothe and content you to know, that you differ from your white brethren, not in your origin and nature, but only in your circumstances; and that to your circumstances, and not to your origin and nature, is your lack of dignity and self-esteem attributable. Feel, deeply feel, that you have fallen;—and that, whatever the causes or explanations of your fall, you will rise. Feel, deeply feel, that, cost what it may, you will be what you should be.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Messrs. Readers:

I am attending a great Chaplin Convention, in East Winfield, Herkimer County, N. Y. I am listening to a very lucid speech from Humanity's great friend, General Chaplin. William R. Smith, Joseph C. Hathaway, Lysander King, B. W. Franklin, and others, have spoken, in terms and tones not to be misunderstood. Yesterday, there was an informal meeting, which it was not my good fortune to reach till evening, owing to the sickness of my daughter Mary.

David Cushman is in the chair. The house is full, and the attention is perfect. Thirty has not been such a meeting, in this section, for years. The most radical doctrines are taught, and the audience drink them down, as Dr. Sharp's audience, in New York, and Dr. Lord's, in Buffalo, and the Union Meetings in New Haven and Pittsfield, respectively, drank down the devilisms of those Doctors, and Doctors Tayler and Dewey. The Doctors, and the Fillmore and Webster politicians, will need to hold a Union Meeting in East Winfield, to patty and glue the Union together; for, if the Union depends upon the sustaining of the Kidnapping Law, it must, so far as this community is concerned, go to the tomb of the Capulets.

General Chaplin never looked, felt, or spoke better. He is to attend a series of meetings in this State. He is out yet married. I am grieved, pained and wounded to learn that the Executive of Maryland intends to make a requisition upon the Governor of New York State for the person of Mr. Chaplin. That Washington Hunt will obey a requisition, I doubt no more than that he played battledore and shuttlecock between Seward Whigs and Silver Greys, last fall; he will deliver up William Lawrence Chaplin to the tender mercies of Maryland slaverocracy, just as surely as he commends the Fugitive Slave Law in his Message. Now, by the death of Torrey! the friends of Freedom ought to sacrifice any thing rather than suffer Chaplin to be dragged away from the Empire State. Were he at my house, I would defend him as I would defend myself, from and against the requisition of both Governors. If they took him, they should do so over my prostrate body. But the slaveocrats of Maryland will have Chaplin, by fair means or fool, if they can get him. If they get him, they will immolate him on the altar of their accursed system.

The Convention will close this evening. A deep impression will be left upon the audience, very surely. The next meeting will be held at Homer; the next at Penn Yan. Chaplin's presence in these meetings will revive old recollections, quicken flagging anti-slavery zeal, and prove a talisman to the masses, to draw them out of the meshes of the two pro-slavery parties.

On my way hither, I stopped at De Ruyter. There I chanced to meet my most excellent friend, Sheriff Dutton, Esq., of Meredith, Delaware county—a gentleman at whose house I have received the kindest sort of treatment. It was my grief to learn from Mr. Dutton, that subscribers in Meredith have received, each, but one copy of the *Citizen*. I take occasion to say, here and now, that the person to whom I entrusted the mailing of the papers, I supposed, and had good reason to suppose, was every way trustworthy. As I find myself mistaken in this matter, I shall, of course, suppose myself and my subscribers no longer to this injustice and inconvenience. I beg leave to assure all my subscribers, that I shall attend to this business, in person, as soon as possible; until when, I shall obtain the services of a person upon whom I can better rely. My absence from my office has been, and still is, imperative. In a very short time, I hope to be able to do otherwise. I hereby thank all my subscribers for the patience they have exercised.

S. R. W.

January 23d, 1851.

January 24th.—I am to-day, in Leonardsville, on the banks of the beautiful Unadilla. I am at the house of a good friend, Mr. Spaulding—a true and tried man in the cause of human freedom. I am to speak here this evening, by invitation. James Baker, of Syracuse, is with me. Chaplin, W. R. Smith, and Hathaway, have gone to Utica. This place, (Leonardsville,) you know, is in the town of Brookfield, Madison county. In this town live two black gentlemen of some distinction. One of them, a Mr. Walmsley, was a soldier in the Revolution. He does not draw a pension, because his papers vary about one day from the time specified in the law concerning pensions. The noble Seward gave it as his opinion, that Congress would pass a special act in Mr. Walmsley's case. If Congress were made up of such men as Gov. Seward, the act would pass; but such is the race of modern Whigs and Democrats, that the thing is not to be expected. The other gentleman is a Mr. Apley, an old hotel keeper, who, a short time since, ceased to keep alcohol, and opened a Temperance House. All the other taverns in Brookfield are kept by white men, and those white men are all Tippecillers.

I must call attention, once more, to Gen. Chaplin's case. The Governor of Maryland will make a requisition for Mr. Chaplin. Gov. Hunt will surely give him up. Who ever knew Washington Hunt, or one of his class and calibre, to refuse any thing demanded of him by the Slave Power? The Judge before whom Mr. Chaplin is to be tried has declared—just and righteous jurist he!—that Chaplin shall go to prison for life. Some talk about defending and protecting Chaplin. Some say that the Sheriff of the county in which Mr. Chaplin resides would not serve the warrant upon him. Pshaw! sheriffs and defenders are not to be relied upon; and, what is more, the exigencies of slavery must be met and complied with. Our brave Whig and Democratic politicians would not know what to do, if admitted to heaven, if there were no Slave Power there to be served. Chaplin's only safety is in going to Hayti, with whose Government ours is not upon such terms as would oblige it to give him up. *Vamoose!* what a land is this! that a man must flee his country to escape a life-long dungeon, for the crime of having more practical humanity than the common herd of politicians and religionists of this freest of Republics!

S. R. W.

CIRCULAR.

William L. Chaplin is bailed! He is out of the clutches of his oppressors! The amount of the bail in Washington was six thousand dollars. In Maryland, sixteen thousand dollars. He will, I doubt not, stand trial in Washington. But he should not stand trial in Maryland. Notwithstanding that he was entirely unarmed and unresisting, men have swore, in the Maryland case, that he fired at them, and that, too, 'with the intent to murder.' Of course, such wretches would, if they could, swear away his life, as well as his liberty. It was such swearing that furnished the apology for making the amount of the bail so exorbitant and oppressive.

No—Chaplin must not be allowed to stand trial in Maryland. It is a border slave-State; and the growing insecurity of her slave-property makes her people peculiarly jealous, ferocious and base. We must also remember, that this is the State which murdered the famished Torrey. It would delight to murder Chaplin too. Maryland, however, is not without some men of heart. Dear Chaplin can never forget the good will and loving kindness of his Sheriff, his jailer, and many other Marylanders. Delivered from the corrupting and withering curse of slavery, the people of Maryland would rise in character, as rapidly as they will continue to fall in character until that curse is removed.

To obtain the nineteen thousand dollars, in gifts here and loans there, has cost much time and toil. But we cannot, for the sake of getting back the money, consent to give up the noble and beloved Chaplin to be tortured and murdered by the barbarous slaveholders. Let Maryland keep the money. Though a loss to us, it will, nevertheless, prove no gain to her. A better day will come, when her children shall blush deep, as often as they are reminded that their fathers plundered humane men and women (and the most of them poor) of these nineteen thousand dollars.

The 'Chaplin Committee,' which was appointed last August, and which undertook to raise twenty thousand dollars in donations, still lack a large part of this sum. In order, however, to repay their loans and employ suitable counsel in the Washington case, they need not only have the whole of the twenty thousand dollars made up; but they, also, need at least five thousand dollars more. The wants of this Committee are very urgent. One member of it has generously made himself liable for six thousand dollars, notwithstanding his small farm is the most of his property.

I trust that those, who have given to the 'Chaplin Fund,' will give again to it; and that many will give, who have not yet given; and that all will give promptly. Mr. Chaplin will, probably, be able to visit many places for the purpose of addressing public meetings and asking for moneys to repay loans, which have been made to promote his liberation—loans, which, for the most part, have been made by persons, who cannot afford to have them left unpaid. May God give him ten thousand generous hearts to appeal to; and, thereby, spare him from the temptation to return to Maryland for trial, in order to save from the discomforts and trials of poverty the dear and devoted friends, who, for the sake of delivering him from 'the jaws of the wicked,' have pledged a large share of their little property. Let none, however, delay their contributions to the 'Chaplin Fund,' until Mr. Chaplin shall visit their neighborhoods. Their contributions are needed now; and I hope they will be made now. I take pleasure in believing that the friends of William L. Chaplin are such friends as will out delay to relieve and comfort him.

I am not a member of the 'Chaplin Committee.' But, having been requested by them to do so, I act as their Treasurer. Permit me to suggest, that in those cases, where the moneys collected are sent to me, they had better be sent in drafts on a New York City Bank. I will, immediately, send to the 'Chaplin Committee' an account of my receipts and disbursements to this time. They will, I suppose, embody it in the report, which, I understand, they are soon to make to the public.

GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro', December 28, 1850.

☞ Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., declares he would give up his mother, as a fugitive slave, to preserve the Union. It is a pity that such a man ever had a mother, or that a mother ever bore such a son. To such a son are applicable the worst words of the mother of Richard the Third to said Richard.

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ Hon. Daniel Webster has written an able and spicy reply to the remonstrance of the Austrian Charge, Chevalier Hulsemann, in behalf of the Austrian Emperor, against the Federal Government's sympathizing with the Hungarians, in their struggle for liberty and independence. Mr. Webster defends this sympathy, and avows that our Government ever does, and ever will, sympathize with nations struggling for independence and popular institutions. The *Tribune*, and other Whig papers, the country over, are in ecstacies over this letter. For our own part, it strikes us as another evidence of the hopeless hypocrisy of our Government and its Premier. Any man or nation in whose bosom is the smallest possible apology for such sentiments as those fleeg by Webster at Helsemaus, would not, could not, glory in being the maker, approver, and executor of our abominable Kidnapping Law. How some men can stamp, and roar and foam, at distant, partial despotism, but play the supple sycophant before present, wholesale tyranny! Compare, this letter of Webster with his instructions to Everett, in the Creole case; or his speech at Charleston, after his ejectment of Hon. Mr. Hoar.

☞ A most agreeable winter have we enjoyed, so far. Let not the poor suffer from want. Ye rich man, regard yourselves as the almoners of God's bounty to His suffering children—your suffering brethers.

☞ We have recently been to Hudson, N. Y. and spoken there four times. Like most places on the Hudson River, it is most thoroughly and hopelessly pro-slavery. But, to the honor of the Bench and Bar of Hudson and Columbia counties, there is no fear nor love of the Administration's kidnapping law there. No stoop will be returned in that place for the giving of an alleged fugitive all the legal defence known to the Constitution and the laws, in spite of President Fillmore's Kidnapping Law.

☞ We regret that fugitives from slavery should expose their liberties, as too many do, by living in public houses, and elsewhere, in the city of New York, and other places where slaveholders resort, where they can just as well go to places of safety in the interior. What is the use of running away, if it is not worth while to keep out of the clutches of negro-catchers?

☞ Every man tried under the Fillmore Whig law for negro catching has been arrested under the false pretense of theft. Then, upon arriving at the Commissioner's office, it is sought to hurry him away in an hour, as a fugitive slave. A black man so arrested ought to warn the officer arresting him as to his doom if the charge be false. He is under obligations to go to a Commissioner's office to be tried for theft; and when arrested, he has a perfect right to refuse to go, unless satisfied that the charge is real. Every officer once known to have so arrested one of us ought to be thenceforward a marked man—so marked that he would *stay marked*, too.

☞ The Whigs of this State are for once in a minority. Their abominable affiliations with Webster and Fillmore merited defeat, present, future and forever. But are the Democrats a whit better? Have the Free Soilers shown any more regard for principle by making Bontwell, than they would by making Briggs, Governor. Is it any less pro-slavery to vote for a pro-slavery candidate *with* than *without* an 'understanding'?

☞ The Address of the Syracuse Convention was opposed by W. H. Burleigh, S. J. May, C. B. Sedgewick, R. R. Raymond, Abby K. Foster and Stephen S. Foster! Tell it not in Gath!

☞ Chaplin meetings are being held in various parts of New York State. Gen. Chaplin will attend them in person.

☞ Mr. James W. Randolph will be our Albany agent and correspondent, in future.

☞ Frederick Douglass, Esq., won golden opinions at the Syracuse Convention.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

CIRCULAR.

A Fair to aid the Committee of Thirteen of New York city, in defending such persons as may be arrested as Fugitive Slaves, will be opened by an Association of Ladies, at ——, on Friday, Feb. 14th, 1851, and will continue during the following week.

Donations, either in Money or Goods,—to forward the object of the Association, and thereby aid in securing to persons so arrested such defence as circumstances and the law may permit,—will be gratefully received. All who feel friendly to this design are earnestly solicited to contribute.

It is sincerely hoped, that the friends of suffering humanity will not fail to contribute towards this object. Their mite is indispensable. The panting slave calls not for sympathy alone, but for help.

The following ladies have been appointed a Committee to receive and collect contributions:—

Mrs. Annesta Postean, 284 Second street; Mrs. Frances Brown, 158 Crosby street; Mrs. Serena L. Downing, 4 Temple street; Mrs. Eliza Berrian, 68 Wall street; Miss Maria M. DeGrasse, 9 York street.

By order of the Association,

EMELINE BASTIEN, *Directress*, 6 *Albany st.*
PANNY TOMPKINS, *Sec'y*, 180 *Church st.*

☞ Donations may also be sent to the Directress and Secretary.

APPEAL

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The undersigned Committee being fully aware that, among the moral means to be brought to requisition in order to ameliorate the condition of an oppressed people, and to correct the false sentiments and impressions of a prejudiced community arrayed against them, a periodical, based on just principles, and properly and ably conducted, stands pre-eminent; and having the pleasing satisfaction of regarding, without invidiousness, THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN, edited by Rev. S. R. WARD, of Boston, Massachusetts, as possessing the above characteristics, have associated themselves together for the purpose of contributing their mites towards its support. Being very limited, however, in pecuniary means, they are under the necessity of appealing for aid, as they do now, most respectfully, to the liberality of the friends of human rights in both hemispheres. While the main object to be had in view is the sustaining of the above said paper, yet some portion of the funds arising from their combined efforts is to be applied towards helping the dying fugitives, and to encourage the lecturer who devotes himself to the advocacy of the rights of humanity. They design holding a Fair during Easter week. The smallest donation in money or any saleable article will be gratefully received and faithfully applied. The Rev. H. H. GARNET, while on his tour in Europe, is duly authorized to receive donations for the aforesaid purpose!

N. B. In all communications, please direct to CATHARINE S. EVANS, care of S. VAN BRAKLE, No. 138 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ADELIA VAN BRAKLE, ELIZABETH SOLIVAR, JANE LACOUNT, SUSAN C. WHITE, MILCHI NICHOLS, MATILDA JOHNSON, JULIA MORGAN, ELIZA TURPIN, JANE HARBUCK, MARY GORDON, HANNAH MARIA BURRY, HANNAH ALEXANDER, *Committee.*

ELIZA ANN BIAS, *President.*
CATHARINE S. EVANS, *Cor. Secretary.*
SARAH NEWMAN, *Treasurer.*

SELECTIONS.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

LETTER FROM JOHN BROWN THE FERRYMAN, TO THE N. Y. EVENING POST.

JERSEY FERRY, Dec. 27, 1850.

Webster has been on to dine with the New England Society, and I perceive, by your paper, has been making one of his evangelical speeches again. The moment I read the report of it, I knew the old sinner had been cutting up; for it is his way, whenever he has been giving his propensities an airing, to go somewhere and make a pious speech. In the short extract which you give from him he exordiums, of about twenty lines, I find the name of God used six times, and the last time in the following connection:—'Would to God,' said he, 'we possessed, and I hope we do possess, the religious feeling which they possessed, [referring to the Pilgrims in 1620,] stronger than bars of brass or iron, *and above all, that faith, that original faith, which, with its eye fast fixed on Heaven, tramples all things earthly beneath its triumphant foot.*'

I was anxious to known what the old man had been doing, that made it necessary for him to go, as your reporter says, twenty-seven hours without sleep. I went to Washington the morrow of the New England Society dinner, and I asked every one that crossed the ferry, from Washington, but I could hear nothing till last night, when * * * who came on to New York with Webster, told me all about it.

It seemed from the story, that Webster was present at Jenny Lind's last concert in Washington. While she was singing one of her popular pieces—my informant could not tell me the name—Webster began to accompany her with his voice, keeping time with his head. Mrs. Webster checked him several times, having observed that his mouse and motions were attracting the attention of his neighbors, but he would not stay checked. He was soon observed by Jenny, who seemed to be flattered at having such distinguished assistance at her concert, and recognised her obligations by a bow, as she supposed, in response to the bow of the Secretary. The Secretary did not observe her obeisance, however, at first, but kept on singing louder and louder, and keeping time by bowing lower and lower, while the Nightingale, oppressed by the Secretary's condescension, bowed and bowed again. Thus they went on bobbing their heads towards each other, like two Mandarins in a grocery window, till the Secretary discovered that he was the object of Jenny's complimentary notice, when he rose from his seat, with all the promptitude which the circumstances of the case admitted of, stepped out into the aisle, and made her three most profound bows. The occasion of this most extraordinary exhibition was not known until some one remarked that he had dined that day with Webster, at Bodisco's. The whole thing was then intelligible, for the distinguished champion of the Bible and the Union has never yet been known to dine with the Russian Minister without going home tight. This, I believe, though, was his first appearance as a public singer, and the inevitable inference is, that he must have been more exhilarated, either by the Russ's wine or the Swede's music, than he had ever been before on any public occasion.

Jenny left next day, highly elated with her triumph, little dreaming that the glory of it was to be shared with Mr. Bodisco's Burgundy.

When Mr. Webster awoke the next day, and learned from his wife what an exhibition he had been making of himself the night before, he all day ran ruminated a few moments, and then said that if Case would move to terminate all diplomatic relations with Russia, he would be delighted, and would make it an administration measure; for as long as Bodisco was in Washington, he found it impossible to maintain his virtue, unless, like Cato, he warmed it frequently with wine. However, continued he, 'this will be all over Washington in a few days; so I think it will be safe to make an evangelical speech, or the people in the country may get hold of it and believe it. Such I learn to have been the exigency which drove the Secretary to New York to undergo his purgation before the New England Society.

For the past three weeks, Webster has been up to his eyes in an intrigue to defeat the choice of Charles Sumner as a United States Senator, to succeed Mr. Winthrop. He cannot bring himself to contemplate, with equanimity, the mortifying rebuke which Sumner's election would, at this time, inflict upon him, and he has had Caleb Cushing on at Washington, to assist him in averting such a calamity, which it is proposed that he shall do in this wise: Caleb has been to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and it is agreed that the cotton Whigs shall support him as a candidate for the Senate, provided he will secure the support of enough Democrats to elect Sumner; and, on the other hand, Cushing and his friends are to vote for Samuel Eliot, if that course shall be found more effectual. Cushing has gone home, and is now counting noses to see what can be done. The knowing ones say that, to that intrigue, the Secretary is to sustain another defeat.

Yours, &c.,

JOHN BROWN, Ferryman.

☞ Here is another article from the pen of the same quaint and racy writer:—

A dry goods clerk in Jersey City told me a good story a day or two since, about the Editors of Sun Day Book, Stimpson & Foster, which may interest you, if you have taken notice of the solicitude recently exhibited by them for gain notoriety at the South as the champions of slavery. Their partner of their paper—indeed, from all I can learn, their no other—is specially commended by Cass and Dickinson, in a certificate appended to a printed circular, which has been sent all through the Southern States. Well! my Jersey City friend tells me that both Stimpson and Foster were clerks of Arthur Tappan, during the famous abolition riots, some twelve or fifteen years ago, and one or both used to carry food to George Thompson, the Abolition lecturer from England, who had promised to pay them, if they found a shelter from the fury of the mob in one of the lofts of Mr. Tappan's store. There were other circumstances mentioned to me, calculated to confirm the impression that these men have not recently become aware of the heinousness of slavery. It seems that within a year they have sought to merge their paper into the Tribune, and were only unsuccessful, I believe, because Mr. Greeley did not desire to have been associated with them, nor did he estimate the value of their property or their services as high as they did, whence, instead of preaching emancipation from the columns of the Tribune, they are now preaching slavery in the Day Book, in the hope of attracting the favorable notice of the South by their noise. In deserves, also, to be borne in mind, that Foster was a year or two one of the assistant editors of the Tribune, during which period he, doubtless, exhausted the available duty of those precepts which he imbibed under the tuition of Arthur Tappan. More anon from

Your faithful correspondent,

JOHN BROWN, Ferryman.

Washington correspondence of the N. Y. Post.]

THE LONG CASE.

There is great rejoicing here to-day, over the decision in the case of Long, the alleged fugitive from slavery, seized in New York, and his forced transportation to Virginia. It is reported that his passed through this hospitable city to-day, the capital of the greatest land of freedom republic upon earth, with chains upon his wrists. It was an eloquent comment upon our free institutions, the pride of our countrymen and the hope of the world.

A LONGER CASE.

As the cars were about departing for the Baltimore station, yesterday evening, my attention was called to an occurrence, the like of which is almost regretfully of Long's case, and deserves to be made public. A respectable free colored man, in appearance, had been serving as a waiter at one of the city hotels. He had recently come from Baltimore. There was no question of the fugitive's character, but he was 'informed upon' as a fellow who was seeking to earn his own bread, by honest industry, forty miles from his birth-place. He was arrested, and the offence was proved.

He was ordered to give bonds in the sum of one thousand dollars for his good behavior, or to leave the place in twenty-four hours. But, like many other respectable men, he could get nobody to bind himself in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, to insure the conviction, the people of Washington, for the good health, good conduct, and success of this black man. He sorrowfully took up his bundle, and went to the Biltmore cars to shake off the dust of his feet upon that place. But he was there met with the information, that he could not enter the cars to leave the District, unless he gave bond for a thousand dollars, with two sufficient sureties, that he was not a slave. Here was another illustration of the adventurous calling in the freest country on earth. A thousand dollars to stay, a thousand dollars to go, and the poor object of so many attentions, with not half so many cents. Imprisonment, I believe, the penalty for non-compliance with one or the other demand. What was the issue of his difficulties, I do not know.

Did any proper and manly feeling prevail among the members of Congress from the free States as to the rights of colored citizens, these disgraceful city ordinances would not be forced into a state of law. I would not vote one dollar to any public purpose in this District, not immediately connected with government, while such inhuman practices were tolerated, and, indeed, required by law. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually drawn, and much of it obtained from Congress every year, for the advantage of this city and the support of its people.

While thus living, in some measure, on the bounty of the government, it should have respect for something beside the vulgar prejudices which lead to the proscription of a useful and worthy class of men. Stop the appropriation, and let us see whether that will not soften their hearts, and enlarge their ideas of liberalism. At daytime there are pending an application for money to bring water into the city, perhaps a million or two, numberless others for grading and opening streets, for draining and bridging, and it is reported that the City Council, having had the address last year to get thirty-two thousand dollars out of the treasury to furnish and ornament the city hall, are now adjusting their modest laces to propose its purchase by the government. They may have a right to manage their own local affairs in their own way, and to expel free negroes, but so they have to bear their own expenses.

X.

From the Liberty Party Paper.

MARCH OF THE SLAVE-CATCHERS.

I see them on their winding way;
Amongst their ranks foul vapors play,
Above them floats the tattered rag
Of Slavery's dark and bloody flag.

They come, with slow and measured tread,
With Fillmore marching at their head;
They come, to seize the panting slave,
Who flies to seek a freeman's grave;
They come to seize the weeping wife,
Who flies for honor and for life;
They come to seize the sister, daughter,
And drag them to pollution's altar;
They come to drive a *private's* trade,
Hard by whose Holly's grave was made.
Arouse, arouse, ye patriot band,
Who clear the forests, plough the land,
Who shove the plane or swing the hammer,
Unfurl aloft proud Freedom's banner;
Swear by Ontario's blue and free,
Swear by the rolling Genesee,
That here, on Freedom's sacred soil,
No wretch shall clutch this *human* spoil.

Rochester, Nov. 4, 1850. OSMOND W. PRATT.

From the New York Independent.

THANKSGIVING AT THE FIVE POINTS.

Perhaps the most remarkable festivity in all the States of New York was celebrated on Thanksgiving day at the Five Points in Sunday Day Book. Our readers may not know what the *Five Points* means. Within two minutes' walk of the City Hall, within the shot of Broadway, there is a neighborhood long given up to the most filthy, vicious, criminal and wretched part of our population. It is a nuisance of iniquity. Thieves, broken-down scoundrels of every nation and color, drunkards, and the most infamous kinds of harlots, find haunts together here; and by means of rum shops, and shops for receiving stolen goods, and in the Tombs, they get their living.

Last May, a mission was established in the very midst of the heathenism. The success which has attended it has been as remarkable as any that we have seen in any field. A notorious rum-hole was rented, cleansed, and converted into a hall for preaching and teaching. Rev. Mr. Eason, a Methodist brother, took his station there. Sabbath schools and day schools have been established. Many reformations have taken place, and these engaged in the work are sanguine of larger success.

It was proposed to give a Thanksgiving dinner to the children of the mission schools of the Five Points. Such a thing was a revelation to them such as they never dreamed of. Five principal hotels on Broadway contributed turkeys, chickens, ducks, ham, roast beef, &c.—not in scraps and remnants, but in their *integrity*, just as the joints or fowls were dismissed from the spit. Vegetables also were made to accompany the feast. Friends of the mission sent pies, fruits and confectionery. About 200 children, clean in various degrees, and clothed as best they might be, some with shoes and stockings, some with shoes without stockings, and some not only content with rent clothes, but without any prejudice of civilization in favor of clothes without rents, but all members of the day or Sabbath-schools, and each proudly bearing a precious ticket of admission, presented themselves for the Thanksgiving repast. Fifty at a time, the girls first, the sexes mixing, of course, suggested, even at the Five Points, stood by each other the table. Each had a mug and a plate. Knives and forks were superfluous luxuries, well dispensed with. The repast was distributed to each, with its accompaniments of bread and potatoes, as the first course; and whatever appetites the children had for knowledge, no doubt existed in their teacher's mind as to their natural appetites. For the second course, the children were initiated into the mystery of pies; and were electrified with a third course of half an orange-a-piece, raisins, and a few confections!

Napkins were then passed, and each wiped his several mouth and hands, marched to seats on the sides of the hall, and under their teacher practised in singing, while to success on the other sections of children took their turns at the table.

There be some who are so ethereal as to regard all banquets and feasts as but a part of animal indulgence. The idea of a Thanksgiving dinner as means of grace to the ragged urchins of the Five Points will quite upset their equanimity. But we are not yet quite so dainty. Bread and catechism are powerful stimulants; but each in its place. We do not believe that a text-load of school-books, tracts or Bibles would have produced the religious impressions that this good dinner did—for such things were above their reach. They would not feel them to be evidences of Gospel kindness. Even men put themselves to great pains to supply their bodily wants, and brought them into sympathy with the prosperous population of the whole State in this day of festivity, they met them on their own level. They talked to them in their own language, and you will give a hungry child kindness, will then be apt to receive your catechism; but if you offer him catechism first, he will be very apt to think it dry feeding. Such a step as this was not merely benevolent, but eminently adroit. The managers of that dinner will not be apt to be hooted when they next go to hunt out the destitute.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

"LIFE IN NORTH CAROLINA.

Rev. Wm. S. Balch, of New York, has just been down in North Carolina preaching, and has written home to the Christian Messenger some notes of his travels. The following is his account of his first day's wheeling through the heart of the State, after leaving the Railroad at Goldsborough:

After breakfast, I started in an open buggy for Kinston! I saw by the map it lay in the line to this place. No body at Goldsboro', nor the conductor or superintendent of the railroad, who was along, could tell me the distance, nor the way to get there. So I had to start at a hazard with a 'boy,' which means here a slave, and a small, miserable looking horse. Goldsboro' has a little Court House, and a dozen or two dwellings and slave-huts scattered among the pine trees, the oldest inhabitants inform me, in little way out I saw a small, dingy building—the 'boy' said it was a school-house. We passed on, and such huts and such a country, and such houses, and such people, God saith a day! Oh! heavens! I did not expect to see all this in the 'sunny and chivalrous South.' These scattered plantations, with a few wretched log huts, dropped down in the edge of the woods, all open, and dirty, and comfortless cabins! Ireland! why, Irish mud-houses are palaces of comfort, compared with one of them, for cleanness, dry and warm. Their thick wells and thatched roofs protect the starved inmates from the chill night and drenching rains. These do neither. But these are more? No, not all of them; for I saw some whites in as wretched plights as I ever saw in Ireland or Italy—one family, a few miles out from Goldsboro', which for destitution surpassed any thing I ever beheld or dreamed of in my life. The 'boy' stopped under his horse. For an excuse, I stepped to the door to borrow a cup for some drink. Two flaxen-haired boys, about the door—one, it might be, five, the other three—with what were shirts once hanging on their shoulders, and stringing in rags down to their hips, constituted all their clothing, and the day was chill and wet. Inside was an infant, eight or nine months old, dressed as the others, and lying on the nasty floor. On the bench of a loom, standing near the fire, was sitting the tall figure, or rather skeleton, of a woman. She left her loom, and went to the dresser and took down the only tea-cup, and handed it to me. I regarded her pale, cadaverous visage, as she lifted her sunken eyes to me, for an instant, with a shudder of horror, as when one sees unexpectedly a human skeleton standing up in his bones, and I shrunk from her with similar feelings. I could not speak. I took the cup from her attenuated fingers, and went to the well—a hole dug in the ground, six or eight feet deep, with no stick or stone to curb it, except above the ground. As I returned, I noticed a young woman sitting in the corner of the fire-place, close down to the fire, as if shaking with the ague. Such a picture of destitution and misery I did not see in Kerry, Clare, or Galway. The nearest approach to it I saw in Tivoli, near Rome.

I have not time to describe other scenes, but pass on through holes of shallow mud, from one to ten rods long, and some more or less wide, for a long distance, some pale, sickly, ragged, wretched looking man, and now and then a negro, some on the backs of small, poor horses, which are harnessed into old carts bolted up of round pine sticks, on which are single barrels of pitch. In some cases, I met similar carts, with a single ox harnessed in—not cows, as are seen in Germany. In a few cases, I saw men on horseback; but met but two carriages, and the stage, with one passenger in it, in a day, and a journey of thirty-four miles."

From the Liverpool Mercury of January 31.

WILLIAM AND ELLEN CRAFTS, THE FUGITIVE SLAVES FROM BOSTON.

The Fugitive Slave Law of the United States is doing its work with mournful effectiveness. Thousands of colored people in the Free States have had to break up their peaceful homes, to relinquish their pursuits of industry, and with wild terror to shed their children to Canada, there to secure that liberty which republican America denies them.—The soldiers of the British Government have, at a cost, given up barracks in several places to the fugitives, and the people of Canada have provided liberally their food with them. The friends of the slave in the United States are also exerting themselves in aid of the oppressed, as we perceive at state in the Boston paper that from Elgin, Illinois, the Rev. J. Ambrose has already shipped 200 bushels of corn, and several boxes of clothing for the use of the fugitive slaves in Canada West.

We have also, every now and then, evidences of the powerful character of this measure by the arrival of fugitives in this country. We understood that William and Ellen Crafts, about whom there was so much excitement in Boston a short time since, reached that port, by the Cambria, more than a fortnight ago; but their arrival was made known only to a few friends, in consequence of Mr. Crafts having been attacked by a severe and serious illness, brought on, beyond doubt, by the fearful season of agitation and suspense she passed through just before escaping from the land of liberty. He was brought from the Cambria to the house of the Rev. Francis Bishop. Mr. Crafts has left Liverpool to meet and consult with his American friend at Edinburgh; but his wife was sent well enough to accompany him. They are widely known as fugitives in Boston, as the difficulties thrown in the way of their apprehension by almost all parties strikingly testified. Mr. Crafts is a fine intelligent man, and Mrs. Crafts is so nearly white, that only an American's keen sightedness would detect her affinity to the proscribed race. All who see and talk with them cannot but feel a deep thrill of indignation at a system which would reb such persons of their humanity, and sink them to the degradation of goods and chattels.

The circumstances of their escape to the Free States from Macon, in Georgia, about two years ago, which we have had from themselves, are know from independent sources to be as represented. They at last reached Boston, and were comfortably settled there, amid a large circle of friends, for nearly two years, till the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, when they began to break up their home, and fly to the country for protection from warrants which were out against them to carry them back once more to the gall and bitterness of slavery. Thank God that

Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free.

and we trust that William and Ellen Crafts will have and we trust that William and Ellen Crafts will have a home to bless their adopted land, and they will be received here with that kindness and sympathy which their character and their circumstances so touchingly demand.

☞ The Cambridge correspondent of the Springfield Republican writes:—Mr. Webster is understood to have been lately the recipient of a generous present in money from some of his old and rich friends in Boston; sum or posit at $26,000.

ALAS, POOR LONG!

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Evening Post writes as follows:

The Long Escort.—The escort with Henry Long, headed by Marshal Taylor, passed through here one day before yesterday, for Richmond. The expense of this whole proceeding will be duly charged upon by the United States. It will be a mend bill, at a rough estimate, not less than ten thousand dollars, and including the incidental charges of the trial, much more. These bills are to be paid from the Treasury, out of the taxes levied upon the people of the free as well as of the slave States.

HENRY LONG AT AUCTION.

We will sell on Saturday morning, at 10 o'clock, a likely young man, 25 years of age. He is an experienced tavern servant, having graduated at one of the principal hotels in New York.

PULLIAM & SLADE, Auctioneers.

☞ We find the above in the Richmond Enquirer of Saturday, among a long catalogue of 'likely negroes' to be sold at auction by various firms, including farm hands, factory hands, cooks, women with children, and several girls from 14 to 18 years old.

P. S.—SALE OF HENRY LONG. Henry Long, the reclaimed fugitive, was sold at auction on Saturday last, by Messrs. Pulliam & Slade, to a gentleman from South Carolina, for $750. The purchaser was the only bidder, and was required to give bond and security in the amount of $3000 as an assurance that he would remove Henry so the South, in compliance with the terms of sale. There was quite a concourse of persons in attendance at the auction room.—*Richmond Whig.*

HENRY LONG. This black rascal, who for the last three or four weeks has been occupying quite a large space in the public prints, was sold yesterday at the auction room of Messrs. Pulliam & Slade in this city, to a Mr. Clopton, from Georgia, for $750.—*Richmond Whig, Monday.*

☞ Gen. CHAPLIN addressed the colored citizens of Boston, on Monday evening, at the Belknap street church, in an impromptu speech. Rev. Mr. Grimes, son, Wm. C. Nell, J. C. Hathaway, and Charles Lee, Esq., also took part in the meeting. A subscription was then taken, amounting to $111.25. This is the wall for the liberality of our colored fellow citizens, and gives strong proof of their devotion to the cause of liberty. The amount collected at the previous meeting at the Tremont Temple was $300;

☞ Richard Broadhead has been elected U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania. He is a dough-face of the nastiest stripe.

☞ The Hon. Jesse D. Bright has been re-elected United States Senator in Indiana, on the first ballot, receiving ninety-two votes, against forty-six for Charles Dunn.

☞ Oon. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, heads a call for a Convention in Maine, opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law. It is to be held at Winthrop on the 29th inst.—two days.

☞ Two men were killed and several others badly burned or scalded, in Indiana, by the blowing out of some molten iron, while making castings for the steamer Alexander Scott.

Sad Misfortune.—Mr. William H. Bradford, a member elect from Plymouth, and a member of the last Legislature, was with an accident a short time since. While splitting wood, the axe glanced and cut a severe gash in his foot, rendering him unable to go out. The first of last week he started for the city, by railroad, in order to take his seat in the House, which he was anxious to fill, and proceeded but a short distance on his way, when he became deranged, and was obliged to return. On arriving home, he explained that he was rained for this world, and rushed out of the house through his garden to a small stream that flows past it, into which, he plunged. He was seen by some of his neighbors, who ran to rescue him and saved his life. On Saturday he was sent to the Hospital at Worcester. Mr. Bradford has a wife and four children, is an honest and upright mechanic, a no 1 politician, and was respected by all who knew him.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 14.

Trouble with Hayti.—We have received late advices from Hayti. The American Commercial Agent has left for a ship of war to proceed immediately to Hayti, in consequence of difficulty arising out of the impressment of Capt. Mayo, of brig Gardener, of Boston.

A Renowned Rascal.—Father J. J. Dougherty, a Roman Catholic Priest, was arrested in Springfield on Friday night, and held in bonds of $600 to answer to a charge of felonious assault on the person of Mary Morrison, a girl of only seventeen years of age. The case as reported, is characterized by circumstances of peculiar depravity. The victim is an intelligent, well educated American girl of Irish descent. She is an accomplished musician, was the organist in the Rev. Mr. Cooper's church in Springfield, and at the time of the alleged assault, he was being guardian of her virtue. The offence was committed last Spring. Early in the Summer she was sent to New York to avoid public scandal, and was being disowned by her friends, she was brought back to Springfield. The poor girl is now a mother—disgraced, heart-broken, and supposed to be dying.—*Mail.*

☞ The Eastern Railroad Co. have adopted the practice of selling parkages of tickets (50 in a package) at 25 per cent. discount from the regular, retail prices.

LOUISVILLE, Ky, Jan. 15.

Murderer Reprieved—Slave Convicted of Manslaughter.—Keate, who murdered his wife, in this city, and had been sentenced to be hung, has been pardoned by the Governor, on condition that he will leave the United States.

A slave was to-day convicted of manslaughter. The penalty is death.

Michigan Slave Case.—In the case of *Vanderlake* vs. certain citizens of Michigan for aiding the escape of five slaves, in the U. S. Circuit Court, the jury have been discharged, unable to agree. 8 for plaintiff, 4 for defendants.

☞ Rev. Stephen Beach, Esq. Elisha Fisk died at his residence in Wrentham on Saturday last, aged eighty-one years and four months. He graduated at Brown University, in 1795. He was one of the oldest clergymen in the State. He preached his half century sermon in June last.

☞ Professor Stephen Chase, of Dartmouth College, died at Hanover on the 6th inst., of typhoid fever. He leaves a wife and two children. He was 37 years of age. He was graduated in 1832, and elected Professor of Mathematics in 1838.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 18.

Fire at New Orleans.—The St. Charles Hotel took fire at 10 o'clock this morning, in the roof, and one half is ruined. The fire is still raging. There have been no lives lost. The building will be missed, being the most beautiful in the South. Clapp's Church, adjoining the hotel, has just caught fire, and will be consumed, and is now burning. The Atlantic Telegraph Office is in great danger. It is supposed to be the work of an incendiary.

January 19.

Loss by conflagration of fully a Half Million of Dollars, of which $150,000 was insured, including $20,000 at the Sun Mutual.

Mercantile Library, Methodist Church, destroyed; loss $40,000, fully insured here. It is rumored several lives have been lost about the St. Charles hotel, but no bodies found. The furniture of the St. Charles, valued at $8,000, almost totally lost.

South Carolina Conference of the M. E. Church.—The Discipline on Slavery.—This body at its recent meeting, (says the Charleston Mercury,) on the motion of Dr. Whitford Smith, adopted the important resolution touching the obnoxious section in the Methodist Book of Discipline on the subject of slavery. An attempt was made at the last meeting of the General Conference of the Church South, to carry a resolution which seems to inculcate anti-slavery as a part of Christian duty. The motion failed by a few votes, though it was generally, if not unanimously, admitted that the said section was adopted finding such entry.

The Impartial Citizen.

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From the New York Christian Inquirer.

THE PULPIT AND THE PRESENT CRISIS.

BY REV. N. HALL.

To the Editor of the Christian Inquirer:

What is the Christian pulpit for? 'For the preaching of Christ and his religion,' of course all would say. And for what end 'to do this? 'To make men and women of Christian,' would be the universal reply—'to help to higher aims, higher hopes and higher conditions of moral and spiritual life—to cause God's kingdom to come, here and now, in each soul, and over the earth—the reign, universal and absolute, of righteousness, and peace, and love.' And how shall the pulpit accomplish this? 'By presenting'—is the obvious reply—'the pure teachings of the gospel—its great doctrines, its eternal principles, its solemn sanctions; by setting forth the character of Christ—him, as the great example, the Heaven-sent guide, the all-sufficient saviour.' All would say this. None would dissent from this. Here is the foundation, the material of all Christian teaching.

But now suppose people to be unstocked by these things, as long as they are made general and abstract. Suppose they listen and assent to the theoretical exposition of a great religious truth, or moral principle, and never dream that it bears upon *them personally*—that they themselves are convicted and condemned by it. Or supposedly are led in secret thoughts to *suspect* this, but through the pulpit's silence as to the fact, their suspicions are lulled to sleep. Suppose there is some great social evil and wrong existing in the community—some undeniable and flagrant infraction of a fundamental Christian law; but through the blinding influence of custom and familiarity, or some other cause lying nearer to the will, it is not seen as such; or, when so seen, through the supposed humility and wisdom, is connived at and upheld.—Suppose public sentiment with regard to it to be unsound and unchristian, the public conscience dull and torpid, and the unrighteous thing is suffered to continue and ingrudge, to the increasing moral destruction of all nearly or remotely connected with it—throwing the moral discernment by the glare of the prosperity it augments—seducing the soul from its fidelity to its instinctive decisions, and depressing its native sensibilities in the attempt to gild its dark economy—to palliate and excuse it, and bend Scripture and God to its support. And suppose, further, that those who have access through other channels than the pulpit to the popular ear, (and, with few exceptions, others have not,) or if they discern it, do so from a vastly lower point of view than the Christian; that the halls of political debate, the chambers of Senates, the assemblies of the people, the press, are all giving their influence in favor of, not against, the evil; that the respectability, the station, the talent, the wealth of the community are mostly and greatly on its side. In such a state of things—and although I have stated the case exceptionally, it may, I believe, be reasonably in very fact—in such a state of things, what, I ask, is the pulpit to do? To be silent? To look out at the fearful odds with which truth is contending, with error, righteousness with injustice, and not speak? Declaring the subject is an exciting one—because it has political bearings, as well as moral and religious—it becomes it well make the preacher timorous and unpopular, not speak? I cannot so see the pulpit's duty, the pulpit's place, the pulpit's calling. Rather did it seem to me that it should throw itself, unreservedly and unconditionally, upon the side of truth, of justice, of humanity, without stopping to ask the question who is with it, or who against it, or what it may lose of general influence, or pecuniary support. The pulpit is not worth supporting—unless it be true to itself and its mission; unless it be the one place where God's truth shall never wear a fetter, nor the wronged and oppressed look vainly for an advocate. It is no importance, if it be not this—no obstacle to the cause it professes to espouse—insofar as Him in whose name it stands. And as to influence, the minister sacrifices, it is said, his general influence, by speaking on these topics—arrays against him his people's prejudices—exposes to their distrust and ill will towards him, and thus diminishes his power to do them good. This is indeed a sad result, which one cannot but lament. Still, it seems to me, it is a result for which the minister is not responsible. He has been, by his agent, in fact, in publishing it; or rather, the *truth* has been the agent, and the blame rests, therefore, somewhere higher than himself.—But in his hearers' previous state of mind is the real responsibility to be considered and disaffected at such occasions, such excessive and morbid sensitiveness in which they allow themselves to any directness in reproof, or censure, or opposition, like the deaf of the difficulty. The question is, how far he is to regard this state of mind in determining him as to what and how he shall preach. If he regard it to the extent of suffering it to prohibit him from the choice of any topic which may be offensive to any of his hearers, or from that mode of treatment which would make it so, it will be seen at once, that he must usher restrict himself to themes of no living interest, or, allowing himself others, his treatment of them must be very general—and pointless. A minister may, doubtless, find enough to preach about, going the round of doctrinal divinity and ethical abstractions; discussing upon immoralities which his people are not guilty of, or touching indirectly only upon such as they are, displeasing the bulwark of his speech is the maintenance of views which are in exact accordance with his hearers' sentiments, and in regard to which their position is already an ultra one; denouncing social wrongs which they have no interest in upholding, or presenting the palliating circumstances, or possible beneficent results in the overruling providence of God, in connection with those in whose existence they have an interest—enough to preach about, without exciting disaffection, or ill-will. But is such a course worthy the pulpit? Is it for this it exists, to be merely inoffensive? Is this its calling—adjacently to follow in the wake of popular sentiment and practice? No one would say it. Still, it may be contended, a minister is justified in regarding the views and prejudices of his hearers in his choice and treatment of subjects, for the sake of bearing, so far as it may be necessary to do so, their personal regard and good-will; thus, he indeed, as an end, but as a means, to influence them for good; as that which, once lost, his usefulness among them has ceased. But besides that, there is a great mistake upon the practical adoption of such a view of a minister's discipline and management of soul—a point so great that he can hardly, in speaking to me, for his safety's sake, give it too wide a berth—is there not a wretched fallacy beneath it all? Is it not true, that one's influence—all that tells upon the moral nature—is exactly in ratio of his fidelity to his nature, by his hearers, or supposed hearers, for whatever end, of a course, in his preaching, which is not in strict accordance with his inmost individual convictions? He may secure a kind of popularity by it. He may receive a patronizing, good-natured sort of regard. But he will have lost his hold upon the faith and respect of his people, as surely as the human soul was made to honor, in its secret depths, a straight-forward honesty, rather than a creeping cautiousness—whatever its own practice, to honor it in others. A minister may be nursing his power of influence; feeling it strengthened by deference to public sentiment; swathing it by soft complisances; and in! when he would have it for use, it is gone. I honestly believe that the pulpits of our land are losing their influence with the mass of the people, by their very efforts to preserve it—by yielding, for that end, to a cunnilating and compromising policy. I would not say that such a course is the result always of an unworthy timidity or self-regard. It is, I believe, in many cases, conscientiously pursued, as that by which in the end most good will be accomplished. But I feel sure it is a mistake. Expedience is to be used, not hoarded; or, rather, one is to think adding short influence, but say and do, in the right spirit—let us not forget that—God, in his own unperverted moral judgment is telling him at the time so in itself true and right, and the whole great providence of God stands pledged for the result. Nothing can may be driven from his place. He may be followed with opprobrium, and the world may hiss him for, for the sake of the mere influence he is asserting, rather than his who is keeping place and popularity by muzzling the strength of his convictions, and taming the boldness of his thought. That there is a degree of prudence not unworthy of a minister to exercise, will be by all admitted—a certain kind of regard to the prejudices and feelings of his hearers, deciding him as to times and modes in the presentation of his views. But I would urge is, that his views *should* be presented at some times, in modes by which they shall be clearly known; his views, received in the chamber of solitary communion with immortal Truth, gained from the heaven-giving mount of prayerful meditation—his views on all subjects of living interest to his hearers, as moral and religious beings, and more especially those with regard to which he deems the public sentiment unsound, and the public practice immoral and unchristian. And he has not to be deterred from this by the idea—which is pretty sure, in some form, to get an utterance in his hearing—that ministers have nothing about certain matters of public concernment; that they are meddlers when they touch upon them; that such things are to be left to practical men, to the intelligent laymen, to decide upon. We know what God's law is; we know what Christian principles are; and shall we not proclaim them, and judge the institutions and usages of society by them, and tell the issues of that judgment, the fact if it must be so, of popular clamor and abuse? Are we to give in, by any word we speak, or silence we keep, to that absurd implication, which comes in less and less equivocal tones, from the spheres of political action, that Christianity, that God, are intruders there, and, so, hath to be expelled? Are we to leave the sacred rights of humanity in the hands of unprincipled and unpitying politicians, and let the righteous indignation at injustice and wrong be tamed and cooled ere it utter itself, by their wretched sophistries?

There is a great sensitiveness at the present time about politics, and especially if a minister only make an allusion in the way of censure to public affairs, to certain national wrongs and offences, without subjecting himself to the charge of preaching politics. And so, for his peace's sake, if he have a word to say on these points, he must keep it entirely until rolling time, which brings, so many a kind relief, has brought to him, to the shape of one of those odd occasions called 'Fast' and 'Thanksgiving,' when some opportunity of utterance to a very safe and unexplainable assembly of peace.

If a subject does not properly belong to the pulpit, why take it there at all? But if we feel that it does so, and especially if it be one about which we have received and of deep conviction, why thrust it into a corner; why bar it out from God's holy Sabbath, where it has a right to be? Does the kind of preaching alluded to properly belong to the pulpit? If by 'political preaching' be meant that which takes sides with a political party, or advocates, which urges its measures and course on political grounds and considerations, I should say, most emphatically and earnestly, *No!* From the entrance into it of 'politics,' in the narrow and ordinary acceptation of the term, it should be guarded by pulpit as from the entrance of pollution. These hands be palsied when its unhallowed fire shall touch the censer which they bear. The Pulpit's sphere is a moral and religious one. In it, it should keep strictly within it. It never less it but in compromise its dignity, and lessen its influence. But is it not an entirely different thing from the preaching described—standing on the high ground of Christian principles—to make application of them to existing public evils and wrongs, and point out the duty with regard to them, to which those principles urge? Shall the preaching which aims to do this be styled 'political' in any opprobrious sense, merely because those evils and wrongs had a political origin, and have political bearings, and because political parties are discussing them? Take this momentous subject of American Slavery, in which recent legislation has given a new and startling interest. It has political bearings and relations. Let it be admitted that the pulpit is not the place, to ministers the man, to discuss it, as to these. But it is a great *moral* evil and wrong. It exists in opposition to the plainest of the Almighty's laws. It exists to deny to a human man of the dearest of his rights and privileges as a human being. It is a blasting and a mildew to the souls of those who come in contact with it. It is one of the greatest obstacles of a public nature to the Religious advancement of the community. Religion and Humanity, and the combine to show that it is operating to lower and corrupt the prevalent tone of religious thought and sentiment among us.

And shall it be said that the pulpit must keep itself in the secretaries, in the abstractness, of great principles? That its aim must be to reach the root of which this evil is the towering stem—its root in the depravity of the unconverted heart? That its work is to make men Christians, so that this and all kindred evils shall of necessity disappear? Surely it is so work. But right in the way of doing it stands this demoralizing institution, contaminating, by the presence of its agencies and influences, the very atmosphere of the souls we would convert.—The spirit of truth and Christian charity, in the abstractness? And has not this been tried long enough? Human Brotherhood—the Divine Paternity—and all the moral precepts of Christ, will his own blessed life as their illustrated commentary—are they not familiar as household words to them—have as regards, at least, their support of this institution and their action with reference to it, go directly in the face of them? Do we not know by the existing of reluctance, through the power of prejudice and passion, and the evil world, men may become blinded and insensible, in certain directions, from the clearest moral obligations—to the plainest deductions from principles, which, elsewhere, they accept? Did not the Scribe in the Savior's time, well enough that second great commandment, written on the forehead of the law, of whom better he was such a jealous guardian? And yet he, why not until Jesus showed him, because he did not care to see, its application to the suffering man, whoever or whomsoever he might be, whom his help could reach.

Here we are in a community whose thousand churches have long been vocal with the utterance of Christian principles; and yet in this very community, and by those who have been all their lives attendants upon these churches, is there most unchristian and inhuman indifference and disregard to the claims upon their sympathy and help of the enslaved millions of our land—brethren to him who fell among thieves, and subjected to a fate, compared with which his was unworthy of commiseration. Here is the slave power bearing directly upon the secular interests of a portion of the community; pledging itself to withdraw its continental patronage from those at the North, who, in any form or degree, directly or by implication, show themselves in sympathy with political slavery sentiments; and men are everywhere feeling this influence, and falling before it; suppressing their convictions, and selling their principles; impoverishing their own souls, and increasing the corruption of the social atmosphere around them, and putting back the day of triumph and redemption for humanity. Men are every where feeling this influence; the Press is feeling it. Alas, if the Pulpit feels and falls before it! Woe, woe, unto it, if at such a crisis, it does not openly and fearlessly take the side of the oppressed, and advocate it with the power and persuasiveness which God gives the humblest in a holy cause.

Dorchester, Mass.

A REMARKABLE DECISION IN THE SUPREME COURT.

Washington, Jan. 11th

The Supreme Court has decided a case, the chief point in which appears to be, whether the conveyance in a State bill of sale by his master, or under his authority, of a slave, confers upon him the rights of a freeman, or whether his condition remains the same. I believe the decision was agreed to when the bench was full. The case was No. 25, entitled Jacob Strader; James Gorham, and John Armstrong, plaintiffs in error, vs. Christopher Graham. In error to the Court of Appeals for the State of Kentucky.

Mr. Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the Court.

'The case is brought here by writ of error directed to the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky.

'The facts in the case, so far as they are material to the decision of this court, are briefly as follows: The defendant in error is a citizen of the State of Kentucky, and three negro men whom he claimed and held as his slaves were received on board the steamboat Giles, at Louisville, without his knowledge or consent, and carried to Cincinnati, and from that place escaped to Canada, and were, finally lost to him.'

The points decided, or rather the points on which the *dicta* of the court are given, are that every person has the right to determine the *status*, or domestic and social condition of the persons domiciled within its territory, except in actual or constructive cases, by the laws of the United States.

Application: Three negro men, slaves, were sent into Ohio, by their masters, on several occasions, to perform as musicians. By the laws of Ohio, they were free; but they returned to Kentucky and became slaves. That is, having been by the voluntary act of the master placed under the jurisdiction of Ohio, and thereby, in fact, manumitted, they were, *per legem operationem* alone, afterwards reduced to slavery.

2d. The ordinance of 1787 was not a compact and is not in force. Therefore, the ordinance could never have affected, and does not now affect the relations between the States formed out of the North West territory and the other States, between Ohio and Kentucky, for instance.

Exemplification. Kentucky is not bound to regard a law of Ohio, founded on the ordinance making negroes free, as they have been, freemen. And the exemplification of the point that the ordinance is not in force, is found in Permoli vs. First Municipality, 3, Howard, 589. Here the plaintiff claimed the application of the ordinance to Louisiana, under the act of Congress of April 7th, 1798. The court decided that the ordinance ceased to be in force when Louisiana became a State, and now holds, that if it is not in force in States formed from the south-western territory, it cannot be of any more validity in the States of the north-western territory.

3d. The authority of the ordinance ceased, even as local law, when the States of the northwest were formed, the act of August 7th, 1789, adopted the ordinance, only applying to the territory while in a territorial form. The consequence of this is, that the ordinance does not confer any jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court, or any other courts, and the writ of error is accordingly dismissed, for the want of jurisdiction.

It is said, in one or more of the Washington papers, that all the judges concurred in the opinion of the court, on the principles laid down, but that Justices McLean, Catron and Wayne, considered most of the points decided as not before the court, and therefore that the *dicta* upon them were extrajudicial. As to Justice McLean, this is not correct. He has held in his own circuit, that the articles of the ordinance relative to slavery were a compact between the whole of the northwestern territory and the States which should be formed out of it, and the other States of the Union. And he now believes both that the ordinance is in force, and that the occasion required no opinion from the court in relation to it.

I regard what the court says in relation to the ordinance as of no importance whatever. It was thrown out of its way to put on record a *dictum* which the advocates of slavery extension will greedily seize upon as a point in their favor. The ordinance has been in actual existence and treated as operative sixty-three years, and it is too late to attempt to repeal by a decree of the Supreme Court. At no time, within the last forty years, has that court been in a position to exercise such a jurisdiction, lying between the free and the slave States, as opposing sections, could be left to it with any more safety to the rights of the former, than to a board of referees consisting of the present Governors of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia. And the history of this particular case illustrates the stupidity and the danger of trusting to this without the arbitration of issues that belong to the legislature or to the forum of popular discussion.

But as I said at first, the only point decided in the case is, that persons once held as slaves, and consequently free by the act of the master, may be recaptured by the silent operation of the common law of slavery in our slave States. This is what is decided, for to suppose that any other decision was come to, would involve the still more revolting conclusion, that the Kentucky master may take his slaves into Ohio, and hold them there, in defiance of her laws. This has an important bearing upon the Fugitive Slave Law. It shows that this court will proclaim all men of color in slave States to be slaves, and will not look with favor upon their manumission.

This serves to show what security a person transported from a free State, on the charge of being a fugitive, has for obtaining a trial by jury in the place in which he is conveyed. Looking at this decision in the view of common sense and common humanity, on one class of subjects, would not be always proscribed.

From the Weekly Evening Post.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

BY ANNE PRESTON.

We've woven now our crime of shame, no words our guilt may speak,
The comment on the deed we've done is made by groan, and shriek;
The land whose cradle freedom rocked, the nation of the brave,
Has kissed the dust, and like a hound she hunts the helpless slave!
When child and mother flee from chains, she scents the bloodhound track,
And, seizing them with giant hold, she hurls the tremblers back!
Oh! mother-land, thy children weep to see thee sunk to this,
The very despots of the earth raise up their heads and hiss.
But deep, firm voices fill the air; I hear their mighty swell,
'We to the fiend that executes this statute law of hell:
Our doors are open to the slave, we'll feed the hungry still,
Despite of every fiendish band; so help us, God, we will!'
Till man's great heart shall change to stone, till sun and stars grow pale,
Till God himself forsakes his world, this law shall not prevail.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM MR. WEBSTER.

A 'Union meeting' has recently been held in Tarrytown, Westchester county, N. Y., at which the following letter from the Northern Traitor was read.—

Washington, Jan. 27, 1851.

Gentlemen:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th of this month, inviting me to attend a meeting proposed to be holden at Tarrytown, on the 30th instant, by the people of Westchester county, without any distinction of party, who approve of the Compromise measures of the last session of Congress.

My public duties do not allow me to accept this invitation; but you need not doubt that I cordially approve of the objects and purposes for which the meeting is proposed to be assembled.

I hope the work of alienation may be considered so gone, in some degree, checked; but that it has existed, both at the North and at the South, and does exist to a dangerous extent, cannot, it seems to me, be denied by any honest man.

In the South, the separation of the States is openly proposed, discussed, and recommended, absolutely or conditionally, in legislative halls, and in conventions called together by the authority of law.

In the North, the State Governments have not run into such excess, and the purpose of overturning the Government shows itself more clearly in Resolutions agreed to in voluntary assemblies of individuals denouncing the laws of the land, and declaring a fixed intent to disobey them.

I notice, that in one of these meetings, holden lately in the very heart of New England, and said to have been very numerously attended, the members unanimously resolved, 'that we, as God is our helper, we will not suffer any person charged with being a fugitive from labor, to be taken from among us, and this resolve we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to maintain.'

These persons do not seem to have been aware, that the purpose avowed by them is distinctly treasonable. If any law of the land be resisted, by force or the force of numbers, with a declared intent to resist the application of that law, in all cases, this is levying war against the Government within the meaning of the Constitution, and is an act of treason drawing after it all the consequences of that offence. Times have not changed so much, that these sentiments should be regarded in principle as a final settlement of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embrace; that though they have not flown from imperfections, yet, in their mutual dependence and connection, they formed a system of compromise, the most conciliatory and best for the entire country, that could be obtained from conflicting sectional interests and opinions; and, that therefore they should be adhered to, until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of further legislation, to guard against evasion or abuse. That opinion, so far as I know, remains unchanged, and will be acted upon and supported, if, and so decisively as the country requires this; the security of the Constitution requires this; consistency requires this; and every consideration of the public good demands this. If the administration cannot stand upon the principles of the message, it does not deserve to stand.

Citizens of Westchester! Citizens of the State of New York! The voices of your own illustrious dead speak to you from the ground. They who are in their graves beneath your feet, and whose noble names and memories, as you love liberty, as you value your own happiness, as you regard the hopes of your children, to hold on, with unflinching firmness, to the Constitution and to the Union of the States and as if with his still living, they conjure you, in tones of indignation, to reject all such ideas as that disobedience to the law is the path of patriotism, or treason to your country, duty to God.

For myself, I confess, that if I were to witness the breaking up of the Union and the Constitution of the United States, I should how myself to the storm in contrition of face. I should wish to hide myself from the observation of mankind. I should be ashamed and declare truly before God and man, that in the utmost election of every faculty with which my Creator has endowed me, I had labored to avert the catastrophe.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,
and all good wishes, your obliged
friend and fellow-citizen,
(Signed,) DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Messrs. James A. Hamilton, George B. Butler, John B. Haskin, Albert Lockwood, Committee.

From the Richmond Whig of Jan. 17.

THE LEGISLATURE.

In the House of Delegates, yesterday, Mr. Belling offered the following resolutions in relation to the Vermont Press Resolutions, communicated by the Governor some days since:

1. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to return to the Governor of Vermont, the resolutions of the Legislature of that State, styled 'Resolutions for the protection of Freedom of the Press.'

2. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to inform the Governor of Vermont, that the Legislature of Virginia declines to consider the resolutions from the Legislature of Vermont, relating to the peace of the world, until that body shall show their careful of the peace of the Union, by conforming its enactments to the Constitution of the United States, and laws passed in pursuance thereof.

The previous question was called upon the adoption of the resolutions. And the House accordingly [illegible]

On Mr. Pollard's motion, the ayes and noes were called for, and being taken, resolutions failed—ayes 13[illegible], noes 6[illegible]

[illegible]

PROTEST OF CONSUL MATHEW.

COLUMBIA, (S. C.) Dec. 14, 1850.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the States of North and South Carolina, has the honor to transmit to His Excellency, that he is instructed to invite the consideration of your Excellency, and of the Legislature of South Carolina, now assembled, to the existing law of the State, under which a class of Her Britannic Majesty's subjects, sojourning in the province of a national treaty, the ports of South Carolina, in trading vessels, or in distress, are taken from the protection of the British flag, and imprisoned in the common jails until the moment of their ship's departure.

The fixed mode, adopted by H. B. M.'s government in this communication, will, the undersigned hopes, be accepted as a further proof of nonintention and good will towards the State of South Carolina.

Aware of the Constitutional change impending upon its arrival, he has purposely awaited your Excellency's official inauguration into office.

The State of South Carolina, the undersigned apprehends, has derived advantages of moment from the present liberal commercial intercourse with Great Britain, as it is, tridently, *the price at which her staple commodities of rice and cotton can be sold, that binds their production and importation from various other countries*; nor will it escape the recollection of your Excellency and of the Legislature, that the punctilious adherence of the British government to the unintended, but strict, application of the wording of the mutual treaty, enabled a talented Carolinian gentleman to obtain for the South, under it, a further benefit, in cotton.

By the 6th article of that treaty, and to the declaration in the Constitution of the United States, that the Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, *and all the treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States*, shall be the *supreme law of the land*, the undersigned begs to call your Excellency's attention, apprehending that its infraction, by the act in question, will appear indubitable.

The substitution of any more *protective* basis of commercial intercourse, for the present treaty, would, he feel persuaded, be at variance with the wishes of H. B. M.'s Government, but, it is just, and indispensable to its consideration, that a *perfect reciprocity in its advantages* should be admitted.

H. B. M.'s Government seek this reciprocity in the *unrestricted* trade of H. B. M.'s West Indian Colonies, with all ports of the United States. These colonies mainly depend on their imports from corn, flour, cattle, salt, provisions, and lumber, and, to their small, numerous vessels (necessarily manned by mixed and colored creoles) as the ports of North and South Carolina, respectively, are more suitable and at all seasons accessible.

Your Excellency and the Legislature will, the undersigned cannot doubt, concur with him in the general international understanding of the *passive or Fort Royal system*, *signalizing such treaties*, namely—that such permanent, negative, regulations extend to foreigners the same restrictions they impose on natives, of the spot, where they are enforced, of a similar class and calling, and no more.

The undersigned indulges in the hope that, under these circumstances, the Legislature of South Carolina will see it to abrogate or amend such portion of the law, as applies to the subjects of foreign allied powers, and will thus strengthen the existing bonds of commerce, of friendship, and of mutual good faith, with a kindred nation.

(Signed) GEORGE R. MATHEW.

To His Excellency, the Governor and Commander-in-chief of South Carolina, &c., &c.

Reply of Governor Means.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Columbia, S. C., Dec. 16, 1850.

The undersigned, Governor of the Commonwealth of South Carolina, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the communication of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, in relation to the law now existing, by which a class of H. B. M's subjects are imprisoned upon landing in Charleston, and the undersigned takes this occasion to assure H. B. M.'s Consul, of the friendly feeling entertained by his government, by the State over which he has the honor to preside, and that no disposition exists to do any thing that might tend to disturb the amicable relations now existing between the two governments.

The law alluded to, the Legislature of South Carolina deemed necessary to enact, from considerations of safety to the institutions of the State, and not with a view of imposing any unnecessary restraint upon the seamen claiming the protection of the flag of any friendly power.

The communication of H. B. M.'s Consul will be transmitted to the Legislature at the earliest possible convenience of the undersigned, and no doubt will meet with a respectful consideration.

(Signed,) J. H. MEANS.

To H. B. M.'s Consul, George R. Mathew, Esq.

Second Letter from Consul Mathew.

COLUMBIA, Dec. 17, 1850.

The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, for the States of North and South Carolina, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Note of the 16th inst, conveying to him the gratifying assurance of the friendly feelings entertained to his government by the State over which your Excellency presides, and, in continuing, also, your Excellency's intention to transmit the communication of the undersigned to your Excellency's earliest convenience, to the Legislature of South Carolina.

The undersigned would, gently desire, in continuance of his note of the 14th instant, to request the consideration of your Excellency, and of the Legislature, to the opinion of the late Attorney General Wirt, elaborately written, under the command of the Hon. J. Q. Adams, President of the United States, and printed in Elliot's American Diplomatic Code, (Appendix No. 1, p. 676,) concluding in the following forcible language:

"I am of opinion, that the section of the law under consideration is void, for being against the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and incompatible with the rights of all nations in unity with the United States."

This opinion your Excellency will, the undersigned considers, should to be well founded on the supreme power of treaties, as ruled by all writers on international law, and briefly, but decisively, laid down by Wheaton, in his "Elements of International Law," who states, (page 322, chap. 1, part 2,) under the head of the "Rights of Self-Preservation and Independence," of nations:

"The only exceptions to the application of these general rules arise out of compact, such as treaties of alliance, guarantee, or mediation, to which the State itself, which concerns are in question, has become a party."

The undersigned feels fully assured that His Majesty's Government may confidently rely on the justice and good faith of the Legislature of South Carolina to protect from the present moment the operation of an act which he apprehends will, on examination, be found liable (by the individual irritation it must cause,) to evade the treaties as designed to preclude. (Signed) GEORGE R. MATHEW.

His Excellency, the Governor of the State of South Carolina.

Reply of Governor Means.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbia, Dec. 18th, 1850.

The undersigned, Governor over the Commonwealth of South Carolina, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the 17th from H. B. M.'s Consul, and assures him that it will be transmitted to the Legislature forthwith.

The undersigned takes this occasion to renew the assurance of his own friendly feelings, and those of the State over which he has the honor to preside, towards H. B. M.'s Government, and also his individual respect for H. B. M.'s Consul.

(Signed,) JOHN H. MEANS.

H. B. M.'s Consul, George R. Mathew, Esq.

From the New York Independent.

FORM OF PRAYER FOR A MAN IN A FUGITIVE PLACE.

We are not personally in favor of *Forms of Prayer*. Yet there are persons who certainly profit by them. For such, they are helps not to be despised. There are occasions and topics, too, when conscientious men, even those who are fluent in extemporaneous prayer, find their utterance impeded; and if, upon such occasions and topics, some short form of prayer could be used, it would be for edification.

For example, there are many good men in the Union Safety Committee, who would feel prayerful after running down a fugitive, and who would be much confined in returning thanks to God. The pious remarks of our Secretary of State at the New England dinner lead us to hope that he makes the return of fugitives a subject of prayer.

The excellent Divines, who have recently exerted every energy to prove to the Christian community that the magistrate is higher than Conscience; that it is the duty of every Christian citizen to obey the law;—hunt, catch, hold and return the black Christian brother, fleeing for his life, to the grip of his master;—these excellent men, of course, would out do, or have others do, what they could not pray over.

Now we have considered their persuasions. We can perceive how innocent and well-meaning men might think it their duty to return a fugitive. But there is one thing that is more than a search for our imagination:—It is the kind of prayer which a conscientious man would put up at eight, after sliding, through the day, in seeding a Christian woman back to her lustful master, or a girl back to the slaughter pen, where her beauty would give her ready sale and a high price. Would he pray at all? Would he be troubled with wandering thoughts about his point of prayer? Would he dodge the question in Congressional style, and forget his prayer for a day or two?

Now, we have just been reading a Sermon entitled "A Bundle of Myrrh," by Rev. Leonard Withington, of Newburyport, Mass., and a very savory fragrance exhales from it. On the cover this sagacious man has set forth a form of prayer, which, though not canonical, might be made so, if the Union Committee would but express their opinion that it meets the case.

A FORM OF PRAYER for such Christians as mean to aid in carrying into execution the Fugitive Slave Law, by Rev. Leonard Withington of Newbury.

O Lord God of mercy and compassion, who hearest the sighing of the prisoner, and loosest the bonds of such as are appointed to die; who hast, in thy Gospel, taken captivity captive, and opened the gates of freedom to all mankind,—I am liable this day to be called on to assist in discharging a duty. I am liable to be called on to assist in restoring a miserable fugitive to his bondage, his toil and his chain! O, assist me to perform this dreadful task! Blind my eyes to the evils of his state; may I disregard his sighs, his tears, and all his supplications; may I be enabled to do to him what I wish no other being in the universe to do to me; may I assist in plunging him back to all the evils which he has endeavored to escape.—May I be enabled to think this work of faithfulness to my friendship, and that for doing this duty in keeping me and my family from all injustice and oppression, and crown our good deeds in promoting slavery with everlasting freedom in thy kingdom above; and will thou grant this for Jesus Christ's sake, who redeemed, by his precious blood, white men into freedom, and negroes into perpetual bondage.—Amen.

Other forms might be added to make out a book. Could not some of the excellent divines who have recently figured before the public in attendance at their ordination of a Pastor for Plymouth, find appropriate forms of prayer for all the exigencies?—One is now much wanted to be used on occasion of sending the wrong case into slavery.—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

☞ The following impudent appeal to Northern cupidity has been forwarded to various merchants at the North, with a view to securing their patronage!

ATLANTA REPUBLICAN EXTRA.

To Merchants and Business Men Generally.

The undersigned, publishers of the Atlanta Republican, beg leave to offer it to your notice, as the best advertising medium in the South. Atlanta is situated about the centre of the State of Georgia, and at the centre of all railroad communication, so that it affords unusual facilities in business transactions, it is encouraged by our city in the South.

The Republican has been published only about two months, and has already a circulation surpassed but by few papers in the country, and its list is still rapidly increasing. It is published on a sheet 24, by 36 inches, with 28 columns, and will be increased in size as circumstances may require; and it will be read by more merchants and business men than any other paper in the State.

We offer the following consideration to our friends at the North:—

The non-intercourse policy of many of the Southern people has been successfully met, and will not be adopted, except, perhaps, in South Carolina; but the distinction to be discriminated between those merchants of the North who are, and those who are not abolitionists, and between those who are and those who are not in favor of the restoration of fugitive slaves, is *fixed and unchangeable*. It is therefore scarcely necessary to suggest to men of business, in your city, the propriety of adopting some mode of advertising in the South, by which all unobjectionable houses may be reached, by a Southern paper, and have themselves brought properly and commensurately before the business public of the South.

In view of these facts, we propose to make the Atlanta Republican a general advertising sheet for such Northern merchants as may desire Southern trade, and who are not liable to the objections above named.

In order that we may be enabled, successfully, to recommend our Northern friends to Southern patronage, it will be necessary that such advertisements be accompanied by satisfactory evidence, upon which we will be enabled to pledge ourselves to our readers, that the houses advertised are unobjectionable.

From the Richmond Enquirer.

THE RIGHT COURSE. The House of Delegates yesterday, by an unanimous vote, requested the Governor to return to Vermont her peace resolutions, with the declaration that, when Vermont shall prove her willingness to consult the peace of this Union by doing justice to the Constitution, it would be time enough for Virginia to consult with her as to the peace of the world. The resolutions adopted yesterday admirably meet the case. The House of Delegates have evinced a self-respect, dignity and firmness, which Virginia always manifests, as a member of the Confederacy.

A bill of equal immunity with the Vermont act, nullifying the fugitive slave law, has been introduced into the New York Legislature—but not without calling down the indignant thunder of several patriots. It is not yet acted on, and we cannot believe it will pass. We are glad to see that joint resolutions have also been introduced, approving the compromise, the fugitive slave law, &c. We entertain a hope that they will pass, by the joint vote of Union-loving Democrats and Whigs.

☞ Texas has sent an agent to Washington to receive the ten millions of indemnity bonds.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,
OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

LETTER

TO LEWIS G. PUTNAM, ESQ., NEW YORK CITY.

MY DEAR SIR,—You cannot have forgotten the meeting which you and I attended when I was in New York, on the 17th of December last. For the kind and patient hearing, as well as the large audience I had, I acknowledge, very cheerfully, my indebtedness to you and your associates. I regret that a playful word, dropped from my lips on that occasion, gave you offence. I hope the offence will not be so deep as to make upon your mind an unhappy impression. Very much do I desire that you and I, sir, shall be true yoke-fellows in the common cause of freedom. We have no time to spend, either publicly or privately, in nursing and maturing personal animosities. I cannot but believe that you and I think alike, on this point.

But deeply as I regret the offensiveness of my remark, you will pardon me if I do not retract it. So far as I can recollect, it was a remark reflecting upon the political course of yourself, Mr. Downing, Mr. Bell, and others. It was the recommendation of yourself and others, I believe, that the black men of New York should vote for Hon. W. Hunt for Governor. That course I understood you to defend, while I doubt not you had abundant reason to believe that I condemned it, with all my power. This, I believe, is our relative attitude, each to the other, in politics. And I may as well say now, as at any time, that I shall exert whatever influence I may possess with the black men of your city, to induce them to cease at once and forever from listening to your advice, and range themselves on the side of Impartial Freedom.

And now, Mr. Putnam, can you and I do otherwise, consistently with our self-respect, or our relations to our down-trodden brethren? Look at these two points a moment with me. Is it not entirely wanting in self-respect, for such men as Lewis H. Putnam to cast their votes for men who aid in making laws for their own enslavement, and to facilitate the abhorrent business of kidnapping? And yet for just such men you counsel our people to vote. You cannot sustain the Whig party without sustaining such men. Look at your Whig *Courier and Enquirer*; your Whig *Commercial Advertiser*; and then see the editor of the Whig *Tribune* sustaining such a man as Brooks for Congress; and see also Lewis H. Putnam, *et al.*, sustaining such a man as W. Hunt for Governor, and such another as Wessell S. Smith for Clerk of the Court of Appeals! While the newspapers above alluded to are on the subject of slavery in general, and the Kidnapping Law in particular, you know as well as I, that the *Tribune* does as I say, you are sleepwary; and that Governor Hunt declared himself such a Whig as to cast his political fortunes with the slaveholding Whigs of the nation, you cannot have forgotten. The attitude of His Excellency in regard to the piratical Fillmore Law you learn from his message. Such is the position of the leading Whigs of the nation. Our enemies they are, and mean to be, except just before election, when the votes of black men are needed. When elected, they invariably lay our rights on the altar of some white man's convenience or interest. It is not too much to say, that Hon. Christopher Morgan, as Secretary of State, and Hon. W. Hunt, as Governor, were indebted to black men for their elections. The former stood by and saw the black children of Albany turned out of school, without moving the outer edge of the nail of his little finger in their behalf; the latter, in his first message after you and others had elected him, declares his "adhesion to the Fugitive Slave Bill," and adds, reasoning from the Gibson case, in Philadelphia, that yourself, Mr. Downing, or Mr. Bell, or Dr. White, may be kidnapped under this law, but does not so much as ask the Legislature to come to your rescue, but gives a more than significant hint, that he is content to let such kidnapping go on, without his interference, till slaveholders, man-stealers and women-whippers shall propose some modification of the law, and that such modification as they shall propose will be all that he shall desire. Please read again Gov. Hunt's remarks on this subject:—

"It cannot be denied that the recent act of Congress for giving fuller effect to the provision requiring the return of fugitive slaves has excited dissatisfaction in many portions of the country, carrying them almost to the extreme of threatening resistance to the law. All good citizens will recollect that whatever may be their individual feelings or opinions in regard to the policy or propriety of any legislative enactment, it is their plain duty, so long as it remains in force, to sustain the authorities legitimately charged with its execution. Apprehensions have been entertained that under the hastily considered provision of the act, passed during a period of unusual agitation, persons of color claiming to be free, and really free, are not allowed those reasonable opportunities and those customary legal safeguards, necessary to enable them to establish by adequate proof the fact of their freedom. A recent case has shown this belief to be not merely speculative, and that the danger that a freeman under the summary mode in which they law can be arrested, may be hurried into captivity, is not wholly imaginary. We regret that we do not believe that the South, any more than the North, aims at or desires such a result,—or will insist on retaining provisions leading to such exciting consequences. We shall rely not only on their sense of propriety and reciprocal justice, but sain conviction that the law itself, to be permanent must be reasonable, for their uniting, after due reflection, with their brethren of the North in a kind and dispassionate spirit, in revising such clauses as may be found defective or objectionable, and in consenting to such judicious modifications as may command general approval."

Surely, my dear sir, you and I cannot differ as to the plain meaning of the Governor of your choice, and it would seem no difficult to disagree as to how black men can vote for and with such cold-blooded politicians, consistently with a manly, upright, self-respect. It is impossible for men to respect us, or to treat us otherwise than with contempt, (excuse me for saying, *with merited contempt*,) while we can vote for such men, and boast of such voting.

But do you good, do we not manifest an unpardonable evil to our precious cause and to the enslaved, by such voting?

The yielding up of our self-respect, and playing battledore and shuttlecock with the pro-slavery parties,—or, what is more true, suffering ourselves to be played battledore and shuttlecock with by those parties,—lessens us and our influence so much that we are but cyphers, on the left hand, very far removed, in politics. The worst political parties may make the most infamous and the most oppressive laws, and they may safely reckon that black men have neither the sense nor sensibility to vote against them, if some of the more artful demagogues shall put forth some hypocritical plea of self friendliness to us, or some profession of being not quite so bad as some other candidates. Such men as Lewis H. Putnam have made this true of us, and the more white men are convinced of this, the less will they respect us. What can we do for ourselves or our brethren while deficient, politically, in self-respect?

But, by giving support to pro-slavery parties and partisans, we directly rivet the chain that binds our brethren. Who but these pro-slavery partisans make the slave laws of the nation? Who but they stand in the way of the disenthralment of the millions of bondmen? Who but they continue to rob us, in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Michigan and California, of the sacred, inalienable, God-given right to vote? Who but they made this infernal enactment under which many of us may be another Adam Gibson, (though not so fortunate in the sequel as he,) at any time? To sustain such vote for such parties is to aid them in all they do for the causing of the poor to cry and the needy to sigh in our unhappy and wretchedly guilty country. That black men should aid in this work is, of course, to be lamented; but that men of intelligence and Christian profession should prostitute, not only the ballot, but their intelligence and religion, upon the accursed altar of slavery, and do forge fetters for ourselves and our enslaved brothers, is, in my humble judgment, (I say it, with deference, yet with pleasure,) abominable! So far are we from aiding our cause by this treason to humanity, that, were all the men in the world to desire our elevation, it were impossible, while we so wantonly yield our self-respect, and vote for the continuance of slavery, by voting for its siders and abettors.

I am aware that reasons, to you satisfactory, are given for the votes you cast for pro-slavery men. One is, that to vote otherwise would be to throw away your votes. But did you not throw away your vote in voting for Morgan? Beware, you elopted your candidate; but did you escape the rights and interests you sought by it? Did you not throw away your votes when you voted for Mr. Hunt? You hoped, doubtless, to elect a man who was opposed to the new Kidnapping Bill, but does not the passage of the Message above quoted undeceive you? If, however, by throwing away votes is meant voting for an unsuccessful candidate, how do you know, before election, whether your, or the opposite candidate, shall be successful? But, my dear sir, votes are thrown away, always, when *cast for unworthy candidates; while votes cast for good men and righteous principles are never thrown away*, any more than are good deeds, of any other sort, which may not be successful.

It is also said, that it is best to choose the least objectionable of two candidates, and vote for him. But this never can be done, wisely or righteously, by us, for the reason that we have men such as our dear, self-sacrificing Chaplin, as candidates for the offices for which these pro-slavery candidates are nominated. To turn our backs upon such men, for the purpose of voting for either Seymour or Hunt, by way of choosing lesser evils, is to avoid good for the sake of evil. Such a rule in politics is not only indefensible upon general principles, but is decidedly immoral. Immoralities in politics are always condemnable. Christians are not at liberty to descend to the practising of immoral maxims or practices, for the promotion of political, ends; they may no more do so to promote political ends, than to promote any other ends. To rule righteously, in the fear of God,—to choose officers fearing God and hating covetousness—such as will justify the righteous and condemn the wicked—these are God's commands, and not the choosing evils, greater or smaller.

Some may say, upon the reading of Governor Hunt's Message, as some said when seeing Mr. Morgan's action upon the rights of black children in the Albany schools, that they were deceived and disappointed. How many times ought a black man to be deceived by the professions of a pro-slavery politician? Are not his pro-slavery political affiliations known to all? Does not every one of them regard his party obligations as higher than those of God, or country, or humanity? Knowing them as well as we do, how can we be deceived when they act according to their true character? But then, when they act pro-slavery, after professing anti-slavery, they do not deceive us, but *simply undeceive us*, by manifesting their real position.

Allow me to beg you, Mr. Putnam, to consider this matter, and to seek no more to lead our poor people into the temptation and snare of voting for the enemies of God and man.

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL R. WARD.

Boston, January, 1851.

☞ Col. J. S. Leach has removed from Cortlandville to Syracuse. The poor men in Cortland have lost one of their best friends. Col. L. was one of the most urbane, most liberal men we ever knew. When at Cortland, the other day, we missed him more than any other absent person. May the Colonel's good traits ripen with his years!

☞ There are to be eight Thompson meetings in the State of New York, during this winter. The citizens of the Empire State will enjoy rare advantages for hearing one of the most eloquent of Englishmen.

OUR NEW HAVEN CORRESPONDENT.

NEW HAVEN, Connecticut, January 13th, 1851.

REV. S. R. WARD:

DEAR SIR,—I have only time this week to say a few things, and one of the first is to express, as another has remarked, 'my hearty concurrence' in the course which you have adopted on the subject of Colonization to Africa. With deep interest I shall look for the articles which you are to publish from the pen of its friends and champions, and for the searching analysis which I am confident they will receive from your editorial pen. The whole subject, I am sure will be of interest to multitudes. Once the whole colored population rose up *en masse* and set their seal of reprobation upon the whole scheme—its principles—its spirit—its object, and its mode of accomplishing its purpose. If we were wrong and misjudged—if we failed to understand its character and aims, or if it is essentially changed, let the facts be presented, its principles unfolded, the grounds upon which it now claims our confidence, and support revealed. Give but the light and Ajax asks no more.' For one, I am anxious to hear what can be said—to know what is the facts. If the Society has accomplished any good, if it has improved the character of colored men, if it has benefitted Africa in that good, in that improvement, I rejoice as heartily as any one. But I want the facts that prove it—that prove its spirit and influence have benefitted the cause of Freedom in this country also.

The Union meeting—of which there was so much talk when you were here—has been held. Of its resolutions and speeches and speakers I will write anon. So far as it was designed to stop agitation, it has been in entire failure. The press is not silenced, the pulpit has not been struck dumb. Several ministers have spoken on the subject; but not one in favor of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Yesterday, as I am informed, the Rev. Dr. Woolsey preached a learned and faithful discourse from 1st Timothy, 1: 9, 10.—'Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for man-slayers. For whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for menstealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing which is contrary to sound doctrine.'

A few days since, Rev. Mr. Eggleston, who is supplying the 1st Church during Dr. Bacon's absence in Europe, very seriously disturbed the equilibrium of a Southerner who was present by his remarks on the subject of slavery. President Wooley stated that slavery had been condemned by the whole Christian world. In fulfilling my design in reference to the Union meeting held in this city, I shall have an opportunity of showing that it has not and cannot accomplish its design—and those who judge of the state of things here by what they read in the partisan political press of this city, will be entirely misled. Notwithstanding all the show and parade, the 'sound and fury,' it has signified nothing. There are some here who have not and will not allow the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery. Our concert of prayer for the enslaved, and for the moral and religious improvement of the nominally free, last evening, was fully attended. A condensed of facts was presented—a brief history of those events which have transpired since our last monthly meeting.

What a spectacle the arrest and condemnation of poor Henry Long presented. Seized on the 23d of December—a day celebrated by the descendants of the Puritans who landed on old Plymouth Rock; condemned on the 8th of January, at, or near the time when General Jackson, with the assistance of many colored men, achieved his famous victory at New Orleans! What a contrasting—what a theme for a thoughtful mind! 'Consistency, thou art a jewel!' How it shows the inconsistency and wickedness of the American Union!

On the sixth instant, we had the privilege of receiving and sending on her way an interesting passenger from the land of cotton, and, which by the underground railroad—of whitemanship it was said by one of the orators in the Union meeting, that we have made some underground railroads—and, permitted it, to be done in our city, and in sight of their establishment. But how is the mighty fallen! Alas, that property should be allowed to fly wings and fly away!' Who will blot her name from the Star? Yours, &c.,

CHAPLIN CONVENTION AT EAST WINFIELD, JAN. 28, 1851.

Convention met at 10 o'clock, A. M., David Cushman in the Chair. S. R. Ward, Secretary. Prayer by Lyndon King.

W. R. Smith, J. C. Holdsley and J. Cunningham were appointed a Business Committee.

A song was then sung by Mr. James Baker.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That every man belongs to himself, and to no one else than himself; and that all laws and constitutions which conflict with the right of self-ownership are, in the very nature of the case, void and of no binding force, and should be so held and regarded by all honest men.

2. Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law is a flagrant outrage upon the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Bible, and all the fundamental principles of law, and is worthy only to be trodden under foot of men.

3. Resolved, That to obey this law, or to remain passive spectators of its enforcement, is to disobey the law of God, deny the authority of His government—to strike down religious liberty, and set at nought the highest obligations of our common humanity.

4. Resolved, That no man has a right to hold a slave, or to be a slave; and that whenever the inquiet pretension is set up, on the part of one man, that another man is his slave, and an attempt is made to carry off any person as a slave under the Fugitive Slave Law, it becomes the duty of all men to resist such attempt, *at all hazards*, and by such means as each individual may deem justifiable.

5. Resolved, That we extend a cordial welcome to our dear brother, WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN, and thank God for preserving his life from the murdrous

ous assaults of blood-thirsty assassins, who sought to slay him.

6. Resolved, That the act for which he was imprisoned, instead of being a criminal act, was a deed of mercy and benevolence, which renders him worthy of imperishable honor, and the protection of all who are friends of justice and humanity.

7. Resolved, That the issue in his case involves the whole question of liberty on the one hand, and slavery on the other; and just in proportion as we vindicate him and his course in aiding the slaves of Messrs. Toombs and Stevens to escape from bondage, do we vindicate the principles of freedom, and strike a deadly blow at despotism.

The last four resolutions were ordered for discussion at 2, P. M. The first three were ordered to be discussed this morning. W. R. Smith opened the discussion upon them. Lyndon King followed, as did S. R. Ward, James Baker, and Dr. Franklin; after which, the Convention took a recess for thirty minutes.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Song by James Baker.

The last three resolutions came up for discussion. General Chaplin being called for, came to the stand and spoke at length on the resolutions, in his usual clear and forcible manner, detailing the facts and principles involved in his imprisonment in Wilmington and Rockville. Joseph C. Hathaway followed in the same strain, showing the perfect illegality of the proceedings against Chaplin by Goddard and his associates.

Eighty dollars were raised for the Chaplin Fund.

After a song by James Baker, the meeting adjourned to 6 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

Song by Mr. Rounds. Prayer by Mr. Doolittle. After another song by Mr. Rounds, the last three resolutions were unanimously adopted. The first four were then ordered for discussion, and Mr. Doolittle made a some what rambling speech. Mr. Chaplin, J. C. Hathaway, W. R. Smith, and the Chair, discussed them further. The resolutions were adopted.

Adjourned.

DAVID CUSHMAN, *Chairman.*
S. R. WARD, *Secretary.*

EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

Mr Editor:

I doubt not that the readers of your paper will rejoice to hear of the arrival, in Philadelphia, of fifty emancipated slaves, men, women and children—varying in age from one to sixty years. They had formerly been held by Mr. M. Pleasants, of Fairfax county, Va., who died twenty years ago, leaving two hundred and ninety-five slaves, all to be freed in 1850!!

These slaves were all to have the privilege of going to Africa, immediately on being liberated; and if they should prefer Africa to their own native country, they were to have fifty dollars each, and all expenses defray'd thither. But if they should choose rather to remain and seek a refuge in the North, as they would necessarily be compelled to do, they were to have their freedom alone, without the fifty dollars the expenses, &c.; or at any rate, it was to be optional with the Executors whether to give them anything or not.

I had quite a pleasant interview with Wm. Butcher, the leading man among them. He is a man of intelligence, though utterly destitute of book-learning. I gathered from him some very interesting notes in relation to his life of servitude, and affairs connected with his family generally. Wm. Butcher, according to the recommendations for raising him by his mistress, and a gentleman of the highest respectability in the community, who had know him from childhood, is made out to be as near perfection as a man can well be in the flesh. For I assure you that, no terms of commendation from them appear to be too extravagant to lavish upon their very 'faithful servant.' I do not wish to be understood to doubt, for a moment, the good deportment and 'unswerving fidelity' of Mr. Butcher. But I cannot refrain from expressing a little surprise that he, (as, not in some way, other than by mere praise, rewarded for his many years of unmerited usefulness and toil. A few hundred dollars as a confirmation of their high regard for his many virtues, would doubtless have been of more avail than so much praise, without the requisite evidence of what they professed. True, he abounds with recommendations, as I before intimated; but he is now fifty-five years of age—with a family to provide for—the best and most vigorous portion of his life has been employed for the aggrandizement of another; and, added to all this, he is not allowed to remain among his acquaintances and friends—he must seek a home, friends and employment among strangers. Indeed, the scenes hard, although a thousand-fold more desirable than slavery, even with the highest opprobrious of a 'master.'

Mr. Butcher and the rest of the liberated company seem to appreciate liberty with a full sense of its value. No doubt, with their apparent enterprise, they will soon prove their capacity for 'taking care of themselves.'

I should have stated that the remainder of the family just liberated are now in Washington, D. C., where they expect to remain, probably until next spring. There is considerable vigilance manifested here to procure them comfortable situations, employment, &c.

They speak in the most affectionate terms of the gratitude and humanity of their 'Master and Mistress,' as being the most benevolent slaveholders in all Virginia. Doubtless they were. But not withstanding their superiority over other slaveholders, when we come to reflect upon the great injustice of slavery, in any or every form—even the most mild—we cannot help feeling and seeing its monstrous atrocity, even where one would suppose it deserved credit and respect. For instance: look at the simple fact that two hundred and ninety-five of our fellow-men have been entirely excluded from all the benefits and innumerable blessings of education for more than a whole generation. This is only one of the many privations to which slaves are subjected, even with the most humane 'master,' yet to my mind that one fact alone is a sufficient proof that there can be no justice expected from slaveholders.

There is one incident that speaks well for the good sense of the emancipated slaves. I must not withhold it from you.

There was only one out of the two hundred and ninety-five who signified the least willingness to go to Liberia, although they had been frequently persuaded by their Colonization friends, who professed to feel a deep interest for their future welfare; and no doubt the fifty dollars offered them in the 'will,' had been considered a sufficient inducement to impel them to go.

On Thursday evening last, we came near having another attack from Halzell, (Deputy Marshal,) and other persons, slave-hunters, from Maryland. About 12 o'clock in the night, they were on their way to a house where they supposed their victims were dwelling; but, to their utter surprise, they found a committee of colored men ready to receive them—it is needless to say they vanished immediately.

Another most dreadful outrage was perpetrated upon a colored man, in Lancaster county, Pa., a few days since. Some six or eight assassins entered the private dwelling of a Mr. Chamberlain, in the dead hour of night, and without ceremony, warrant, or any legal process whatever, fell on a defenceless colored man—beat him in the most shocking manner—gagged and rendered him almost lifeless, from the great loss of blood which he sustained; and finally dragged him about one hundred yards distance, to a wagon, prepared for his reception, and hurried swiftly away to Maryland. I have no inclination to extend my remarks upon this fiendish transaction; it is too horrifying to one's feelings to think about. Truly yours, &c.

Philadelphia, Jan. 20th, 1851. W. S.

MEETINGS OF COLORED CLERGYMEN.

At an adjourned meeting of the colored clergymen of the city of New York, held in Bethel Church, January 20th, 1851, it was

Resolved, That we recommend the first Friday in March next to be observed by our respective charges as a day of solemn prayer and fasting, beseeching Almighty God to interpose graciously by his power, and deliver us from our distress. That, as primary objects of prayer, we pray for the immediate abolition of slavery, with all its accompanying wickedness, in these United States; and, secondly, that Protestantism may give evidence to the world, and us particularly, as a portion of the Protestant Church of this country, that it still possess those vital principles of godliness that actuated the first dissenters, and is not a mere sounding brass and tinkling cymbal; that the spirit of a Latimer, a Huss, a Wickliffe, a Luther, a Wesley, and a Roger Williams, still exists among us.

Resolved, That the course pursued by Drs. Krebs, Hawks, Spring, and Cox, on last Thanksgiving day, is anti-Christian, anti-Protestant, and highly dishonorable to the name of Christ. By uniting themselves with the oppressor against the oppressed, with the strong against the weak, they have literally run with the multitude to do evil, and deserve a rebuke from all lovers of equity and justice proportionate to the magnitude of their error.

Resolved, That we tender our thanks to that portion of the Protestant clergy—and especially a portion of the clergy of the M. E. Church—who have shown by action their abhorrence of injustice, and a moral courage worthy of the great cause they have espoused; and we shall ever remember them in our prayers with the warmest expressions of gratitude.

Resolved, That this conclusion is forced upon us, that whatever Protestantism has done and may do for mankind, it has failed in this country to extend to us the common sympathies and courtesies of a common Christian brotherhood, and that, for all the advantages we derive in this world, common to men who profess the same belief and worship at the same shrine, compared with the evils we suffer, we might as well be Jews or Mahomedans.

Resolved, That in view of the efforts now making to send the free colored people to Africa, and to banish us as felons from the land of our nativity, we recommend to our people to regard all such persons as advise our emigrating there or elsewhere, as a body, as deluded men, whose judgment cannot be relied upon; and to express their determination, with God's help, not to leave the country while our brothers and sisters, wives and children, fathers and mothers, are in bondage.

Resolved, That on the day set apart for prayer and fasting, a collection be taken up in our churches to aid the Chaplin fund, and the subscriptions be forwarded by a committee of three persons to Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro'.

Resolved, That we adjourn, to meet in this place on next Monday morning, at 10 o'clock.

J. C. GIBBS, *Secretary, pro tem.*

At an adjourned meeting of the colored clergymen of the city of New York, held in Bethel Church, Jan. 27, 1850, it was

Resolved, That we regard the position of Henry Clay, in respect to the free colored people of this country, as highly injurious and detrimental to our best interests, calculated in itself to divert the public mind from the true source of our grievances, engrossing it with theories that must of necessity delay emancipation, and keep up a strife that is fraught with evil to both races.

Resolved, That our one reason from heathenism, as a body—owing to the wickedness of American slavery—does not warrant us in placing ourselves in a land of absolute heathenism, lest we relapse into the identical state of barbarism that American prejudice has sent us to Christianize; and that when our educational interests or advantages are increased, other things being equal, we shall be prepared, as a body, to consider the expediency of emigrating to Africa.

Resolved, That we appoint Tuesday, the 18th of March, for the convening of the colored clergy of this State, (without regard to creed,) to consider more effectually our condition, and recommend the calling of similar State Conventions by the colored clergy throughout the free States, at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That from this day henceforth, we positively discard the holding of public suppers and entertainments, the convening of our people for purposes of expensive parades in regalia, and all such conventions as tend to drain money from colored communities, without giving an equivalent in return; and further forbid lottery gambling, in the form of policy tickets, or any other way, believing the course pursued heretofore injurious in the highest degree.

Resolved, That the editors of the *Impartial Citizen, North Star, Christian Herald*, and other papers favorable, be solicited to keep the call of Convention on the 18th of March in their papers until the sitting of the Convention, and to urge the attendance of the ministers and laity from time to time.

Resolved, That we make a mutual exchange of pulpits with ministers of all denominations that hold the truth in righteousness, and cultivate a mutual understanding of Christian love and fellowship.

Resolved, That we adjourn, to meet in the A. M. E. Church, High street, Brooklyn, on Monday morning next, at 10 o'clock.

J. C. GIBBS, *Secretary, pro tem.*

From the Liberator.

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., M. P., IN DORCHESTER.

George Thompson addressed a crowded meeting at Lyceum Hall, in Dorchester, on last Monday evening. Wm. Richardson, Esq., was called to the chair, and spoke in very impressive and eloquent style, on the right of free discussion; and on the claims of an Englishman to be heard in America. In allusion to the parable of the Samaritan, he was very effective. 'And which,' the speaker asked, 'which was the true neighbor of the wounded man—the heartless *native*, or the benevolent *alien?*' He spoke also of our obligations to England, for the protection which we daily experience from Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, Habeas Corpus, and Trial by Jury. He referred to Kosciusko, DeKalb, and Lafayette, as foreign champions of American Independence, and welcomed one more foreigner as a soldier of liberty.

Wendell Phillips followed in a beautiful speech, and George Thompson delivered an extemporaneous address, which was generally considered as the most powerful that he has made in this vicinity. His subject was the moral and religious view of slavery.—While speaking of the clergy, and of their neglect to use their influence for the overthrow of slavery, he paid a noble and deserved tribute to the uprightness of Rev. Mr. Hall, whose recent sermon on the Limits and Obedience to Government is as eloquent and forcible vindication of the supremacy of God's law over the statutes of men. We could not obtain a report of Mr. Thompson's speech, and no report could do it justice. Such efforts are, to be judged of, as we judge the force of electricity, by the effect; and very rarely an audience so moved as were Mr. Thompson's hearers.

Messrs. Garrison and Buffum were called on, and responded to the call, with excellent and well-timed remarks.

Many of those present were from the neighboring towns, and a large party came from Weymouth. This was the fifty-first time of Mr. Thompson's speaking in the course of two months, and it is wonderful that he can, with his strong health, speak such eloquent and laborious efforts.

(We copy the above from 'The Commonwealth,' of Wednesday. On Saturday evening last, and three times on Sunday, Mr. Thompson addressed crowded and delighted audiences in Liberty Hall, New Bedford—Rodney French, Esq. in the chair.)

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ Henry *Long* was delivered up, just as we predicted. A man might as well be a slave in Virginia as in New York city. There are as many actual slaveholders in New York, as there are in Richmond; and a great many more slaveholder's tools. Then there are the *Herald, Herald, the Courier and Enquirer, the Globe, the Observer*, and the *Journal of Commerce*, especial paid or unpaid organs of slavery. There are, also, lots of lawyers, great and small, who desire no higher fame than that of being slave-catchers' attorneys. Then, there are Drs. Potts, Dr. Krebs, Dr. Hawks, Dr. Spring, and numerous others, who preach as wickedly as the lawyers and editors and slave-catchers' practice. The Judges of New York city put the *onus probandi* upon the fugitive instead of the claimant. But, worse than this, is the fact that such professed friends of freedom as Horace Greely, John Van Buren, and others, vote for, sustain and uphold the man who made so abominable an anactment as the Fillmore Kidnapping Law. But, worst of all, is the fact, that the black men, and the abolitionists of New York and vicinity, vote for such abominable slavocrats as Washington Hunt,—Washington Hunt, who stands by the Fillmore Law, declares it must be enforced, while he admits that some of the very men who voted for him may be kidnapped by it; and the whole Whig party, in New York and in New England, except, perhaps, Vermont, say the same.

☞ Neither the Whig nor the Democratic party, as such, is in favor of the repeal of the Fillmore Kidnapping Bill. A movement in that direction by either party would be the signal for its dissolution. The slaveholding members control both the parties. The slave on the cotton-field, in the rice-swamp, or in the cane-brake, hows and cringes to the lash, and we pity him; but for a Northern, voluntary tool of slavery, one can feel nothing but contempt.

☞ The Free Soilers in our Legislature voted for Gov. Boutwell and Lieut. Gov. Cushman. Why, is it any more wrong to vote for a pro-slavery Democrat at the ballot-box, than in the Legislature? Gov. Boutwell was nominated by a State Convention that said not one word against the Fugitive Slave Bill. The Governor, however, may sign and approve a act of resolves defending the liberties of our citizens. We hope he will; but we doubt whether that was one of the 'understandings.'

☞ Mr. Vashon, a colored gentleman, formerly of Pittsburg, a graduate of Oberlin College, and a lawyer, and a student of Hon. Walter Forward, is now practising law in Syracuse, having been admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court in New York some two years ago, and having resided, until lately, in the West Indies. There are two colored lawyers and three law students, in Boston, and three medical students in the same city. In New York State, there is a lawyer and a College Professor, who are black men.

But 'niggers ain't nobody;' they are all monkeys, ain't they, Dr. Grant? 'Confound a nigger, any way!' The black man who can't 'rise' here, can't because he won't. How many such go to Liberia, we don't care.

☞ We have made some rapid, hasty journeys of late. We have spoken at Hudson and New Concord, Columbia county, N. Y.; at Great Barrington, North Adams, and Pittsfield, in this State, and at Brockett's Bridge, Salisbury Centre, and Fairfield, Herkimer county, N. Y. We should have spoken at Amsterdam, but the gentleman to whom we sent the notice prefixed not to notify a meeting. The cause of anti-slavery, and other radical reforms, are progressing where we have been, but they get but little aid from those to whom the world has a right to look for friends to such movements. Were there more such ministers as Rev. Mr. Dodson, of North Adams, and the venerable clergyman we met at Salisbury Center, there would be less need of the hard work now imposed upon a few lecturers.

From the Louisville Journal of Jan. 29.

Fugitive Slave Case.—Lindly Haley, a citizen of Georgia, went to Shawneetown, Ill., last spring, where he had two sons residing. He took with him a female slave, who left him and was concealed by the abolitionists. On the 3d of January, Haley applied to two Justices of the Peace for a warrant under the act of 1793 which was granted. The warrant was served and the slave brought into court. Defendant's counsel moved a postponement of the case to procure evidence, which was also granted.

On the day appointed, the trial came off. A motion by the defendants, to dismiss the case for want of jurisdiction, as the law of the last Congress required Commissioners, and the law of '93 was repealed by the new act, was overruled.

Plaintiff proved that he was a resident of Georgia, and that the defendant was his slave.

The defendant proved that her master came to Illinois in the spring of 1848, and brought her with him to work; proved that he had permitted her to work for two or three men living in the settlement. On cross examination, it was shown that the plaintiff never received or charged anything for her services to the two sons with whom she worked, and that they were his sons-in-law; that he had left her in their care without any arrangement; that he had come on a visit to see his children; and that he had been detained from returning home by sickness.

The Justices decided in favor of the plaintiff, when defendant moved an appeal to the Circuit Court, which was refused. The slave was immediately taken to the Kentucky side of the river.

Congress.—Both Houses devoted Monday last to the funeral of Mr. Kaufman, of Texas. Mr. K. was representative from the 1st district of Texas. He died suddenly from an affection of the heart, or, as it said by some, the effect of a bullet, which some years ago, penetrated his right side. He was about 48 years old, a native of Pennsylvania, and an early emigrant to Texas.

☞ The Hon. Horace Everett died at his residence in Windsor, Vt., on the 30th ult., in the 72d year of his age. He represented the Windsor District in the U. S. House of Representatives for fourteen consecutive years.

MARRIED.

In Portland, Me., Dec. 5th, 1850, Edward Hannah to Eliza A. Shepard. By the same, Dec. 6th, William Smith to Caroline Brown. Also, by the same, Jan. 1st, 1851, John W. Spencer to Ann E. Chase.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

APPEAL

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The undersigned Committee being fully aware that, among the moral causes to be brought in requisition in order to ameliorate the condition of an oppressed people, and to correct the false sentiments and impressions of a prejudiced community arrayed against them, a periodical, based on just principles, and properly and ably conducted, stands pre-eminent; and having the pleasing satisfaction of regarding, without invidiousness, THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN, edited by Rev S. R. WARD, of Boston, Massachusetts, as possessing the above characteristics, have associated themselves together for the purpose of contributing their mites towards its support. Being very limited, however, in pecuniary means, they deem the necessity of appealing for aid, as they do, most respectfully, to the liberality of the friends of human rights in both hemispheres. While the main object to be had in view is the sustaining of the above said paper, yet, some portion of the funds arising from their combined efforts is to be applied towards helping the flying fugitives, and to encourage the learned who devotes himself to the advocacy of the rights of humanity. They design holding a Fair during Easter week. The smallest donations in money or any saleable article will be gratefully received and faithfully applied. The Rev. H. H. GARNET, while on his tour in Europe, is duly authorized to receive donations for the aforesaid purpose.

☞ In all communications, please direct to CATHARINE S. EVANS, care of S. VAN BRAKLE, No. 138 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ADELIA VAN BRAKLE, ELIZABETH BOLIVAR, JANE LACOUNT, SUSAN C. WHITE, MILCHI NICHOLS, MATILDA JOHNSON, JULIA MORGAN, ELIZA TURPIN, JANE HARSUCK, MARY GORDON, HANNAH MARIA BURDY, HANNAH ALEXANDER, *Committee.*

ELIZA ANN BIAS, *President.*
CATHARINE S. EVANS, *Cor. Secretary.*
SARAH NEWMAN, *Treasurer.*

CIRCULAR.

A Fair to aid the Committee of Thirteen of New York city, in defending such persons as may be arrested as Fugitive Slaves, will be opened by an Association of Ladies, at ——, on Friday, Feb. 14th, 1851; and will continue during the following week.

Donations, either in Money or Goods,—to forward the object of the Association, and thereby aid in securing to persons so arrested such defence as circumstances and the law may permit,—will be gratefully received. All who feel friendly to this design are earnestly solicited to contribute.

It is sincerely hoped, that the friends of suffering humanity will not fail to contribute towards this object. Their aid is indispensable. The panting slave calls not for sympathy alone, but for help.

The following ladies have been appointed a Committee to receive and collect contributions:—

Mrs. Amelia Pinkney, 284 Second street; Mrs. Frances Brown, 158 Crosby street; Mrs. Serena E. Downing, 4 Temple street; Mrs. Eliza Barrian, 66 Wall street; Miss Maria M. DeGrasse, 9 York street.

By order of the Association,

SMELINE BASTIEN, *Directress*, 8 *Amity st.*
FANNY TOMPKINS, *Sec.*, 150 *Church st.*

☞ Donations may also be sent to the Directress and Secretary.

SELECTIONS.

HENRY LONG'S DEPARTURE.

The 'marshalling' of Henry Long yesterday, to the Jersey City Ferry, was a melancholy spectacle. First, there came down Greenwich street a motley crowd of boys and vagrant men; a long procession of the star police led the advance of the United States *Hessians*, perhaps two in number. In the midst of these, the marshal and his aids, with the fugitive; and a crowd of people, of all ranks and conditions, surrounded and pressed with eager curiosity to see the poor victim, making a collection, which numbered about 5,000 when they reached the ferry. There, the police fell into a long line, and formed an alley through which the marshal, &c., passed; twenty-five officers accompanied him to the other side of the river. There was much shouting of a doubtful kind, partaking more of the excitement of curiosity, perhaps, than any other feeling. A morning paper states that there was an immense crowd of colored people; certainly two hundred will cover all. The mass consisted of white people, who will not need to see many such exhibitions, to make them hate slavery with a most righteous hatred.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

SAFE ESCORT OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE.—Messrs. R. H. Tallmadge, Brown and D'Angelos, the deputy marshals, who formed the escort of Henry Long, the fugitive slave to Virginia, arrived in New York on Tuesday, after having fulfilled their mission by lodging Long in Tate's private jail, in Richmond. It appears that, on searching the fugitive, a clasp knife, with a spring back, was found in his possession, and it is supposed it must have been conveyed to him by some person before he left New York. Several members of the local legislature in Richmond congratulated the Marshals on having successfully conveyed back to the South 'the Olive Branch'; and said that they were satisfied from the course which had been pursued, that New York would do every thing in its power to maintain its relations with its Southern sister States.—*N. Y. Herald.*

☞ Extract of a letter from a Richmond (Va.) correspondent of the New York Evening Post:—

It was announced in the daily papers of yesterday, that Henry Long would be sold this morning, at ten o'clock, at an auction mart near the City Hotel. At that hour, the people began to assemble. A few minutes after ten, Henry Long was brought into the auction-room, and seated near two women having infant children—two boys about ten years of age, and two smaller children—all to be sold.

Long maintained, evidently, a forced smile, and was much agitated. It was only when spoken to that he appeared relieved. There were many soon gathered about him—together with myself, who put various questions to him. I shall detail the conversation in a categorical form, as the truest and shortest mode of conveying all that is necessary in regard to such speculations as have been made about him. His manner, throughout, was modest and civil, and his replies to questions, which were very much the same, repeated over to him by the different parties coming to see him, were sensible. There was no disposition to use taunting language to him. On the contrary, soft and persuasive language was adopted, such as the slave-dealers use to make them believe they are going to glory.

Long, are you glad to get back to Virginia? Well, I often thought I would like to come back sometime, but I meant to come independently. They say you played the fiddle? That is not true; I know nothing about handling a fiddle; I would n't know how to touch a string; that story is all made up for me. Did n't you sing or play 'Carry me back to old Virginny'? No; that's not true either, it's all made up. Have you got a family? I have got a wife in New York. She is a white woman, said some one, isn't she, Long? So the papers say. Then, said Long, I suppose it must be so, if the papers say so. But, Long, did you give sanction to the story, or is there any foundation for it? No. Long, said one man, in a meek and beneficent tone, were the abolitionists good to you? Why did n't they come to see you when you was sick, and take care of you? I never knew any thing of them until I was arrested. Well, what did they do for you then? Why, they seemed to be friendly. Do you suppose you were as well off as you would have been here, where you would be cared for if you was sick, with somebody to look after you and be kind to you? Well, I don't know; the people there always spoke well of you here. (Not a very appropriate answer, nevertheless, the one that was given.) Now, Long, had n't you rather be back here, a slave in Virginia, than to be free in New York, where they don't care any thing about you, you know; now, do they? I don't know about that—I don't want to answer that. Ain't you sorry you are brought back? Well, the best of men have their downfalls.

Such is, literally, the conversation, as far as it goes, with Long. Under the peculiar circumstances in which he was situated, it will be seen how much it bears the impress of truth, and how flatly it contradicts all that has been said as to the particulars referred to.

After being thus, with others, participating in the conversation with Long, until about half-past ten o'clock, when probably 300 persons had collected within the room and about the doors, the auctioneer, a very good-looking man, called out, 'Whoever is going to buy niggers will come down to the other office.' A large number followed on to several doors beyond, where it was understood that the sale of Long would not take place until that was over.

At that other office, were about twenty slaves, of both sexes, and a variety of ages. One legitimate black, about 22 years of age, sold for $900. An old man sold for about $650. A good-looking mulatto boy, of 10, was knocked off at $[illegible]. His mother, who is a cook in the city, was present. The boy has been in a factory here. When he found that he had to go to Danville, he burst into tears,—the mother, too, sobbing and sighing in a subdued and solemn tone, exhibiting a spontaneous burst of grief that was irresistible to them. The boy said that he had been to Danville before; that there was no chance for him to make anything; that they worked him from day-light until dark; and again weeping, he turned away, a perfect personification of a forlorn hope. I returned to where Long was awaiting his execution. By that time—about 11 o'clock—a number of the members of the Convention and of the Legislature congregated about, and hundreds were coming and going, thus contributing to a large number [illegible] there. All continued in that manner until after 12, when the sale was finished at the corner, and another announcement was made at the door of Long's levee, that another sale would take place across the way, where there were about twenty more small boys and girls. That sale occupied until two o'clock.

From twelve to one o'clock, the President of the Senate stood alongside of the stand of the auctioneer, while many of the members of each of the bodies of the Legislature—which was then in session—as well as of the Convention, which was also in session—were scattered about, waiting the demonstration. Many left between ten and twelve, others arriving to keep up the pressing crowd within. All passed on quietly, with no noisy expressions; some saying, 'the damned nigger ought to be strung up;' another, that he was not to be blamed for trying to get away, [illegible]; another, that very likely some abolitionist was then by, watching their movements. One member, possessing some comical features of character, was asked to go; he replied, facetiously, (but it struck me that there might be something in it,) that it would never do to go until the 'nigger' was sold: that he must see him sold or he would get turned out of office.

Among the crowd was one young man, who, from his dress, small and expressions, appeared as if he might have suddenly come into possession of some property, which he was not accustomed to, and, had, in consequence, become suddenly elevated in his own estimation. He swaggered about, to the merriment and approving smiles of a few, but met with no encouragement from the mass, swearing that he was about to buy the 'nigger,' so that he could give him thirteen every morning before breakfast; he would fix him, he would lay it on him—all the while flourishing his cane to show how he would do it.

LONG ON THE BLOCK.

About 2 o'clock, the auctioneer came in, and Henry Long was immediately placed on the stand. The auctioneer, turning to him, and taking his hat off, asked him in a low tone about his health, strength, soundness, &c., to all of which questions Henry responded favorably.

The auctioneer then said, 'There is one condition about this sale. Bonds are to be given by the purchaser that this man shall be carried South, and that he shall be sold and kept South.' Then, clenching his hand, and with a very energetic gesture, and in emphatic language, declared that before Long left his possession, he would see that the terms were fully complied with, and he should know his man well, before he gave Long up or received his money. This drew forth a round of applause.

The auctioneer continued—'This man is in good health and sound mind. [Doubtful if he is on the slavery question.] I need not give you his history, that is known; and now, how much shall I have bid?' Starting the bid himself, he said, 'I have only $700 bid. Will nobody bid more?' 'I'll give $25 more,' said a man standing in front, who bore a very strong resemblance to what the Peter Funks call a 'Dummy.' 'He is a good barber, good hotel waiter, and can work in the field, or do any thing. He is worth a fortune to any man. He can be taken round and exhibited at the South—turned to advantage in that way; or he would be invaluable to a slave-dealer who has other slaves to sell, by advertising that Henry Long is at his place.' [That is the game that was played to-day. The crowd was kept together at the other sales by putting off the sale of Long until all the others were disposed of.] '$750 I have bid; will nobody say more?' After dwelling and repeating the usual slang-whang of the auctioneer—occupying, altogether, not five minutes, Long was knocked off to David Clopton, of Georgia—a slave-dealer of that State, where there is not a verdant field—not a yard square of green grass. The auctioneer himself was empowered to make the purchase, and immediately after knocking off the bid, he gave assurance that Long should now be taken care of, when the audience gave a vociferous round of applause, leaving the room exultingly, one man crying out, 'Damn the North.'

For several days past many processions have been seen in the streets of slaves passing in and out of the State. They go in numbers in proportion as the trade of the slave-dealers flourishes or declines.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH OF HENRY CLAY,

Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society in Washington City, Jan. 21st, 1851:—

If I am not misinformed, that portion of the intelligent community from which we experience the greatest opposition to the proceedings and the success of this Society—I mean the abolitionists of the North—unless I am mistaken, at least all the moderate and rational portion of them, have become satisfied, that to agitate the subject of slavery, with a view to the extinction of slavery within the bosoms of the various States in which it is tolerated and exists by law, is utterly fruitless; and a failed effort; that a further agitation of the subject neither benefits those whose interests are intended to be advanced, nor benefits the country at large; that it is a complete failure, and that their exertions hereafter, if governed by motives of humanity and benevolence, should be directed, not to the unattainable object of the extinction of slavery within the States, but for the great purpose of colonization, which, in its ultimate consequences, will lead to the final separation of the two classes of persons who now inhabit this country. [Applause.]

Colonization is a common object for the common benefit of the whole country. It has nothing sectional in it, nothing selfish in its aims; it does not seek to disturb or to convulse society; it does not deal with property or the right of property; it proposes to concern itself with those who, being already free, will or will not go the shores of Africa, to enjoy social, political and moral advantages which they cannot enjoy in this country. Having a common object for a common benefit, it ought to be prosecuted by common means, for those who are to be beneficiaries of the colonies. And I believe that it will be found, in looking into the powers of the government, either directly or indirectly, that the Constitution of the United States grants ample authority for the performance of this common duty for the common benefit of the country.

What, in a national point of view, is a century to a nation? It took two centuries and more to bring from the shores of Africa her sons, the descendants of whom are now in slavery in the United States. It may take two centuries to transport their descendants to such an extent as not to create apprehension as to the few who may remain. And what, I repeat again, is this in the great working of our own existence and the administration of the affairs of this world, and the Providence which directs, controls and governs them? Gentlemen, I have thought, and I have said, that if there ever was a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men, which, in all its parts, analyzed and reduced to all its elements, presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African colonization. (Applause.)

Let us look at it, for a moment, in rapid detail. With regard to the free people of color, do you not all know (I wish to say nothing but what is warranted by daily experience) that it is not their fault that they are a degraded set. It is not their fault that they are more addicted to crime and dissolute manners than any other portion of the population of the United States. It is the inevitable result of the law of their condition. The whites themselves, if placed in the condition of the free people of color, would, like them, be the receptacles of vice, and exposed to the perpetration of crime in the same way they are. It is inevitable from their condition. Look abroad—look at the annals of criminal jurisprudence in our country—and in this very city at the daily reports of trials. Who are the subjects of them? A vast majority are free persons of color, although their number, in comparison with the total aggregate of whites, is not one-fourth; and look abroad at the penitentiaries and the criminal jurisprudence of the country, and it will be seen that, of the proportion of those who commit crimes, the free people of color is infinitely greater than that of any other class which compose our population.

If this is the result in the moral, political and social condition of the United States, will they not be benefitted by going to a country where they will no longer be subject to the afflicting causes of vice and dissipation? Will they not be benefitted by going to Africa? Why, gentlemen, it is no longer a question to be solved. The fact speaks out for itself. On the African coast, there already exists a community of blacks. The government has established schools, made laws, promulgated State papers, and in all respects will advantageously compare with any of the States of this Union. In the colonization of the free people of color, therefore, nothing but good, unmixed good, can result from the separation of the two races, who never can (in spite of all the philosophers of Europe and America, who despise our feelings and prejudices,) be incorporated into the community, and placed on an equal footing with the white class. I never believed that it was intended it should be so.

If we are told, in respect to one of the most intimate and important relations of human life—if we are told, as is always pronounced in the performance of the marriage ceremony, that 'those whom God has united, let no man dare put asunder'—I think I may, with equal propriety, say—'Those whom God has kept asunder by their physical condition, intellects, and by their nature—by circumstances not fitting for me here to declare—let it not be attempted by any presumptuous power to unite those whom God has kept asunder.' (Applause.)

And what else? Will not the white laborers of the North be especially benefitted if the black portion of the laboring community be sent to Africa, and be relieved from all competition with them? Go to the cities, and you will see struggles between white and black laborers. You will see, in labor itself, an indisposition on the part of the white man to mix and work with the black. In the business of driving a dray, and in many other branches of service in cities, the black is trodden down to a certain extent by the superior power of the white man. The white men of the North and the South will be benefitted; the slaves of the South will be benefitted. We all know what corrupting influences are exercised over the slave population by the dissolute free people of color, who lead off and seduce them. Intoxicating liquors are sold to them, and they are induced to commit acts of petty larceny against their masters. The white men of the North, the white men of the South, the free blacks, the slaves of the South—all will be benefitted by the separation, which is proposed ultimately to be effected by the Colonization Society.

All classes and interests are to be benefitted. Tell me, ye mad and ultra abolitionists—tell me what interest and what portion of the population of the country will be excluded by this scheme of colonization? [Applause.]

From the Lancaster Union.

KIDNAPPING IN LANCASTER CO., PA.

SADSBURY TOWNSHIP, 1st mo. 16th, 1851.

An outrage occurred in this neighborhood this week, which was so shocking that the public should be made acquainted with it. On second day evening, between 7 and 8 o'clock, some one knocked at the door of the house of Marsh Chamberlein, a neighbor of mine, and the answer was given, 'Come in.' At once, about six persons entered, and made their way instantly towards a colored man who was sitting by the fire, and who was about putting on his shoes.

Seeing their purpose, he seized a pair of tongs to defend himself, but before he could use them, he was knocked down and beaten severely. He was then dragged to the door, the individuals in the mean time beating him most cruelly. He was then gagged to quiet his cries, tied and dragged like a slain beast to a wagon, which was about 100 yards off, in readiness to receive him, and from there he was driven off, as it was afterwards ascertained, instantly, to the Maryland line, where he was handed over to other parties. The ground over which the man was dragged was deeply marked by his blood.

There were in Marsh Chamberlein's house, at the time the affair occurred, Thomas Pennington, an elderly man, down stairs, and a woman up stairs. As soon as the colored man was knocked down, whether intentionally or not, the light was put out, and what followed was done in comparative darkness. The alarm was given as soon as possible, and a band of colored people, armed with double-barrelled guns, were soon on the ground; but they were a few moments too late, else a scene of slaughter would have probably ensued, more easily imagined than described. They pursued the kidnappers, but did not get on the right track.

It ought to be stated, that this band of persons had no warrant or any legal process, nor were they accompanied by any officer. They came from the 'Gap Tavern,' a notorious place in the neighborhood. They were joined by others outside of the house, [illegible] altogether, there were not less than ten or twelve in number. The name of the victim was, I believe, John Williams. I have always regarded him as a free man, and he has been so regarded in the neighborhood, and there is no proof now that he was not.

A month ago, a man was carried off from this neighborhood in a way somewhat similar, and last week an attempt was made in this township, near the house of Dr. Duffield; but, fortunately, was unsuccessful. The intended victim was attacked while he was at work in a barn, but he defended himself with a pitchfork, and drove off his pursuers.

Respectfully yours, J. W.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

ANTI-APIS.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Praisest Law, friend? We, too, love it much as they that love it best;
'Tis the deep, august foundation, whereon Peace and Justice rest;
On the rock primeval, hidden in the Past its bases be,
Block by block the endeavoring Ages built it up to what we see.

But dig down: the Old unbury: thou shalt find on every stone
That each Age hath carved the symbol of what God to them was known;
Ugly shapes and brutish sometimes, but the fairest that they knew;
If their sight were dim and earthward, yet their hope and aim were true.

Surely as the unconscious needle feels the far-off load-star draw,
So strives every gracious nature to at-one itself with law;
And the elder Saints and Sages laid their pious frame-works right
By a theocratic instinct covered from the people's sight.

As their gods were, so their laws were: Thor the strong could reave and steal,
So through many a peaceful inlet tore the Norseman's eager keel;
But a new law came when Christ came, and, not blameless as before,
Can we, paying him our lip-tithes, give our lives and faiths to Thor?

Law is holy: ay, but what Law? Is there nothing more divine
Than the patched-up broils of Congress—venal, full of meat and wine?
Is there, say you, nothing higher? Nought, God save us! that transcends
Laws of Cotton texture, wove by vulgar men for vulgar ends?

Did Jehovah ask their counsel, or submit to them a plan,
Ere he filled with loves, hopes, longings, this aspiring heart of man?
For their edict does the soul wait, ere it swing round tow'rd the pole
Of the true, the free, the God-willed, all that makes it be a soul?

Law is holy; but not your law, ye who keep the tablets whole,
While ye dash the Law to pieces, shatter it in life and soul;
Bearing up the ark is lightsome, golden Apis hid within,
While we Levites share the offerings, richer by the people's sin.

Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's? yes, but tell me, if you can,
Is this superscription Cæsar's, here upon our brother man?
Is not here some other's image, dark and sullied though it be,
In this fellow-soul that worships, struggles God-ward even as we?

It was not to such a future that the Mayflower's prow was turned,
Not to such a faith the martyrs clung, exulting as they burned;
Not by such laws are men fashioned, earnest, simple, valiant, great,
In the household virtues whereon rests the unconquerable State.

Ah, there is a higher gospel; overhead the God-roof springs,
And each glad, obedient planet, like a golden shuttle sings,
Through the web which Time is weaving in his never-resting loom,
Weaving seasons many-colored, bringing prophecy to doom.

Think you Truth a farthing rush-light, to be pinched out when you will,
With your deft official fingers, and your politician's skill?
Is your God a wooden fetish, to be hidden out of sight,
That his block-eyes may not see you do the thing that is not right?

But the Destinies think not so: to their judgment-chamber lone
Comes no noise of popular clamor, there Fame's trumpet is not blown;
Your majorities they reck not—that you grant, but then you say,
That you differ from them somewhat;—which is stronger, you or they?

Patient are they as the insects that build islands in the deep;
They hurl not the bolted thunder, but their silent way they keep;
Where they have been, that we know; where Empires towered that were not just,
Lo! the skulking wild-fox scratches in a little heap of dust.

The Impartial Citizen.

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From the (Glasgow) North British Mail of Jan. 7.

AMERICAN FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

Last night, a public meeting of the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and of all friendly to the universal abolition of slavery, was held in the City Hall. The Hon. Alex. Hastie, Esq., M. P. occupied the chair. On the platform, among others, we observed the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, Rev. George Ingraham, Rev. Geo. Jeffrey, Rev. David Johnstone, Rev. John Graham; Councillors, A. W. Alexander, P. M'Lean, W. Cochran, R. Galt; Messrs. J. R. Ross, Robert Kaye, David Hope, Andrew Paton, James Cowper, William Smeal, John Knox, Andrew Ingliss, George Gallie, Robert Goodwin, James Turner, W. Turner, James Stirling, junr. Rev. Geo. Roy, Samuel Wilson, James Clark, — Craig, Archibald Kerr, William Freckleton, F. B. Stewart, Eben. Anderson, James Rettray, &c. On the platform were also Messrs. W. Wells Brown and W. Craft, the latter accompanied by his wife, an intelligent and rather good-looking young woman. No one would have thought there were any appearances of her being a colored person.

Mr. Hastie having taken the chair, rose and said —At the request of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, confirmed by you, I very willingly am the chairman of this meeting. (Cheers.) The meetings of this Society have of late years neither been so numerous, nor have causes arisen so claimant as existed some years ago, as to render it necessary to lay our proceedings frequently before the public. But without noising, the Society has neither been dead nor sleeping; for it is only a few months ago since a large meeting of the citizens of Glasgow took place within this hall, partly under the auspices of this Society, for the purpose of remonstrating with her Majesty's Government upon the nonfulfilment of the slave trade treaties between this country and the Governments of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. I am happy to think that out of that meeting, and similar meetings in other parts of the country, good has already ariseen. The Brazilian Government have declared the slave trade to be piracy, and manifested their sincerity and earnestness by having seized several vessels fitted out for the slave trade, and imprisoned their owners. (Cheers.) Other Governments have also acted with additional activity. They recalled, or are recalling, the present ineffective squadron of sailing vessels stationed on the coast of Africa, and are substituting in those places fewer but more efficient vessels, which, from more active and efficient services will it is to be hoped, free this long afflicted coast from this most iniquitous trade. (Cheers.) Since the period to which I have referred, another feature connected with slavery has sprung up—one in which the Scottish Parliament must interfere, but which the condemnation and reprobation of meetings, such as the present, may have influence in repressing—I mean the Fugitive Slave Bill of the United States. From the ease and quietness with which that iniquitous bill passed through the various legislative bodies of that great Republic, I am almost tempted to believe that it has been passed with the connivance of the Abolitionists of the United States, thinking that the revulsion of feeling which would be excited from the iniquity and oppression of this measure would not only sweep from their statute book this atrocious law, but slavery itself. (Cheers.) Holding, as I do, that man can legally have no property in his fellow man, it is the duty of this slave to escape from slavery, and once a freeman, it is equally his duty, as a freeman, to resist again being carried into bondage. Impressed with these sentiments, I have no hesitation in giving to those who are the principal objects of our meeting this evening my sympathy, and to hope that meetings, such as the present, may widely extend over this country, and that they may not be without their legitimate influence in the United States of America. (Cheers.) The chairman concluded by calling on Mr. W. Smeal, who read a brief but cheering report, concluding as follows:—

Your committee rejoice in the second visit to the United States, of their devoted friend and coadjutor, George Thompson, Esq., M. P. They trust it may tend to the improvement of his health. To the abolitionists of that country, his presence will be animating and encouraging; and we fervently desire, that He who is emphatically the "Freeprver of men," may vouchsafe to him his protection, and great him a safe return.

In view of ultimate success, the signs of the times are encouraging. In Brazil and in Cuba, there are organizations having for their object the extinction of slavery. Even in the iniquitous American Fugitive Slave Law, we see hopeful omens. All history goes to establish the fact, that when in the ordering of Almighty wisdom, any great system of iniquity is to be rooted up, the very men who seek to uphold it, are made the most efficient instruments in its downfall. So was it with our colonial slavery; and so your committee have faith to believe it will prove with that of America. That country heaves and boils like a volcano with the excitement produced by the Fugitive Slave Law—well is it for the cause of the slave, that the abolitionists are men equal to the emergency; these have our cordial sympathy, and warm desires for their success in the overthrow of slavery. Meanwhile, great good may be peacefully attained, and blessings of universal joy, rather than with confused noise and garments rolled in blood!

The Rev. Mr. Johnston, on coming forward, said, I rise to move the adoption of the report which has just been read. It is a report, sir, which for its originality, its faithfulness, its power, its brevity, and its genuine sympathy with the slave, does honor alike to the head and the heart whence it has emanated. Had more feeling been consulted, I should not have appeared before you this evening, but having a call from duty, I did not feel at liberty to resist the invitation to say a few words on behalf of suffering humanity.

It may be said, why appear on a British platform to speak of American slavery? Let brother Jonathan fight his own battles, if you have finished yours. There is a fallacy here, for the battle is not Jonathan's any more than it is ours. He may be nearer the field of conflict than I, but, nevertheless, I am as much interested in its issue as he is, because every free extract of the world has important business to discharge in this war. Sir, the whole human race are members of one great family. We have all a common origin, common hopes, and we have a common destiny. The one Father made, preserves, and governs us all. Now, as in the spiritual body so in the natural, if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. This is a great general principle which is applicable to mankind universally. Wherever then, throughout the wide world, I see or hear of any brother belonging to this great family, who is suffering at the hands of his fellow-one, I am bound to let fall the tear of pity for him, and to sympathise with him, and to make active and vigorous efforts, if possible, to release him from his bonds. It matters not to me whether his skin be red or olive, whether it be black or white, still he is my brother; and I will not cease, while life lasts, to use all lawful endeavor so free my fellow from the power of the oppressor. I am here to night to condemn slavery all over the world, and to hold out the right hand of fellowship to the slave, wherever he is to be found on the surface of our globe. And in uttering them, I am following a high and a noble leader, for the Great Master himself relieved the needy, sympathised with the afflicted, delivered the oppressed, and sponed the prison door on those who were bound.

Sir, we hear much of the glorious American Constitution; and, without doubt, there is much in it which calls for our admiration. For example, it contains this noble principle, 'All men are free and equal, none possessing any hereditary rule or power over another.' What, then, are we to make of this great and acknowledged truth? Why, so far as the Americans are concerned, it is rendered void and nugatory—nay, directly the reverse. Of no more and well-defined principle, seeing that they keep upwards of three millions of their colored brethren in the most abject bondage. Here we have liberty recognised in the letter, nay, actually embodied in law, while, in the actual working of that law, human freedom to the colored man is scouted and denied. Here, then, is a complete anomaly, and how to reconcile it with the light and the knowledge which is to be found amongst the American people, we know not. One thing is clear, that the principle is to be found in the Constitution, and yet it is entirely set aside, because the Government of that country refuse to give to their colored fellow-subjects their inalienable rights and liberties.

But, strange to say, while boasting that there is the land of freedom, the Americans have the hardihood to justify slavery. They argue that, since it has become an institution of the country, it must be maintained, at all hazards. Such is the way in which President Pierce and many others settle the slave question. A singular mode of reasoning this, since we have already seen that slavery formed no part of their original Constitution. It is a something which has been added—it is a foul blot upon their national escutcheon—it is the great ulcer which has become incorporated with the American body politic, and, sooner, for all parties, that they get it cut off, the better. (Cheers.) Because sin mixes itself up with the affections of man's heart and the actions of his life, is he, therefore, not to seek his entire deliverance from its power? Because the previous tenant who inhabited my dwelling, charmed and fondled a serpent while living therein, am I to do as he did—sitting contented, without getting the vile creature removed out of my house? Because certain things have got mixed up with the working of the British Constitution, which are found to be injurious to the welfare of the community, are they, therefore, to be tolerated merely because a few are enriched thereby? I say, no, sir, let the evil be set aside—which is detrimental to the interests of men, we are morally bound to seek its removal. Slavery is bad—diabolically bad—therefore men are bound in labor to have it removed. Slavery is not a part and appendage to the American Constitution, and, therefore, the citizens of that country are bound to seek its final overthrow. Why, if men are not to attack the evils which necessarily rise from the working of the Constitution, if they will passed laws which incorporate with them, then there is an end to all political reform.

But the Americans go further, for they affirm that slavery is sanctioned by the Bible. Now, I am not about to enter into the Scripture argument on this question. Were this the time and place, it might be shown, without any great amount of learning or critical acumen, that the Bible condemns slavery. But the efforts of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Fox, a Thompson, a Hough, and a Wardlaw, settled that question long since. And that same advocate whom we have heard discuss this point in this hall, will no doubt set brother Jonathan right on this question, no less than he gave to pay him a visit. Now, Sir, the spirit of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, is opposed to slavery. The very genius of Christianity condemns it. What is the grand lesson which the Bible teaches?

'Love to God and love to man.'

Now, where there is love to God, man will not be despised. He will be loved, and if loved, then he will never be carried into slavery. Did God approve of Egyptian slavery? On the contrary, did he not inflict fearful punishment on the cruel taskmasters of the Israelites. The blessed Redeemer, while he solemnly rebuked sin, gave no countenance to slavery. He breathed a spirit of love to and all men; and, loving all men, the desire of his heart was, that mankind universally should enjoy the sweets of freedom.

But it has been said, that the Saviour did not rebuke slavery in Palestine, for a good reason, surely, because there was nothing in the shape of American slavery in the land of Judea; some attempt to make out that slavery did exist, but it is in vain; for Josephus, who narrates the customs, manners, &c. of the Jews of that ago, says nothing about slavery; nor do the New Testament writers have give us the remotest hint that slavery existed in Judea. We do not find that he ever rebuked publicly or privately the sin of slavery. Are we therefore to conclude that he looked complacently on such an awful sin? Assuredly not. His face was set like a flint against all manner of wickedness which was down under the sun, although he did not point out every one in particular. Again, Americans say that colored people are an inferior race of beings, and therefore they are to be held in bondage. Sir, it would be about as just to say, every child is an inferior being, therefore everyone child should be made a slave. What would the mothers of Britain, of America, or of the world, say to this? And yet the one conclusion is just as valid as the other. But we may prove that the colored races are not inferior beings than:—Take a specimen out from amongst, any member, supposing he can speak English. You address him, he listens, he understands, you have opened by your kindly speech the door of his heart. He in turn speaks to you; you listen, you understand, and you have captivated your affections, he has won your heart. The spell is, that heart speaks to heart all over the world. And there is no inferiority of being, seeing that God made of one blood all the nations of men who dwell on the face of the earth. Where, then, is the inferiority but what want of education and ignorance make. Why, so soon as a man gets his liberty, he soon shows himself to be a man possessed of nature's true nobility.

'The great reason why the Americans uphold the atrocious slave system is, (although they are unwilling to own it,) because it is a lucrative business. It is a well known fact that the slave owners of America are the greatest Mammon worshippers in the world. So fearfulare they to get riches, that they make merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. They boast of liberty, and yet they traffic in human flesh. They keep three millions of their fellow-men in the most abject bondage. We as they ever such a monopoly of the rights and liberties of the land and death of men heard of? And this in order that they may scrape a little more golden dust together. I have this faith in the aristocracy of that country, that, if slavery were a losing job, they would disband their slaves to-morrow. (Hear, hear.)

Sir, what is to be done for the American slave? A law has passed Congress, and is at present in operation, that its clare has obtained his freedom, wherever he is found, North or South, free men are to assist in capturing him, and to send him back 'bound and sold,' to his tormentors. This law, sir, will stain the pages of American history. One is almost ready to think that a certain old man at Rome, or that some of the leaders of the Inquisition there, were consulted as to the framing of this obnoxious law. A celebrated British statesman has said, that public opinion is more powerful than arms: if so, let the inhabitants of this country do everything in their power to create and send forth a healthy and unmistakable expression of public opinion against this monstrous law. (Cheers.) Let us by private intercourse, by lectures, by public meetings, by the pulpit and the press, seek to awaken the feelings and sympathies of the great nation; and this will speak with trumpet voice to the people of America. It will tend to raise and foster such a strength of public opinion there, that slavery itself will fall before it. For sooner will they be able to roll back the course of their own Mississippi, or to stop the wave of the ocean, than they will be able to meet the tide of human opinion when once it has fully set in against slavery. The conflict has already set in;

'And Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.' (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. Ingham proposed the second resolution, as follows:—

Resolved, That we regard with the utmost detestation the Fugitive Slave Bill lately passed by the United States Legislature, whereby the whole of that country, free states and Slave States, has been thrown open to man hunters and man stealers, in direct contradiction of the Declaration of their independence—'That all men are born free and equal.' That we sympathize with the abolitionists, the free colored people, and the escaped slaves, in the many trials they will be called to bear by this iniquitous law; we would cheer them in the endurance of their trials and urge them to the continued prosecution of their noble enterprise—the abolition of slavery, by the assurance that this wickedness is fast coming to an end, viewing the Fugitive Slave Bill, as one of the convulsive throes indicating the increasing fears of the slaveholder, and betokening the overthrow of the inhuman and antichristian system;—let this sentiment still be reiterated—No fellowship with slaveholders, religious or political."

This resolution is one, Sir, which will require little advocacy before a meeting of the friends of the slave, as, I am certain, all here are. It is now surely too far in the day, to make it necessary that any speaker, on an abolition platform, in Britain, should stop to prove to his audience that slavery, in all its forms, is essentially an evil, and is prohibited by every principle of Scripture. (Cheers.) I will not consult the feelings of any, Sir, by supposing that any one in this meeting entertains the idea that God's word could give the least semblance or shadow of support to man claiming property in the body and soul of his fellow-man. (Cheers.) The Bible classes 'men-stealers' among the blackest of sinners under the sun. And who are man-stealers? All slaveholders are so. To deprive a man of the freedom of his person and his mind is to rob him of all that makes him an intelligent, responsible, rational and an accountable being. (Hear, hear.) Every slave is robbed of this; and he who retains him in bondage is a man-stealer, no matter whether he fill a senator's chair, or wear a diploma of doctor in divinity.

Every man, Sir, who has any love of justice and consistency, cannot but think with feelings of detestation on slavery being 'legalised' in a country whose Constitution declares that 'all men are born free and equal.' Thus, the Constitution of America affirms, and yet she upholds slavery. But our feelings of detestation increase intensely when we learn that such a country has passed an act compelling every man, sir, to assist in recapturing those who have escaped from bondage. It is this act, called the 'Fugitive Slave Bill,' which my resolution calls on this meeting to judge. It is true, Sir, we can pass no judicial sentence upon it, but we can pronounce an opinion of a character far more powerful and telling than any merely legal decision. (Cheers.) We can pronounce a moral verdict upon it, and when such a verdict is passed by an intelligent and virtuous community, there is no law, Sir, in the world that can stand against it. It was moral sentiments of this kind, gave no countenance to slavery. He breathed a spirit of love to and all men; and, loving all men, the desire of his heart was, that mankind universally should enjoy the sweets of freedom.

But it has been said, that the Saviour did not rebuke slavery in Palestine, for a good reason, surely, because there was nothing in the shape of American slavery in the land of Judea; some attempt to make out that slavery did exist, but it is in vain; for Josephus, who narrates the customs, manners, &c. of the Jews of that ago, says nothing about slavery; nor do the New Testament writers have give us the remotest hint that slavery existed in Judea. We do not find that he ever rebuked publicly or privately the sin of slavery. Are we therefore to conclude that he looked complacently on such an awful sin? Assuredly not. His face was set like a flint against all manner of wickedness which was down under the sun, although he did not point out every one in particular. Again, Americans say that colored people are an inferior race of beings, and therefore they are to be held in bondage. Sir, it would be about as just to say, every child is an inferior being, therefore everyone child should be made a slave. What would the mothers of Britain, of America, or of the world, say to this? And yet the one conclusion is just as valid as the other. But we may prove that the colored races are not inferior beings than:—Take a specimen out from amongst, any member, supposing he can speak English. You address him, he listens, he understands, you have opened by your kindly speech the door of his heart. He in turn speaks to you; you listen, you understand, and you have captivated your affections, he has won your heart. The spell is, that heart speaks to heart all over the world. And there is no inferiority of being, seeing that God made of one blood all the nations of men who dwell on the face of the earth. Where, then, is the inferiority but what want of education and ignorance make. Why, so soon as a man gets his liberty, he soon shows himself to be a man possessed of nature's true nobility.

'The great reason why the Americans uphold the atrocious slave system is, (although they are unwilling to own it,) because it is a lucrative business. It is a well known fact that the slave owners of America are the greatest Mammon worshippers in the world. So fearfulare they to get riches, that they make merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. They boast of liberty, and yet they traffic in human flesh. They keep three millions of their fellow-men in the most abject bondage. We as they ever such a monopoly of the rights and liberties of the land and death of men heard of? And this in order that they may scrape a little more golden dust together. compels him to uphold the bondage of any of his fellow-citizens? (Hear, hear.) Would any man in this assembly degrade himself in the possession of some civil or religious freedom, if our countrymen were in chains, and, moreover, knew that he shall and must aid to hold three millions of his fellow subjects in slavery? No, Sir, every man who is under the power of such a law as this bill, is deprived of everything deserving the name of civil or religious liberty. The slave hunter, we find, guilty of an act of high treason against the American Constitution, for it robs the whole nation of its freedom, and forces it to become one huge pack of bloodhounds to track the steps of every man, woman and child, who seeks to escape from the iron fange of slavery, and dares to be free! It is a bill, Sir, which casts a cloud of dement darkness over the stars of America's banner; and while it eclipses the last ray of their glory, it exhibits in stronger relief the stripes on that flag, and makes them yet more the horrid and significant symbols of the stripes which tear the flesh and spill the blood of her three millions of enslaved and down-trodden countrymen.

But, Sir, we must judge this measure by a greater statute-book than that in which the Constitution of America is written:—I mean the statute-book of God, according to which all rulers and subjects shall, at last, be judged. The slave hunter, in his bloody commands as these. 'Relieve the oppressed' 'Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.' But this bill enacts, that no men in America shall obey these statutes of the living God. Further, I find the Bible saying to the slave, 'If thou mayest be made free, use it rather.' Then this measure, if a slave could, by running away, effect his freedom, he ought to run, is clear from what that Book in another place says:—'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the slave which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.'—(Deut. 23, 15, 16.) But, Sir, this Fugitive Slave Bill declares, that every person in America shall trample this law of God under foot, or he shall be fined or imprisoned. It enacts, that no man shall relieve the oppressed, and that every man shall deliver up to his master the slave who has escaped. I call then, Sir, for the decided and unanimous verdict of this assembly against the bill. I ask the meeting to declare, that this bill is a measure which violates the most sacred rights of the American people—which offers the most flagrant insult to every feeling of humanity, and bids defiance to the solemn injunctions of the God of heaven.

But my resolution also asks the sympathy of this meeting for the American abolitionists, the free people of color, and the escaped slaves, in the many trials to which this iniquitous bill will subject them. (Applause.) And, Sir, we cannot give our sympathy, without also giving that which will enhance its value, namely, our counsel. It is the main element of all true sympathy. It is, I admit, a critical thing to give advice to the subjects of a foreign nation, to consult the law which oppresses them; but there are sometimes circumstances in which it is our bounden duty to tender such counsel, and I deem the present such an occasion; for slavery is not a matter which concerns America only, it is a world-wide affair, and the universal interest of our common humanity. But, Sir, I would offer no counsel in this case, but what I find in the written Word of God. Let the slaveholders, and their friends, then, let us say, if you can obtain your liberty legally, run away, run on; for God says, 'If thou mayest be made free, use it;' and says to every man on the earth, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the slave which is escaped.' Run on, then, for God bids you. Traverse fields and forests—climb mountains, and swim rivers,—until you reach the Southern frontiers of that land which owns the British sceptre; and, like the hunted captives of old, who found the horns of some altar and were safe, so take you hold of the moon of the British Lion, and then you may bid defiance to the American Eagle, which may hover and scream about you, but his iron talons and his fangs dare never again enter your flesh and drink your blood.

Oh, Sir, my soul exults in the thought that every spot on the globe, over which the flag of Britain floats, is a spot sacred to freedom; and that the moment a slave stands beneath the shadow of that flag, his fetters fall for ever to the ground, and he is free to pursue, from which all the tyrants and Governments in the world can never, never expel him.

To the free colored people in America we would say, if you are able legally to prove that you are free born, run to your cause. You have a right to make many a costly sacrifice, but would you not 'rather suffer the loss of all things,' than return to a captivity over more terrible than death itself?

To the Abolitionists in the States, let us say without hesitation, 'Obey God rather than men.' Human governments are but the ordinances of God, and whilst they ought to be obeyed in everything which does not invade the domain of conscience, or clash with the revealed commands of God (yet we know of no never yet, the ordinance above the Ordainer.—If any government, except in a case which cannot be obeyed without violating conscience and scripture, then it is a subject's duty to suffer the penalty rather than disobey God. The Bible tells us that once in Babylon, a Royal decree was issued, that every man should fall down and worship a golden image which the king had set up. There were three men who worshipped the true God who forbids homage to idols. They knew refusal to the king's law would expose them to death. Did they comply? Hear their answer:—'Be it known to thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up!' To the furnace they were sent, but God, by miracle, did not suffer a hair of their heads to be singed! Let us then, stand on our resistance the seal of his approval. God also set his approval on the resistance of Daniel to civil law when it opposed divine law. And when the Jewish authorities commanded Christ's apostles to refrain from preaching his gospel, the Holy Ghost dictated this reply: 'Whether it be right, in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.' They presented to the powers that be, a brave front, then, into prison for disobedience to their law. 'But the angel of the Lord, by night, opened the prison doors, and brought them forth, and said, Go stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life.' They did it, and again they were arraigned before the Senate of Israel, who said, 'Did we not strictly command you that you should not teach in this name?' The reply which God put into the lips of the apostles was, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' Thus, sir, is the counsel we would give to the Abolitionists of America in their present trying position. I do not mean that they should run one particle of physical force. No, sir, let their swords sleep and rust, if they like, in their scabbards. The weapons I would have them use in warring against this bill 'are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds, and every thing that exalteth itself above the knowledge of God.' If a poor, hunted and hungry slave comes to the door of an Abolitionist, let him do as God commands, and not as the bill enacts; let him relieve the oppressed. Yes, if an Abolitionist find in some field or wood, a fugitive slave, lying weary, wounded and famishing, let him act the part of the good Samaritan of old—lift him up, let God before him, 'wash his stripes' and give him help on his journey; for God says—'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the slave which is escaped; thou shalt not oppress him.' If the authorities demand you to aid them to capture a fugitive, obey God rather than them. (Hear.) Refuse to act as bloodhounds, for God hath not made you dogs, but men; and given you hands not to forge fetters for your brother, but to loose the bands of wickedness, break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. (Cheers.)

I am well aware, Sir, of the terrible sacrifices by which such a course as this must be sustained; but there is no other course marked out by God, and no other by which the Abolitionists of America can be obtained. Let us cheer on every abolitionist, then, in this path. Solely, sir, the descendants of the pilgrim fathers will not shrink from any sacrifice or suffering, by which their sacred right to follow the dictates of conscience, and the commands of God, can be upheld. They would be unworthy of their heroic and immortal sires if they did, men who, rather than submit to the civil decrees which were hostile to the Word of God, left their native land, braved the dangers of the deep, and persevered to live amid the solitudes and perils of America's vast wilderness, and laid the foundation of a mighty empire which shall yet be both a wonder and a blessing to the world. (Cheers.) Let us hope, Sir, that the noble blood of those champions of freedom still flows in the veins of the Abolitionists in America, and that they will be found faithful to the cause of Liberty and of God in this, the day of their trial. (Cheers.) Let us remind them, that no noble cause in the world has ever been won without sacrifice and suffering. The liberty which we, as Scotchmen, enjoy, was purchased by the toils and agonies, and blood of our forefathers. (Loud cheers.) Yes, sir, we would spill our own blood also, rather than lose the liberty which they bequeathed to us as a legacy, to the generation that follow us.—(Cheers.) Providence is now calling on the American friends of the slave to purchase the abolition of slavery by heavy losses and privations; and if they only suffer for a season, the victory will be theirs. The moral influence of their sufferings in behalf of the slave will soon tell upon the country and the Government, with a might which they shall feel impolitic either to despise or oppose; and which shall ere long lead either to the final overthrow of slavery, or to a separation of the free States of the Union from the slave States; and, either way, the cause of abolition shall be won, and 'the oppressed shall go free.' (Cheers.) They may be sure of this, for this is decisive evidence of the light hold which slavery has on the public mind of America, and the conscious feebleness of the pro-slavery party in it.—And like many other measures framed by the injustice and tyranny of rulers, will this Fugitive Slave Law, in its destruction of the accursed system it is designed to bolster up. Let us, then, cheer on our abolition friends across the Atlantic, to undure affliction for the sake of the oppressed and the slave. Let us remind them that they have not only our sympathy, but the sympathy also of Him who came from heaven to 'proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' Let them listen to the counsel of one of their own poets:—

'O, fear not, in a world like this,
And thou shalt know, ere long,
Know how sublime a thing it is
To suffer and be strong.'

Let them follow such counsel, and they shall soon experience its invigorating and ennobling effects upon their souls. Let us tell them that the eyes of the civilized world are upon them—the eye of every freeman and of every bondman—and the eye of every tyrant and oppressor. (Cheers.) Let them, then, stand fast; be strong; and quit themselves like men. Let them count the cost of this awful struggle—a struggle between the more enlightened of a people, and the physical force of their rulers—and let them, in forming their resolve, go forth like Moses in Egypt, and look upon the burdens of the three millions of their colored brethren; and, holding their wrongs, let them say, in the strength of a resolution, which no sufferings shall be able to shake—

'By oppression's woes and pains,
By those slaves in servile chains,
We will stand while life remains,
But they shall be free.' (Great cheering.)

The Rev. Dr. Ritchie, in seconding the resolution, remarked, that he had rejoiced to see men fighting for their liberty in Rome, Hungary, and Turkey, and he also rejoiced to see, that in the slave States of America, there was a fight for liberty. The slave had as good a right to his liberty as the free-born lord; and he maintained that every slave was entitled to say to his master, 'Give me a portion of my freedom, give it to me, or leave at you.' (Laughter and cheers.) He had no hesitation in saying, that the fugitive slave law that had been recently passed, placed the American States beyond the circle of civilization. (Cheers.) He looked on them as savages. Some people told them that the only savages were those that had black faces; but the truth was, if they wanted to find savagism, they must look to the white faces—and in it was in the present case; for he defied any man to find in the page of history, even the darkest and blackest, any thing equal to the Fugitive Slave Bill. It was every thing unjust, unnatural, and unchristian, and was a perfect disgrace to this very name of liberty, equality and humanity. What did it do? He had always understood that it was the office of the judge to hold the balance even, but what did this law say? It said, that if the judge found for the slave, he got five dollars; but if he found for the slaveholder, he got ten dollars. That was what they called justice in America. He had looked at every sentence of this law, and he condemned it in toto. Again, sir, he would sell them if they did not, but more than that, if they did not like him, yet an enemies, and be and feather him—force the tar into his mouth, and afterwards toss him into the Hudson? [Laughter and cheers.] Seeing they had got rid of other grievances,

the Americans ought never to say that they got slavery from Britain.

They also asserted that they would like to get rid of slavery if possible, but that it could not be done. They of the Northern States, moreover, maintained that they had nothing more to do with the existence of slavery, than had Great Britain. But he said that was untrue, because they had to do with the making of the laws which recognized the existence of it. At the same time, while such was the law, he rejoiced to say, that many of the people of America had resisted it, and long might they continue to do so. [Cheers.] The Rev. Doctor proceeded to detail several of the most repulsive features of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and appealed to the meeting, if what he had stated did not justify his declaration, that they who had passed that law, they who were working it out, had placed themselves beyond the circle of civilization. (Cheers.) For, his comfort, he however found, on referring to history, that this law would not work, it was so unjust. It converted the whole population of America into slave-catchers. One feature of the law was this, that suppose a fugitive slave were carried away by his owner, and some people were to league together to rescue him, the result would be, that the slaveholder applied to the exchequer, and received the sum of two thousand dollars for compensation. There, then, was a law which turned the whole of the free States of America into a great hunting field against the slave. A man was not worthy of the name, unless he lifted up his voice loud and explicitly against such a law. He therefore rejoiced to say that it would not work. He knew many of the abolitionists of America—he had been in correspondence with them for years, and this he could say for them, that they had made heavy sacrifices in support of their principles. Through their instrumentality and aid, thousands of slaves have made their escape to Canada, and he rejoiced to say, that on that ground at least they were free; so that, after all, this was a British question. The laws of America rendered it imperative when a vessel from a Northern port came to a Southern harbor, that if there were more than one colored person on board, they were taken ashore and clapped in jail till the vessel was ready to leave the port. If the captain had an ill will against the men, all that he had to do was to leave them behind him, and they were immediately sold for slaves. [Loud bursts of indignation.] He had said that this was a British question, and so it was; because, if a vessel were to sail for one of these Southern States from Jamaica, with a number of colored persons on board, they would be seized, on entering the port, and put in prison; and, if the vessel sailed without the captain claiming them, they would be put up to auction and sold. Was not the interest of Great Britain concerned here? He wondered what their friends in Downing street would say to that. He was fully aware that the odious law to which he had alluded would work its own destruction, and he believed that this was the last effort of the slaveholders. It had been said that evening, that if the slave-owner was a worshipper of Mammon, and finding his slaves profitable, that was the reason why he kept them; but that was not the case. Slavery was a losing trade. He could not believe that slave labor was more profitable than free labor, for he considered it would be blasphemy against God to think so. They knew that slavery had become quite inoperative in some slave States; and they knew that in Carolina itself, the people were raising up a movement for the abolition of slavery. There was, besides, another State springing up on the west coast of America, in the shape of California, which had declared for freedom, so that how the slave-owner was placed between two fires; and he thought there was every chance that he would get himself singed. [Laughter.] There had also a crusade been raised against slavery in Cuba and Brazil, so that he thought he now saw liberty beginning to dawn, and felt confident that some of those present would live to see the day when slavery would be abolished in the Southern States of America. [Cheers.]

The Chairman next introduced to the meeting,

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, one of the fugitive slaves. He was received with tremendous applause. After some introductory remarks as to his want of ability to address such a large and intelligent audience, having been for twenty years entirely without an education, he said this was indeed a strange occasion. He had repeatedly looked around on the audience, and every time he had surveyed the meeting he had been more convinced with the strangeness of its appearance and object. Within the last two or three years, certainly within the last 18 months, large and enthusiastic meetings had been held in cities of the United States, to welcome to the New World refugees from the banks of the Danube, the Tiber and the Nile, while here there were three thousand persons assembled to welcome refugees from the banks of the Mississippi. (Great cheering.) They had not made their escape from a monarchical government—not from a land over which a king, queen, or emperor reigned; but they were here flying away from the stars and stripes of America. They were here refugees from the land of their birth—democratic, republican America. And what was their offence? Why, it was said they committed, that they were here freer than they would have been in the United States? Simply because the people of that country gave the lie to their own declaration of independence. . . . He was grateful for the reception which he had met in this country, and he hoped it would go back to the United States, that this evening three fugitive slaves had appeared before three thousand of the people of Glasgow, who, while in America, had to hide from the very laws and officers of the country, whose duty it was to protect them. [Mr. Brown made an eloquent speech.]

WILLIAM CRAFT next presented himself, with his wife, and both were received with rapturous applause. His narrative excited the deepest interest.

The Rev. Mr. JEFFREY proposed the following resolution:—

'Resolved, That we congratulate Wm. W. Brown and Wm. and Ellen Craft, on having escaped from the iron grasp of the slaveholder, and cordially welcome them amongst us. We rejoice to be able to offer them the protection of our country, within which no man dare claim property in his fellow-man; and assure them, that Britons know no distinctions arising from the color of the skin.'

It was received with enthusiasm.

Mr. ELEEZER ANDERSON moved, and Mr. JAMES RATTRAY seconded, the following resolution:—

'That this meeting deeply sympathize with the fugitive slaves in the British possessions in North America, destitute as they are, for the most part, of the means of mental and moral culture; that we cordially approve of Wm. Wells Brown's plan for establishing a manual labor school or schools in Canada, for the benefit of the fugitives, and commend him to the sympathy and confidence of the public generally, in regard to this undertaking.'

Mr. A. PATON proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Hastie, for his conduct in the chair, which, like all the other resolutions, was carried with great cordiality, after which the meeting separated, a few minutes past eleven o'clock.

SHARP PREACHING.

The Washington correspondent of the Cleveland True Democrat tells the following good story. In one of the prettiest villages in the State of New York, the pastor of the church, in the course of a sermon on the Fugitive Law, broke out as follows: 'Brethren, this is not the first Fugitive Law that has been passed. Eighteen centuries since, it was enacted, that if any man knew where Jesus was, he should make it known unto them. Then, as now, (said he,) there were Doctors of Divinity who preached up the duty of obedience to that wicked law; but there was found one, in the whole land of Judea, ONLY ONE SILVER GRAY.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

FEBRUARY 5, 1851.—I went from Leonardsville to West Exeter, in Otsego county, the day after the date of my last letter. There we had three splendid meetings,—one on Saturday night, and two on Sunday. At the last, it was my good fortune to be aided by Rev. G. G. Ritchie and Rev. Mr. Pease, long and favorably known as active and earnest Free Mission Baptists. Long, long will the people of West Exeter have reason to remember the truthful speakings of those two beloved brethren on that occasion.

I hastened home, or rather to the home of Mrs. Ward, to attend the Chaplin Convention, in Homer, on the 29th and 30th ult. That was a most triumphant meeting, inasmuch as the numbers in attendance demonstrated that the meeting would have been as overwhelming one had the weather been fair. As usual when a Convention of the sort is called in Cortland county, the weather was absolutely terrible. The wind, the cold, the snow, came upon me in such a manner as to make me remember Thomson's

'In *winter, awful* thou!'

Chaplin, Hathaway, W. R. Smith, Logues, Peter Webb, and others, did great heroism in the talking line. Norman Hulbard was in the Chair. Forty-nine dollars were raised for the Chaplin Fund. Indeed, man might as well 'pay over' first as last, when Joseph C. Hathaway acts as Beggar General. On the evening of the 31st, I spoke at De Ruyter, in Madison county. De Ruyter is a part of the Congressional District of that blundering, unstable, and cold-blooded demagogue, William Duer. But I see nowhere in my travels a more determined spirit of resistance to the Fugitive Slave Bill of Duer and Fillmore, than is to be found among the masses in De Ruyter. Mr. Duer will see on the petitions which will go from De Ruyter, some of the best names in the southern part of his abused and misrepresented district.

On Sunday, the 2d inst., I attended a meeting in the Stone Church, Cortland village, to hear Rev. Mr. Holland preach. A most lucid and truthful sermon it was, too. On Monday, I went to Genova, to attend the Chaplin Meeting there. Chaplin and Hathaway were there, in their strength. The meeting was the largest one we were informed, that was ever held in Genova. The Genova Choir sung well enough to draw the evil spirit out of a host of slaveocrats.

Yesterday we came here, and to-day and to-morrow we are holding, and to hold, a Mass Convention. Chaplin, Hathaway, Douglass, and others, are breaking battle strongly and valiantly for the True and the Right. S. F. Curtis, Esq., is in the chair. Messrs. Douglass and Hathaway spoke at length this afternoon, and Mr. Chaplin but a short time. The state of feeling is excellent. The anti-slavery thermometer is constantly rising. It has been very low, and, for aught I know, would have been lower, as Jack Downing said, had the thermometer been longer. Free Soil politics, diddling over to a sort of Democracy which delights in the most damnable despotism, and Free Congregational preaching, like Silas Hawley's—the changeful, beaklaldden successor of the pulpit, but not of the principles, of Ovid Miner—have done Penn Yan more injury than either Free Soil, Democracy, or Hawley's religion, (if he ever succeeds in finding out what it is,) will undo, in all coming time, I fear. The church formed here ten years ago on anti-slavery and reform principles, is no more like its former self than is any other conservative company of religious professors. How strange it is that men can change so! What a world of power for evil has the pulpit when perverted! How blindly men follow preachers, against their better judgments! Indeed, I see not the good which such a pulpit does, to counteract, overbalance and atone for its evil doing. It may be manifest to some, but to me it is not. Let people stay at home and read the word of God, and teach it to their children, and worship around their family altars, blending the sweet and holy influences of home, Sabbath, and devotion together, and they would contract no corruptions. But let them commit themselves to a preacher who has men to serve, and—as in the case of Mr. Hawley—popularity and salary to seek, and they may be led, God only knows how far from truth and purity.

I know how strongly a church will rally for a favorite preacher. I know that I am in danger of losing some of my very few Penn Yan subscribers for saying so much as I have; but I do not write to make friends, but to tell the truth. And one of the great truths now to be told is, that religious devilry, sustained church-wise, is the most potent and the most seductive of all forms of Satanism; and that they who sustain this, aid and abet in the most God-provoking of all oppositions to truth and good. That one word of this should, as in my opinion it certainly does, apply to Penn Yan, is a fact no more welcome to me than to any one else. May it soon cease to be!

This evening, Frederick Douglass, William L. Chaplin, and the General Choir, charmed and delighted and instructed the great audience. The sessions of the whole day were good, for numbers. But the evening session fills the Congregational Chapel to overflowing, so that some forty or fifty persons were obliged to stand. The Convention, in spite of the dastardism of the Penn Yan *Democrat*, (a member of the Methodist church edits it,) is receiving the attention of all who are worth reaching. Now read what the *Democrat* says; and also what the *Whig*, of the same village, says:—

☞ We see by handbills posted about town, that Fred. Douglass, assisted by several white men, is to hold a fandango during the week in our town. Frederick will doubtless enlighten the white natives on the ATROCIOUS AND HELLISH character of our government and the wickedness of the Union, and prove to a demonstration that no man is a genuine Christian who has not a morally broad, and that if 'black infidelity' were to supersede the Christianity of this country, then would human slavery soon cease. This is what Fred., assisted by a few white brethren, resolved at Syracuse the other day. We hope Frederick and his white associates will have a good time of it. Our advice is to leave them alone in their glory, that is the best way to deal with men who deride the religion and government of their country. Instead of stopping to quarrel with them, let them be treated with silent scorn and contempt.—*Penn Yan Democrat.*

'CHAPLIN AND LIBERTY!'—Such is the imposing caption of handbills posted in our streets, announcing that W. L. CHAPLIN and others are in our village, discussing the Fugitive Slave Law. The meetings, which commenced yesterday, are held in the Congregational Church. The speakers are able and eloquent men, apt, we think, to be extravagant in their assertions and denunciations, thus, perhaps, in a measure defeating what they are aiming to accomplish. *Perhaps*, we say; for we are not sure but that, in view of the extremes, and the opposite one held by the slaveocrats, the people will find the just and happy medium. At all events, let no' prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.'—Penn Yan Co. *Whig.*

Now, the editor of the *Whig* is not a Methodist—he is simply a man. Pray, from what has Methodism converted the editor of the *Democrat?* But that his religion is as good as that of Rev. Dr. Peck, of New York, I have no doubt. Dr. Peck, you know, voted in a certain meeting for resolutions concerning the Kidnapping Law, and refused to publish them in his own paper!

We now adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FEB. 6.—To-day we are going into the Convention matter in business-like style. A goodly number were in the church at the hour of opening. The first speaker was Frederick Douglass. He struck right and left, fore and aft, at all sorts of pro-slaveryism. That of the religious type came in for its full share, and got it. Hathaway followed till the hour of adjournment, rivetting the attention of his hearers till the last moment. After hearing Douglass and Hathaway, they felt as if they only needed a song to adjourn upon, and the choir gave them—

'I am an Abolitionist,' &c.,

to the tune of 'Twilight Dews.'

This afternoon, at the opening of the session, the Chaplin resolutions came up, and Chaplin spoke to them; not, giving a mere dry detail, but discussing and demonstrating the great principles involved, and making his case but an illustration of the great principles involved in the conflict, on either side. Indeed, what a blunder the slaveocrats did make in imprisoning *that* man! They never did that which struck a heavier blow at despotism. No, amount of hail they could have aabed (and they did exert themselves, did'nt they?) could ever atone to them for the evil effects of Chaplin's present labor and testimony against their darling institution, which they succeed in getting into the world, with their clutches, the sounding of his voice now will continue in the ears of the honest Northern men and women, and summon them to do successful battle against the infernal institution. And if he should be obliged to drag out his life in a penitentiary, according to the determination of the detestable Judge Dorsey, his form, words and eloquence will be treasured up in hearts warm, strong and honest. Aye, let them do their utmost; let them fit their souls for perdition, and plod on their way to destruction as they may choose, living or dying, in prison or at large, the life or the death of William Lawrence Chaplin shall be to slavery as terrible as the ghost of Banquo to the tormented Macbeth! Slavery may fear him as Cæsar feared Cassius. Any one who hears Chaplin, feels this to be so.

The house is full this afternoon, and the attention paid to Chaplin is as perfect as possible. I can almost see the evil spirit coming out of pro-slavery religionists and politicians. God save them from returning, and taking with them seven spirits worse than themselves!

Hathaway follows Chaplin, and as some come to the Convention just as folks go to a bear-dance or a cattle-show, a few go out, and so lose the profit and pleasure of hearing the lucid and thrilling statements which the noble Quaker philanthropist makes in regard to the downright illegality of the proceedings against Chaplin. But some people came here just to see a man who was once in jail; not to sympathize, not to feel, not to do any thing, but simply to see the men who was true enough to God and humanity to go to jail rather than to play the Judas to his principles and to humanity—a man who did and suffered what, it is to be feared, some of us have neither the nerve nor the grace to do or to suffer.

A most noble response was given to the appeal of friend Hathaway, three hundred dollars being subscribed and raised. The ready willingness with which the money was given was most agreeable. A very cheerful state of feeling pervaded the audience during the time the money was being raised. Doubtless the amount needed will be obtained. I have more hope of it now than ever heretofore. The free, generous masses will not allow it to be told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Askelon, that such a man as W. L. Chaplin shall suffer in a prison for the want of some score or two of thousands of dollars. They regard money as being of little or no value, in comparison with the liberty, life and usefulness of such a man as the late noble occupant of Rockville jail.

The evening session is now in full blast, and the way Frederick Douglass is talking is taking full effect upon the vast audience. He ceases, takes his seat, and the audience seem unwilling to hear from any other person. Some, however, call for another man, who says but little, and asks to be excused. All the resolutions pass. Money is raised to aid Douglass and Ward. The choir sing, and the meeting adjourns. But the people will not disperse. Surely, this meeting has had its effect for good.

To-morrow we go to Canandaigua; after that, to Fairport, Monroe county; thence to Williamson, Wayne county; thence to West Bloomfield, Ontario county; thence to Warsaw, Wyoming county; thence to Rochester, &c. &c.

FEB. 27.—We came here to Canandaigua to-day. Friends had made the best possible provisions for this meeting, but the largest and best hall being engaged by Mr. Fowler for Phrenological lectures, we are obliged to meet in the Town Hall. It is not near large enough. It is full, and many are standing; but it is so small that numbers of those who would gladly see General Chaplin are unable to do so. At some future time, it would be well to return to this place and repeat the subject. The meeting houses in this aristocratic village are all closed against anti-slavery meetings. The noble Baptists, who are descendants, faith-wise, of Roger Williams; the Methodists, who believe in Wesley; the Congregationalists, who profess to believe in Christ; and the Episcopalians, who believe in themselves and St. Peter, all alike close their church doors against us. Not, never mind; the masses desire to hear, and they shall be gratified. We shall have a large hall at some other time. Besides, we intend to hold a great meeting at Geneva, on the 8th of August next, to celebrate the anniversary of Chaplin's imprisonment. And then, next week, on Friday and Saturday, at West Bloomfield, but eight miles from here, we shall give the country folks a chance to hear. Be of good cheer! pro-slavery religion cannot close people's ears, if it can close its own houses.

Douglass has just sat-down. The people's eyes glisten with delight. Chaplin is now speaking. But I must stop. S. R. W.

From the Liberty Party Paper.

YALE COLLEGE THEOLOGY.

Dr. Taylor on Kidnapping—His Speech thereon at the late Union Meeting at New Haven, Conn.

The sons of New Haven and Connecticut, up and down the country, love their birth-place, but their cheeks are forced to blush, and their hearts to bleed for it, when they see how far back it is in the path of progress and civilization. Dr. Taylor belongs to another age and country. He is altogether in the woods, poor man; for his own fame and the good of mankind, he should have died years ago. But to his speech:

Says the New Haven *Journal and Courier*,—The Rev. Dr. Taylor, Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College, was loudly called for, and came forward to address the meeting. He was warmly received, and a death-like stillness prevailed, while he delivered the following speech, in his peculiarly solemn and impressive manner:

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens:—I should be extremely happy to say something on this interesting subject, that shall subserve, in a trifling degree, the interests of my country. I am happy to be here. I am glad to listen to what I have heard. I am glad to witness particularly the indifference to party ties, when the great interests of the nation, as these depend upon the spirit of the Constitution and laws of the country, are in issue. Long enough has this subject been trifled with. Long enough have the enemies of law and order, had this subject all on their own side, and reasoned it all the wrong way. I sit therefore, most ready to express my hearty approbation of the resolutions on the table, and as heartily my entire dissent and unqualified disapprobation of all those attempts to degrade that article in our Constitution upon which so much has been said, and to trample on the law which all Northern men are bound in good faith to stand by and support to the very last. (Cheers.) I say in good faith; and I ask if the compact made between the Northern and Southern States—independent sovereignties—was not a lawful compact? Had not the North interests at stake to justify it? I will not go into the question whether slavery is a sin. Be it so, if you please. Had they not reason, and good reason, for entering into this compact? I will make a supposition: suppose Russia, with hordes, combined with Germany, Austria, Prussia, France and England, were threatening to conquer and devastate your country, and there is slavery in Spain; so appose for your own protection and safety, you deem it necessary to enter into an alliance with Spain. Now, there are slaves in Spain and Cuba; this combination is made for our protection; Spain says some of her slaves will get among our people, and our people will not deliver them up. War is coming, desolation is coming; it is a sin, if you please, for Spain to have slaves; *may we not lawfully, and for our own safety, enter into such a compact and agree to deliver up these slaves?* We have out made the slavery; she is independent, and it is made by her own local laws, in the enjoyment of those rights which she, as an independent sovereignty, has a right to exercise so far as we are concerned. Whether she has a right, so far as her responsibility to the Judge of the earth is concerned, is another question. But so far as we are concerned, she has a right to make these laws. What! may I not buy a piece of meat of a butcher because he is profane? May I not make contracts with men whose characters, in some respects, are marred by evil? (What miserable pettifogging!) May I not consult my own safety by numerous acts of a defensive and inoffensive character, because the men who are engaged with me are not as good as I wish they were? Is this the principle in neighborhoods? Will it do in the family? Will it do better among nations? What right have we to make laws for the Southern States? I see the friend of slaves; I am sorry for slaves; I wish them well with all my heart and soul; and as I wish them well, I say—cease at the North! The agitators of this subject do more to injure the slaves and perpetuate their chains at the South, than their true friends can do to terminate the evil for half a century. (Cheers.)

As to the higher law principle:—You expect me to admit, of course, that we are all the subjects of Him who reigns amid the grandeur and glory of eternity, and that when His will is known, we, as mortal beings, are bound to submit. There is no question on that point; here is the point—is that article in our Constitution contrary to the will of God—contrary to the law of nature, of nations, and the will of God? Is it so? Is there a shadow of reason for saying it is? I have not been able to discover it. Have I not shown you it is lawful to deliver up, in compliance with their laws, fugitive slaves, for the high, the great, the momentous interests of these States? And if it was lawful to do it, is it not in accordance with the Constitution to make a law providing for that result? Is there any law of God against this? Is there any law of God against doing lawful things, which every man must do in the course of his life? I do not so understand it. When I learned in the newspapers the novel doctrine that the Constitution of my country was in conflict with the law of my Maker—when I first learned it, I said to myself, is it possible that from the high places—from our political hall—our halls of legislation—a man in a high and honorable station can venture to propose such a doctrine as that? The thought struck me, that perhaps he was not counting without his host; perhaps I too was imperfectly informed; perhaps at the North there is a degree of infatuation and fanaticism, of which I had not dreamed. In these visions of my fears I almost seemed to see carnage, blood and revolution over the land. I felt very much as if I had heard a summons to rebellion; I felt very much as if I had heard the cry of revolt sounding through the land, entering every dwelling, and seen the standard of revolt waving on every hill. And, sir, there is no want of a tendency in that doctrine to give full reality to these anticipations and forebodings. Let the doctrine be inculcated—let it be believed at the North—let the Northern consciences, whether perverted or unperverted, receive such a doctrine, and what may we expect? We may expect rebellion and intestine war. And when I think of the morality, the ethics of this subject, in our religious newspapers, and in pulpits which have been given up to those who choose to advocate this doctrine; and when I think how very little truth and argument have been employed on the other side, I see, or seem to see, the curse of war over the Union, and directed against the power of law, and against every principle upon which the fabric of our nation's greatness and glory depends. Those far we have passed through the storm; I trust it is over; I am afraid it is not; I am afraid there are evils yet to come—but I think the prospect brightens; I do think we have reason to believe that though surrounded with distracting causes and influences, the people are coming to right views, and that here we have indications that the God of our fathers cares for us. He is, I trust, restraining the madness of the people, and in his own good time, and the roaring of the tempest he will say to the winds, cease,—and to the waves, be still! Stand, then, fellow-citizens, by law! Stand by the Constitution of our country; that Constitution, why, sir, like the atmosphere around us, it blesses us every breath we draw; we walk, we sleep, we exist every moment under its influences. What would become of us, if the Constitution were trampled in the dust? For, sir,—as has been said, so say I, with all my heart and soul,—if any of my fellow-citizens do not value the Constitution enough to defend it, they are not worthy of the blessings it gives them. (Cheers.) I say again, let us stand by the Constitution and the law, and as somebody has said, as near as I can remember, 'I would not merely protect it with the shield of honest Ajax, I would protect it also with a wall of brass; and when this would fail serve the purpose of protection, then would I circle it with the living hearts of my countrymen, and in its defence rally, till the last pulse of life and the last drop of blood were expended in defending the Constitution!' (Great applause.)

There! If that won't satisfy the Union party and all the slaveholders, they are hard to please.

☞ Above, good reader, you have a fair specimen of what is called Christian ethics by the most popular of the Divines of New England and the North, generally. Now, this is not the teaching of some Southern slaveocrat. It is not a speech made by some chaplain to an Eastern despot. It is the cool, calm, deliberate utterance of what fills and controls the heart of one of the most honored, most influential, most revered of the Theological teachers of New England. The same gentleman, when the conscientious Whigs of his portion of the country appealed to him to know whether it was sinful to vote for a man-stealer and woman-whipper, promulgated the duty of voting for the least of two devils. Now, he distinctly admits the sinfulness of slavery, but avows the right of the North to return a fugitive from slavery. Sinful though slavery be, you have a right to covenant to its upholding, and to the replunging of its victims into its most horrible hell! What adds does it make to such teachers that God has forbidden the returning of a fugitive? Dr. Taylor recognises 'the higher law principle,' but reconciles the breaking of the higher law with the higher law itself. Did the Jesuits of a part century more then this?

You see, New Haven makes a good deal by Southern trade. Yale College is patronized by slaveholders. The Theological Department manufactures a great many young preachers for Southern pulpits. These three facts had much to do with the getting up of the Union Meeting. But we will not dare to say that on this account Dr. Taylor made the abominable speech above. We do not say that the trade of New Haven, nor the Southern patronage to Yale, has caused the utterance of the damnable heresy contained in the above paragraph. We do not, dare not affirm that, otherwise minded, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale University, would be an enemy to slavery, an insulter of implicit obedience to Almighty God, a follower of Jesus Christ, touching the matter of slavery. That he far from us. Our fear is that the above speech is just what Dr. Taylor is, and would be in any circumstances. We do not recollect that during the entire struggle in this country between Slavery and Freedom, the Dr. has ever said an done aught that looks as if he had a scintilla of any other feeling than the coolest, most calculating, most heartless friendship for despotism.

When Garrison, Parker, or any of those whole-hearted Reformers who are regarded as infidels, shall utter such language as Dr. Taylor, it will be time to call them unbelievers of the most infidel stamp. For the life of us, we cannot regard the cold-blooded Satanism of Dr. Taylor as a whit better than the writings of Voltaire or Thomas Paine. And just such is our humble estimate of all his class of clerical gentlemen; and those who fellowship them are but little, if any, better.

MASS CHAPLIN CONVENTION AT PENN YAN, N. Y.

Wednesday, February 5th, 10, A. M. Samuel F. Curtis in the chair, and S. R. Ward Secretary. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Douglass.

S. R. Ward, Myron Hamlin, Rev. Mr. Smith, Ezekiel Clark, and Lyman Menger, were, on motion, appointed a Business Committee.

Gen. Chaplin made some very interesting remarks, taking a retrospective view of the anti-slavery cause, and of anti-slavery men and women, during the past seven years.

At 12 o'clock, the Convention adjourned till half-past I.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met according to adjournment. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Douglass. Business Committee reported in part. Report accepted. The resolutions referring to Gen. Chaplin were ordered to be the order of the day to-morrow afternoon, at the opening of the session.

J. C. Hathaway addressed the Convention, in a strain of such eloquence as is his wont. Frederick Douglass, Esq., followed, delighting his hearers with truths solemn and pungent. After Mr. Douglass, who spoke of the more gloomy aspects of the cause, Gen. Chaplin spoke of some of the more encouraging things about us.

A song was then sung by the Geneva Choir.

Adjourned till half past six.

EVENING SESSION.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. Clark. Song by the Genesee Choir.

Mr. Chaplin gave some most thrilling statements of facts which came under his own observation while residing in Maryland. Frederick Douglass was next called out, and in a speech of great power dissected the Fugitive Slave Law. S. R. Ward succeeded Mr. Douglass, in remarks upon the same subject, when, after a song by the Geneva Choir, the Convention adjourned till 10 A. M. to-morrow.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

President in the chair. Frederick Douglass, Esq., opened the discussion, in justification of what is sometimes called 'the stringent and denunciatory' language of some abolitionists. J. C. Hathaway spoke until the hour for adjournment, when, after a song, the Convention adjourned till half past one—the first four resolutions having been adopted.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The resolutions referring to General Chaplin being the order of the day at this hour, they were read, and Mr. Chaplin proceeded to discuss them by a narrative of his sufferings and trials in Washington and Maryland. J. C. Hathaway made an appeal for funds after Mr. Chaplin took his seat. The amount subscribed was $300.

The fifth, sixth and seventh resolutions were unanimously adopted.

After the song by J. R. Johnson called, 'A Welcome to Chaplin,' the Convention adjourned to six and a half o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

After a song—

'Oft in the chilly night'—

Frederick Douglass, Esq., arose, and treated the audience to a speech, rich in thought, and delivered with an earnest eloquence, such as few audiences ever heard from him. After other remarks, a collection was taken up to aid Messrs. Douglass and Ward, amounting to $11 56.

'Come join the Abolitionists' was then sung by Mr. Douglass, the last two resolutions, which had been before the meeting, were adopted, the Secretary was ordered to publish the minutes, and the Convention adjourned.

SAMUEL F. CURTIS, *Chairman.*

S. R. WARD, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That the doctrine of every man's inalienable right to self-ownership is common to the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, and the Federal Constitution; therefore, any law, constitution, or compact, which conflicts with this doctrine, is alike contrary to the law of God, the rights of man, and the true ends of civil government.

2. Resolved, That American slavery is a system of unparalleled despotism; that all its laws are as contrary to the rights of human nature as the pirate's code; that all laws designed for and adapted to its support and perpetuity, partake of its character, and are therefore to be treated in the same manner as laws which pirates enact for the promotion and security of their pursuits.

3. Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Law, whether considered in respect to its war upon social, civil and religious liberty, the atrocity of its provisions, its reckless trampling upon the Federal Constitution, or the unspeakably nefarious system it is designed to subserve, is unworthy of any other regard, at the hands of all men, than such resistance as shall demand its immediate repeal or make it a dead letter.

4. Resolved, That we hereby declare it to be the solemn and imperative duty of all men to defend and protect any brother or sister who may be seized under this abominable law, by all the means which they would employ to protect and defend themselves against a similar outrage.

5. Resolved, That the late imprisonment of William Lawrence Chaplin in the jails of Washington, D. C., and Rockville, Md.—the proceedings against him—the enormous bail demanded before his release—all demonstrate the unchristian character of slaveholding religion, the unconstitutionality of slaveholding laws, and the contempt of slaveholders for the rights of any man, white or black.

6. Resolved, That our gratitude is due to God that our beloved brother Chaplin was neither suffered to desert his principles in the hour of trial, nor to die at the hands of his ruffianly assailants or in the gloomy prison cell. That we now bid him welcome to his adopted State, and pledge our hearty co-operation in his labors of love.

7. Resolved, That the sufferings, fine and imprisonment of General Chaplin, are matters less personal to himself than interesting to us all, inasmuch as what he suffered was because of his faithfulness to principles inscribed upon our national banners, fundamental to our holy religion, and written upon all our hearts. It is a duty, therefore, no less sacred than welcome, incumbent upon all of us, to make common cause with him in his sacrifices.

8. Resolved, That the present unhappy attitude of our country, pressed upon by the incubus of Slavery, and made the prey of cunning demagogues of the North, and crafty slaveholders of the South, the no less unhappy position of many of our former coadjutors, who are now to be found in associations antagonistic to our cause, admonish us that the demands of our slave brother, our country, and our God, are as authoritative upon us now as at any time heretofore; and we cannot but see that all compromises, however specious and well designed, or by whomsoever proffered or commended, are fatal to our integrity, and therefore fatal to our power for good.

9. Resolved, therefore, That we call upon our brethren, once with us, in the name of God and suffering humanity, to rally again around the standard of Impartial Freedom and the Equal Rights of Man, and renew the great warfare for the prevalence of Universal Liberty.

From the Albany Argus.

NIGGERISM.

That insolent and pestilent 'colored' demagogue, Douglass, has had control of a paper called the *North Star*, by which he manages to arrest attention occasionally by some startling outrage on all the propriety of life or his impious appeals to Heaven against the Constitution and laws of the land. The following extracts are from a recent number of his paper:—

'It may with propriety be asked, would not the devil do well to *rent out hell* and move to the United States, and rival, if possible, President Fillmore and his political followers? If he can beat them at the game of sin, the change would be well. Would not fallen angels make wise human Senators, compared with Cass, Clay and Webster?'

'But Fillmore's heartless position in decision of character, and the want of a virtuous soul, have rendered him despicable in the eyes of the good, and contemptible in the eyes of the bad. In seeking to please tyrants, he has lost the favor of all, and alas! the true church of Christ can no longer pray for the success of his truckling administration.'

Where is the white man who would be tolerated for one moment in language like that? He would be execrated in any city or village in the country. And yet this ebony orator is petted and encouraged by those who claim to be good citizens! He is allowed to speak in some churches—he is entertained by ministers of the Gospel—the City Hall of Albany is open to him—and large audiences listen to his traitorous and infamous harangues! No white man, we repeat, would be tolerated for a moment in the utterance of such appeals. But this African relies on a 'higher' sentiment.

Of course, so long as people can be found to listen to and applaud this fellow's licentiousness of speech, so long will he indulge his avidity for notoriety in this respect. He is not half so much to blame as his hearers and patronisers. They are, after all, the parties chiefly at fault. It is quite time that the odium of such performances should rest where it belongs, or at least should be divided between the orator and his hearers. It is time the white men, or such of them as think that there are people, other than Africans, whose interests are worth looking after, should begin to discriminate in their censures between the idol and the idolizers, and give the latter their due. Such a course would soon put an end to these dark speeches and writings—and to 'niggerism' in general.

The *Albany Argus*, whence the above is taken, is a leading journal of the party to which Henry B. Stanton, Charles O. Shepard, T. C. D. McKay, Archimedes Grey, Thomas D. Chollas, Abijah Fitch, Parley G. Keyes, Wesley Bailey, and many other once professed abolitionists, belong. Who would have thought that such men would ever belong to such a party? Which has changed, the *Argus*, or these gentlemen?

U. S. SENATE—Feb. 4.

MR. HALE. I present a petition, signed by some eight or nine hundred inhabitants of the city of Lynn, Massachusetts, legal voters and others, asking for the immediate repeal of the law for the surrender of fugitive slaves, which I move to refer to the Committee on the Judiciary.

I have no disposition to provoke discussion on it, except simply to elicit the reasons why petitions from one side on this subject are received, and all those from the other side are rejected.

MR. CLAY. I move that it be laid on the table.

The motion was agreed to.

MR. HALE. I also present a petition from the legal voters of the town of Danvers, in the county of Essex, Massachusetts, in which they ask Congress to enact a law exempting them, and all others having tender consciences upon this subject, from all participation in carrying into effect the fugitive slave law, and the pains and penalties enacted in said law for the non-performance of its provisions. They then give their reasons why they ask this exemption, and say they feel pained to know that sufficient numbers have so far conquered their prejudices as to be willing, for the paltry compensation set forth in the law, to be set like bloodhounds upon the track of the panting fugitive, to wrest from him the richest boon of Heaven, and thrust him back into a bondage, one hour of which is worse than ages of that from which our fathers rose in rebellion to free themselves. They inform us that the denomination of Friends are exempted by law from bearing arms, and they are confident that no body of men can have a greater repugnance to arms than they honestly entertain towards the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. I move its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MR. CLAY. I move that it be laid on the table.

The motion was agreed to, and the memorial was laid on the table.

☞ What unmitigated villany characterises a device like the following! 'How long, O Lord?'

Free Negroes in Kentucky.—A bill to affect the condition of free negroes has recently passed the House of Representatives of Kentucky, and has been sent to the Senate. The bill provides that in each county the assessors shall annually ascertain and make report to the clerk of the county court, the name, age, sex, and color of every free negro and mulatto, and that the clerk shall keep a register of all such free negroes and mulattoes, and in the month of July of every year shall issue his summons against all such persons within certain ages, residing in the county, commanding their appearance before him at his office, there to exhibit their free papers if they have any; and in the absence of such papers, to produce such evidence as they can of their freedom. The bill further provides that the clerk shall make record of the name, age, sex, color, height, and visible marks of such as appear before him, stating when they were emancipated, or whether they were born free, and, if emancipated, by whom. For his services, the clerk is to receive a fee to be charged against the free negro or mulatto. If any free negro or mulatto fail to appear, or fail to pay the fee, or fail to comply with the law in other respects, he is to be informed against at the next county court, and to be subject to a fine not to exceed ten dollars. If the fine and costs of prosecution are not immediately paid, the convict is to be hired out to any one who will pay the amount for the shortest period of service. The money raised in this way is to be applied to the colonization of free negroes in Liberia.

Another section of the bill provides that if any free negro acquires in any way, except by descent, a title to real estate or slaves, such real estate or slaves shall be forfeited to the commonwealth.—*Washington Republic.*

ANOTHER SLAVE CASE IN BOSTON.

Some months ago, a colored man left North Carolina for the best reasons in the world. Though honest and innocent, he was obliged to steal his passage in a Northern vessel, which he did at the expense of no small suffering. When he arrived in this city, he was taken into the employment of one of our manufacturers, who refused to obey the blood-hound law. But a knowledge of his whereabout got back to his former residence, and an agent was sent on for him. This agent was hospitably entertained by the Castle Garden Committee of Safety, who furnished him with aid and comfort, and a ~~lawyer~~—one Spencer, as it is understood. This Spencer entered into the business with great zeal. He thought this a test case. Here was a responsible man harboring and concealing a fugitive in open violation of the law. To carry out the law in such a case would cement the Union like a thousand of brick. The agent and his legal bloodhound came on to Boston. We published last Monday how their spies were lurking about a certain establishment. They crawled up into a place which overlooked it, and saw their victim.

Thus was every thing prepared for the execution of the law. The requisite warrant was, at the instance of lawyer Spencer, duly obtained, and placed in the hands of Marshal Devens. The North Carolina agent was not to be split on the rock which had been fatal to Hughes—he had good legal advice, and proceeded legally and cautiously. But lest Marshal Devens should temporise and hesitate, as in the other case, it had been provided that he should have *tools* to go through the rougher part of the 'disagreeable duty.' Three ruffians, cast-off constables or the like, with no character to lose, who boasted sufficiently of their 'alacrity,' were employed under large rewards to make the arrest. The warrant was placed in their hands, with orders endorsed,—by whom we are not informed—to *bring in the man, dead or alive!* But they didn't do it. They reconnoitred abundantly, but made no attack.

We have it from a private source, that after viewing deliberately the enemy's camp, their courage oozed out at the ends of their fingers, and Marshal Devens not having any particular stomach to lay *his* life on the altar of this sort of patriotism, the New York Safety Committee's lawyer retired in disgust, cursing the Boston blood-hounds for their want of pluck. They would give their money, he said, but not one atom of personal assistance.—*Commonwealth, 31st ult.*

The Philadelphia Slave Case.—Another case has occurred in Philadelphia to illustrate the diabolical villany of the Fugitive Slave Law. A woman named Tamar Williams has been arrested by a warrant from the notorious *Ingraham*, as the property of one Pursell, of Maryland, from whose sainted father she fled in 1829! Since that time, she has had *five children*, the eldest seventeen years of age. She was betrayed, as appeared from the evidence, by a mulatto, who received $100 for the deed. Her husband, one of the Philadelphia papers states, owned the house in which she lived, but the poor fellow was also arrested at the same time—as the slave of another man—to be kept safe till a warrant could be got! Even that hardened class, the Philadelphia city itemizers, were touched with the agony of the woman at being separated from her five children. The examination was transferred by *habeas corpus* from Ingraham to Judge Kane, David Paul Brown appearing for the defence. The principal witness was one *Bowen*, who testified that he had hired the woman Williams, when a girl seventeen years of age, of her master Pursell, that her name was Mahala, that she ran away the last of August or first of September, 1828; that he was able to fix the time, because, the year before, at a camp meeting, he 'professed religion,' and she ran away the next year. The examination was commenced on Friday afternoon and resumed Saturday morning.

The Philadelphia Slave Case—The Prisoner Discharged.—The Philadelphian announces the following result of the examination in this case:—

The Judge summed up the evidence at length. He spoke of the great difficulty of identifying a person after twenty-four years' lapse of time, and noticed the opinions of physiologists upon the subject. He said that the witnesses for the defence aided this doubt, and made the fact overwhelmingly clear that the prisoner was not the person claimed. The witnesses were intelligent, and their evidence conclusively proved, that at the time the slave Mahala was in Maryland, the prisoner was in Pennsylvania. There could be no question that the weight of the evidence preponderated in favor of the prisoner. She was therefore discharged.

We may state, that if the decision had been adverse to the prisoner, if money would have bought her, she would not have been sent back. Before the hearing was concluded, two persons tendered to D. P. Brown checks for $500 each. Mr. Brown informed them it was not likely to be wanted. A sum twice as large could have been easily raised.

The woman was then taken home in triumph to her friends, in a carriage drawn by a large concourse of colored men.

☞ After the woman was released, she was taken, with her children, to the Philadelphia Institute, the head quarters of the colored people—in Lombard street above Seventh. Here followed a scene of rejoicing. Speeches were made, and much excitement prevailed. The woman and her children were then placed in a carriage, and the blacks crowding around, the horses were taken out, and a long rope attached, and they hauled her, amid a rejoicing crowd, to her home.

Says the *Sun*:

During the last stage of the investigation of this case, two members of the Philadelphia Bar, representing merchants and other citizens, called upon David Paul Brown, just as he was about commencing his argument, and tendered to him two checks of five hundred dollars each, to purchase the unhappy woman and restore her to her six children, in case she should be remanded by the Court. 'Never mind your money,' said the counsel, 'I'll purchase her *myself*, and upon the true Christian principle, *without money and without price*.' The result shows that he kept his word.

Henry Long in Georgia.—This fugitive is advertised for sale in Atlanta, Ga., by Mr. Clopton, who purchased him at Richmond. Some of the Georgia papers appear quite indignant that that and other Southern States should be made 'the receptacles for all the vicious and unruly negroes of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina.' The Atlanta Journal says:—

'We are assured that the number of this class sent South the present year, has been unusually large.—One thing is certain, they are not calculated to add either to the security of our firesides or the value of our present negro property.'

Murder in Owego.—A horrible and brutal murder occurred in Owego on the evening of the 10th inst. The name of the guilty party is John M. Thurston, a cabinet-maker, who killed his brother-in-law, a Mr. Garrison, a very respectable mechanic, with an axe, while himself and wife were making a call at Thurston's house.

Death of Professor Wallace.—Rev. James Wallace, D. D., the distinguished mathematician, died on the 15th ult., in Lexington District, South Carolina. Professor W. was for a number of years Professor of Mathematics in Columbia College, N. Y.

☞ A man by the name of Kinney was arrested at Alton, Ill., for kidnapping a free negro, and selling him. The negro was a party to the fraud, and shared in the profits.

☞ A monster gasometer has been completed in the city of Philadelphia for the city gas works. It is capable of containing one million cubic feet of gas.

☞ A female fugitive slave has been tried at Shawneetown, Illinois, and delivered to her master, a citizen of Georgia.

Mysterious Tragedy—Supposed Case of Love and Suicide.—On Friday, two young men on a hunting excursion came upon two dead bodies, both dressed in male attire, and lying side by side in a bush. The discoverers, supposing that the persons might have come to their death by being frozen, without further investigation started for Coroner Bass, of Quincy. The Coroner, upon reaching the spot, soon ascertained that their deaths were the result of pistol shots. The bodies were, one of them, that of a rather tall person, the other being much shorter. In the hand of the taller figure was a single-barrelled pistol, that had been discharged, and on the ground was strewed a quantity of shot and percussion caps. The bodies were taken by the Coroner to Quincy, and in order to thaw them sufficiently to investigate the cause of death, were placed in a brook, where they remained till next morning. On removing their clothing, it was discovered that the shorter of the two was a female.

The bodies were at once recognised as the remains of two strangers who disappeared from Quincy in the first week of November last. About ten days previous to that time, they came to the town, and gave their names, the man as John Green, aged 26, and the female as George Sand, aged 18. Green stated that he was a shoemaker by trade, and was from Ohio with his half-brother. He obtained work at bootmaking at the store of J. D. Witcher, where he remained eight days. Sands assumed to be an artist, and was in the habit of reading to Green while he was at the work bench. They always appeared cheerful and happy, although some expressions they let fall, indicated that some hidden mystery rested on their lives. They seemed deeply interested in the developments of the 'spirit world,' and used to talk and read a great deal on the subject. Their conversation, according to the testimony of all who were acquainted with them, was quite intelligent, especially that of Sands, who evidently had been well brought up. Their intention, they said, was to remain at the North for six months, and then to return to Ohio via New Orleans.

On the morning after the general election in November, Green complained of being unwell, and did not go to his work. He invited his companion to go to walk, who complied with evident reluctance, telling a female in the family that it was only to oblige John. They stopped at the Union Store in the village, where Green went in and bought some powder and percussion caps. After they left the store, they were seen passing along with hands joined and swinging. They were again seen as they mounted the hill in the direction where their bodies were found. That is all that is known of the affair.

A little money was found on their bodies, but nothing that revealed their names or history.

On slips of paper among the effects of the deceased was the following:

'NEW YORK, Oct. 22, 1850.

**** visited Williamsburg and called on Mr. Fishbough, the publisher of Andrew Jackson Davis's works; was pleased with our visit; was introduced to two gentlemen, one of them Mr. Hatch, of Rochester.'

'Death is only an event: only a circumstance in eternal life, and the unperishable of the human soul.'

'Death is simply a birth into a new and more perfect state of existence.'

'Never be depressed; but be cheerful, be joyous, be exceeding glad ever, though death be knocking at your door.'

There can be no doubt that the unfortunate beings, in an unhealthy state of mind, induced, probably, by misfortune or imprudence, committed suicide—the man shooting the woman through the heart, and then blowing his brains out. The jury have returned a verdict in accordance with this supposition.

ROCHESTER, Jan 27.

Horrible Murder and Suicide.—A dreadful murder, and a suicide of the murderer, took place in the town of Penfield, about eight miles from this city, between 6 and 7 o'clock last evening. The person murdered was a young lady of respectable family, named Sarah Sharpe. The murderer's name was John Everett, the husband of Miss Sharpe's sister. They were found a few yards from the house of a Mr. Campbell, where Miss S. had been visiting. She was discovered in the agonies of death, with her throat cut from ear to ear; and near her lay Everett, in nearly the same situation, with the bloody knife beside him. They expired on the spot. Great excitement prevailed in Penfield, and various rumors are afloat to account for the dreadful deeds, but we forbear publishing them until after the inquest, which coroner Pullis has gone to Penfield to hold.

The Tragedy at Penfield.—A Rochester paper of the 28th ult. says: 'Coroner Pullis held an inquest upon the bodies of Miss Sarah Sharp and John Everett, yesterday, in Penfield. Everett was a brother-in-law of Miss Sharp, and had had, for several years, illicit intercourse with her. A man by the name of Charles Edwards had lately become intimate with Miss Sharp, which created a jealousy on the part of Everett, who contemplated self-destruction. The evening of the murder, he sharpened up a jack-knife, and proceeded to the residence of Mr. Campbell, where Miss Sharp was. Edwards was also at Campbell's house. Everett lurked about the house outside, watching to see if Edwards and Miss S. were intimate. About 8 o'clock she went out of the door, and about a minute after a scream was heard, when Campbell and Edwards went out and found Miss Sharp's throat severed from ear to ear, and Everett in the same condition. Everett was about 40 years of age, and Miss Sharp about 30. The following communication was found in Everett's pocket, by which it seems he contemplated his own destruction; 'My God, Sarah! could I ever believe, unless I had seen with my own eyes! never did I think of seeing you letting such a man, so *diminutive* a man, take my privilege that you have promised me so much. My God! Sarah, I had rather be dead twice. He will drive me mad. You don't know my feelings. I see every motion, I see where you parted, I see that kiss. You made my feelings mad, and for this I die.'

☞ Knight, who killed Hughes, the slave-hunter, at Macon, Ga., has been convicted of voluntary manslaughter, and sentenced to four years imprisonment.

A New Haven paper reports that one hundred American gentlemen have subscribed $25,000, and engaged a first class vessel, for a trip to the World's Fair at London. During their stay there, they intend to make their home on board their ship, which is to be superbly finished and used for entertainments, parties, &c.

☞ Frederika Bremer arrived at Havana by the Ohio, on the 1st inst.

☞ The advertisement for a house for Jenny Lind, on her return to New York, has been answered by over four hundred applications.

☞ An evening party by a fashionable lady in New York, a few evenings ago, is estimated to have cost $15,000. There were present 1200 guests. The affair was a good deal in the Monte Christo line.

☞ A young man, a Portuguese, name unknown, was accidentally killed at Dorchester. He was out gunning, having a loaded fowling piece in his hand, and when near Mr. Hooper's residence, a dog attacked him. He struck at the dog with the breech of the piece, when the contents were discharged and lodged in the body, causing death almost immediately.

Mr. Benton Defeated.—The contest for U. S. Senator has at length been decided by the Missouri Legislature; and Mr. Benton, who has held the office for thirty years, has been displaced by Mr. Geyer, a lawyer of St. Louis, and a Whig. At the last and successful balloting, which was the 40th, the vote stood 80 for Geyer, 55 for Benton, 13 for Strongfellow, and others 5. Majority for Geyer, 2.

Bowen Rejected.—The Board of Overseers of Harvard College have rejected the nomination of Francis Bowen to the Professorship of Ancient and Modern History in that institution. The whole number of votes was 72. For confirmation, 33; against confirmation, 39. Here is one glorious result of the November coalition, if nothing else comes of it. The defender of Austrian barbarity and American slavery is rejected.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

MASS

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS.

A series of Mass Conventions will be held by the friends of Freedom in the State of New York, in the following places:—

Union Village, Washington County, Thursday and Friday, Feb. 20th and 21st.

West Winfield, Herkimer County, Tuesday and Wednesday, February 25 and 26.

Peterboro', Madison County, Friday and Saturday, February 28th and March 1st.

Syracuse, Wednesday and Thursday, March 5th and 6th.

Auburn, Friday and Saturday, March 7th and 8th.

Rochester, Thursday and Friday, March 13th and 14th.

Among the distinguished speakers engaged to attend these Conventions are George Thompson, Frederick Douglass, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley Foster, Stephen S. Foster, and others; and it is expected that several of them will be attended by Gerrit Smith and Samuel J. May.

All the above named meetings will commence at 10 o'clock on the first day, and continue through the evening of the second.

APPEAL

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The undersigned Committee being fully aware that, among the moral means to be brought in requisition in order to ameliorate the condition of an oppressed people, and to correct the false sentiments and impressions of a prejudiced community arrayed against them, a periodical, based on just principles, and properly and ably conducted, stands pre-eminent; and having the pleasing satisfaction of regarding, without invidiousness, THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN, edited by Rev. S. R. WARD, of Boston, Massachusetts, as possessing the above characteristics, have associated themselves together for the purpose of contributing their mites towards its support. Being very limited, however, in pecuniary means, they are under the necessity of appealing for aid, as they do now, most respectfully, to the liberality of the friends of human rights in both hemispheres. While the main object to be had in view is the sustaining of the aforesaid paper, yet some portion of the funds arising from their combined efforts is to be applied towards helping the flying fugitives, and to encourage the lecturer who devotes himself to the advocacy of the rights of humanity. They design holding a FAIR during Easter week. The smallest donation in money or any saleable article will be gratefully received and faithfully applied. The Rev. H. H. GARNET, while on his tour in Europe, is duly authorised to receive donations for the aforesaid purpose.

N. B. In all communications, please direct to CATHARINE S. EVANS, care of S. VAN BRAKLE, No. 138 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa.

ADELIA VAN BRAKLE, ELIZABETH BOLIVAR, JANE LACOUNT, SUSAN C. WHITE, MILCHE NICHOLS, MATILDA JOHNSON, JULIA MORGAN, ELIZA TURPIN, JANE HARBUCK, MARY GORDON, HANNAH MARIA BUNDY, HANNAH ALEXANDER, *Committee.*

ELIZA ANN BIAS, *President.*

CATHARINE S. EVANS, *Cor. Secretary.*

SARAH NEWMAN, *Treasurer.*

COMMUNICATIONS.

LETTER FROM L. P. CLEMENS.

MERIDIAN, Athens county, O., 13th of 11th mo., 1850.

MR. EDITOR:

HIGHLY ESTEEMED AND RESPECTED SIR,—Allow me to lay a humble claim on the good faith of your pledge, as 'The Impartial Citizen,' to do me justice by favoring me with an opportunity of presenting my sentiments more correctly before the public, not only as a whole-hearted abolitionist, but at the same time, as a whole-hearted member of the Church of the Living God, my Savior.

The following ought to have appeared in the *Liberator*, to which it was sent; but as your paper is read in the same circle, it may, I hope, in it, answer the same purpose, in some measure.

APOLOGY TO THE TRUE CHURCH OF THE ONE ONLY LIVING AND TRUE GOD.

Beloved Brethren in that 'Everlasting Covenant' that cannot be broken,—Let me assure you that, next to communion with God my Redeemer, I value the 'communion of saints;' and, perceiving that a private letter of mine, which appeared in the *Liberator* about 8th month last, might, as read unaccompanied by any of my former correspondence with the respected editor, be misconstrued so as to wound your Christian feelings, I take this earliest opportunity to rectify the same, though *I cannot take back one iota of the letter.*

Two expressions seem to require explanation. 1st. 'The ministration of the Church is not absolutely necessary.' My meaning is, that where we have no alternative but that of attending a so-called Church ministry that we see and feel to be corrupt—were it only by *withholding* those truths that the honor of God and the salvation of a nation in peril demand the instant, open and bold promulgation of—no alternative but attending such a ministration or tarrying at home—we had far better, many of us, tarry at home. 'The word of God is,' we read, 'able to save the soul.' But let each one judge for himself. That the Church is the Lord's appointed and usual method of saving mankind, I do firmly believe; and the value of a true currency is not a whit the less on account of the many spurious copies afloat, while, at the same time, it is not '*absolutely necessary*' to the *existence* of the nation. And, blessed be the name of the Lord! there never was, is, and ever will be, a true Church on earth, to bind together in truth and love the faithful few—'faithful among the faithless found'—and to persuade the hypocrite and the impenitent to 'cure to the Lord that bought them,' with full purpose of heart. The Church is indeed a phœnix. Often it seems smouldering towards a speedy extinction in its own ashes; but anon, from the heap of decay and rubbish, she rises again, in all her pristine youth, beauty and vigor, having passed through another metamorphosis towards her maturity of full perfection. 'On this rock,' said the Lord of life and glory, while tabernacling among us, here below,—the doctrine that Jesus is 'the only begotten Son of God'—'on this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' J. P. C.

The second item is,—'That though I could not go to such a corrupt Church, and have the approving presence of God with me, yet I could enjoy that highest of enjoyments in staying at home and reading the *Liberator*.' All that is needed to say as to this is, that such sentiments and phraseology as are exhibited by Mr. Wright in the *Liberator*, I could only read with abhorrance, as highly dishonorable to God and derogatory to His word, (by which only do we know either what God is, and what is His moral character, or what is practical justice and mercy!) and not only so, but also as being deeply disastrous to the cause of true Liberty. The word of God is her only sure foundation in this sin-stricken and depraved world, swayed by Satan, the prince of this world, and of slaveholders—(I speak of them as a body.) Satan, that arch-deceiver, that faithless promiser, how continually does he promise man liberty, if they will but work manfully against Christ and his word! If he can persuade America in this one thing, as he did France some fifty years ago, no doubt he would then quickly do for us what he did for her, and on a grander scale, and proclaim indeed a liberty to the sword, and to lust, and to outrage, lawlessness and blood; having first, as there, voted that there was no God, deified Reason as a harlot goddess, and abrogated the Sabbath—that hated day, which, from the hour of creation's birth, when the 'morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy,' the great, the good, the beneficent Creator pronounced a 'blessed day!' Well in Paradise, a day blessed above the six. With Robespierre, Murat, &c. &c., the leaders of those times, Liberty was the watchword—and you all know the winding up of that bloody tragedy.

Again: I would ask, whom was liberty for the masses in the proudest ages of human reason or philosophy—'falsely so called,' says the apostle? What did Greece or Rome do for the liberty of the *people*, but talk and philosophize, and leave men slaves? What has human reason done, any where or at any time, before the word of God entered, giving light, giving understanding unto the simple? This, and this only, has ever been found of potency to break through the gloom that had shrouded the dark, dark mind of fallen man, to rectify his shattered reasoning faculties, by bringing a sovereign help for his incorrigible selfishness and pride.

True, there are hypocrites, but there are also true Christians; there are false prophets, but there are true ministers of the one Church, whom the Lord of glory holds as stars in His right hand; there are synagogues of Satan, but there is the Church of Christ. And of this Church—the very body mystical—of Christ the Head—He declares: 'Thou art my battle-axe, my bow, for with thee will I break in pieces the kingdoms; with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider; with thee will I break in pieces the shepherd and his flock—the blind guide and the blind follower;' and 'with thee will I break in pieces captains and rulers.'

Two things doth God require of us when He puts His Word into our hands, and He promises the BLESSING, if we do so—the whole and only legitimates—that we believe, acknowledge in His only Son, our Lord, and that we *worship Him* in holiness; or, do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before Him.'

In our strenuous efforts now to emancipate our brother, we may and forget that 'the *first* and great commandment is—Thou shalt love the *Lord thy God* with all thy heart, and soul, and strength, and mind: the *second* is like unto it—Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

Humbly but steadfastly, yours for the Truth,

'On the right hand and on the left,'

LOUISA PERINA CLEMENS.

TO MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,—With the fruits of the French Revolution of the last century still fresh as yesterday before our eyes, God forbid that we should do any thing, even inadvertently, to *hasten forward* another experiment in our native land! The catastrophe is probably irrevocably advancing upon us, when the two black clouds rolling towards their meeting, and daily gathering blackness, shall clap, and the deluge of desolation flood this Heaven-daring land. The dark cloud from the South, big with a false religion, and its hideous train, bloody cruelty, pride—or, to sum up all in one, Slavery;—Professing to know God, but in works denying Him'—'Devouring widows' houses; but that were a trifle—devouring her husband, her child—her children—her *all*. 'Did ye eat *all?* O hell-kite, *all?* What, *all* my pretty chickens, and their father too, in one fell swoop?'—and thee blaspheming the God of Sabbaths, who made every nation of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and ordained times and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord, if they might feel after Him and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us.' Oh! what shall we do, that we may escape the coming wrath? Shall we, in our extremity, call upon the name to the foul lin of their Moloch, lawless? But unto *these* wicked God saith, 'What hast thou to do to declare My statutes, seeing thou hatest instruction and casteest My words behind thee? When thou sawest a thief, thou thou consentest with him, and hast been partaker with the adulterers; thou suffest and spakest evil against thy brother, thou slanderest thy own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest I was altogether such an one as thyself. But *I* will reprove thee.'

The dark cloud rolling up from the North is big with infidelity under one guise or another. These would set the Lord aside altogether, and fight the battle alone. Hazardous essay! No! Let the word of the Lord have *free* course and bearable hearing, as *the word of the Lord*, and it shall be glorified; it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please and prosper in that whereunto I send it. That sharp two-edged sword shall fall with power upon the hypocrite emerging, 'the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we,' with his brother's flesh between his teeth; and also on the unbeliever who, while endeavoring to rescue man from the monster's gripe, proudly exclaims, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey the Crucified? I know not that God, neither will I obey *Him*.' But let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the mighty in his power, or influence, or popularity; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that *he knoweth Me*; that I am the Lord that exercineth loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth.' Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty; the Lord mighty in battle.' 'Come, Lord Jesus! Thou King of Kings and Lord of lords!' glorify Thy own name; one thine own 'battle-axe' and 'bow,' and break, as thou hast from Rock, the arm of the oppressor. J. P. C.

From the Liberator.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM P. POWELL.

☞ The following letter is from our worthy, intelligent and enterprising colored friend, W. P. Powell, (keeper of the Sailors' Home, 330 Pearl street, New York,) now on a visit to England. We shall be glad to hear from him frequently.

LONDON, January 3d, 1851.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Here I am, in the great metropolis of the old world, staring, gaping and woodering at each and every relic of by-gone days. Here an old cathedral, and there the palace of ancient kings—the Tower, with all its paraphernalia of war trappings, from the days of the Roman conquest up to the latest modern *civilized* inventions, trophies of victory, crowns and jewels, valued at $16,000,000—prisons and dungeons—all meet the eye in quick succession. Alas! thought I, is this the glory and pride of Old England! Methinks the preservation of the Tower, together with its contents, sits like an incubus upon the bosom of the nation; or rather, it helps to press the people to the earth. Let us *calculate*. The expense in making repairs and additions, in 1078, by William the Conqueror, is estimated at £1,000,000 sterling, and in 1552, it was again repaired by Henry VIII. and also put in good condition by George II.—at an expense of another million of pounds; which, if rated at modern value, in 173 years, including interest and principle, would be an arithmetical puzzle. Now, this enormous sum, which has been allowed to accumulate beyond human calculation, for centuries, where is it? Can any one tell for what purpose it was expended? Let the enormous piles of stone and mortar which blacken the Tower Hamlets answer the question. Let the domestic feuds of lords and vassals, Popes and people, principalities and powers, the blood of martyrs, princes, and prisoners of state, and the heavily taxed peoples, rise up in judgment, and with one voice thunder into the ears of kings, nobles and priests—It was for your aggrandizement that this enormous expense of treasure and blood was sacrificed. This *tower of human folly* is a monument of sacrilege too glaring to be endured, and should be razed to the ground, its treasures given to the poor, and the land divided among the landless as a homestead. This is only one instance. There are a few more of the same sort, left.

The peculiar institution of this country is the power of capital over labor. The power of the throne is one thing, the power of capital is another. Whilst the former cannot exist without the other, the latter is independant of the throne. The king who sways the sceptre, the prelate who wears the mitre, and the nobleman who lives upon doubtful titles, all alike bow down to the golden image—the almighty £. But the laborer is, in any event, the sufferer.

In my own native country—the mis-named land of liberty—the peculiar institution is labor—slavery! The power of capital over labor is not its chief support, nor the fostering care of government, but the hypocritical religion of the nation, which sanctifies and baptizes the iniquitous system as holy,—as coming from God. The Christian Church gives it all, and more, the strongest support, and in Europe and America, in their aspirations are as apes and parrots, with the effect in the minds of the people, of stifling all inquiries, and deterring them from reading the Bible for themselves. I believe it was the wise man of the Bible who affirmed that 'oppression makes one mad.' If that be true, (and I think it is,) then it has made the whole nation mad. That 'man of sin,' Millard Fillmore, who, by the visitation of God, was called to fill the chair of state, (in place of honest Zachary Taylor, who, though a slaveholder, was too honest to favor the Clay Compromise,) still breathes his threats that he will enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill against the will of the free North. In his devotion to Southern rights, this executive son of the Empire State outstrips the Kinderhook magician, 'the Northern man with Southern principles,' and is, in my opinion, if there is any hereafter, (which I hope there is, for his sake,) entitled to the lowest floor in the region where Scripture Dives has been calling for water to cool his parched tongue for the last eighteen hundred years. For the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.' Are not Millard Fillmore and the United States abominated in the sight of God? and will it not be more tolerable in the day of judgment for Sodom and Gomorrah than for this nation of slaveholders? But Solomon tells us, 'that which hath been is now, and that which is to be hath already been; and God requireth that which is past.' God shall judge the righteous and the wicked, for there is a time for every purpose and for every work.'

One would suppose that the Fugitive Slave Bill had effectually cured the *evil* of slaves running away from their dear masters and sweet slavery. In my travels, I have met several thousand dollars' worth of slave property, walking on two legs, as nimble as a Yankee sixpence, which is said to double itself, in the way of trade, in double quick time. But, without joking, slave property across the Atlantic does double itself in value, after realizing the blessings of freedom for a season. For instance: If a slave is worth $1000 at the South, and escapes to a free State, and is arrested for the paltry reward of ten dollars, and sent back to his master!—how much is the same slave worth, when he escapes to England, where all the money in Yankeedom, backed up by General Scattlebum's army to boot, cannot get him back? I have a great deal to say favorably of this country—its government, institutions, religion and politics; but crave your indulgence to express myself in my own way. I proceed to Scotland to-morrow, in the hope to meet a few friends favorable to the object of my mission. Thus far, I have had every encouragement, and am extremely obliged to you and other friends who have taken an interest in forwarding my plans.

Respectfully yours,

In favor of the Right and against all Wrong,

WILLIAM P. POWELL.

From the London Leader.

THE DEFEAT.

BY N. A. NICHOLLS.

The struggle's o'er, and once again
Foul wrong has trampled on the right;
Yet sadly they mistedge the fight,
Who think that we have fought in vain.

'Tis true, we well fought field we boast;
'Tis true, we wear no laurel bough;
But it is not true, (though falling now,)
In losing this, that all is lost.

Think not that martyrs die in vain;
Think not that truth so soon will fail;
We only bow before the gale,
We only break to form again.

These are but flashes which forerun
As heralds of the tempest's power,
And serve to light the clouds that lower,
And show the storm has not begun.

There growth up a mighty will;
And time will only give it force;
Though somewhat swerving in its course,
It tendeth to an object still;

And, toiling upward to the place,
Where shines the everlasting morn,—
Not fearing hate, nor heeding scorn,
The vanguard of a wavering race.

Though vengeance was the battle-cry,
And fell revenge first drew the sword,
More than in act, more true in word,
We seek a nobler victory.

And all the failures in the past
But make the future more secure;
And bygone sufferings ensure
The triumphant our cause at last.

Secure in truth, we wait the day,
As watchers wait the morning light;
For time will only strengthen right,
The false alone need dread delay.

The Slave Laws of Alabama.—A recent decision of Chancellor Mason, of Alabama, has established the right of the slaves to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, upon the petition of any free white person. The object and extent of the writ is to release them from any illegal confinement, in which they may be held. This decision is based mainly upon the construction, that the term 'person,' in the bill of rights and the Constitution, embraces slaves.

☞ A bill has just passed the Kentucky Legislature, which prohibits the transportation of negroes across the Ohio river by owners or keepers of ferries, except in company with their owners, or by attorney duly acknowledged, certified and recorded, and imposes for every such offence, a forfeiture of the ferry license, a fine of $200, and makes the owners or the ferry liable, in addition, for the slave.

Another case.—The Cincinnati Nonpareil of the 21st ult. has the following:

'Last night, about 10 o'clock, a gentleman of New Orleans, named James D'Arcy, (not Counts D'Orsay,) laid claim to a respectable female in this city, who was sold for a considerable length of time in the vicinity of the post office. The lady is of fair complexion, and was never suspected of being impregnated with negro blood. The Southern gentleman, however, claimed her as his slave, and made good his claim before a large meeting of citizens; and although we are grieved to lose so orderly, beautiful and valuable a citizen, the Fugitive Slave Law is all-powerful, and our citizens will be compelled, though reluctantly, that this lovely female shall be borne away to the land of slavery. She is valued at $3000.

Slavery in Georgia.—Gen. H. H. Tayer, of Bright county, Georgia, is the largest slaveholder, if not the wealthiest man, in that State. He owns a thousand negroes, and sixty thousand acres of land, divided into ten plantations, in the counties of Twiggs, Pulaski, Houston and Bibery, yielding two thousand bales of cotton annually. At its last yet yielding, it will bring $105,000. He recently added to his estate a tract of 2350 acres in Berks county, purchased at $15 75 per acre, or for $37,000.

Dr. Hawks—the Episcopal Clergyman who preached an eloquent sermon last thanksgiving day in New York, in favor of sustaining the fugitive slave law, has at Washington, surveying Abolitionism out South by repeating the sermon. Such men, cursed with the spirit of a slave, are the curse of the country.

A Fight for Liberty.—We learn from the Esquire, that quite a brisk fight took place, Saturday morning, at the foot of Wheat street, between a couple of slaves belonging to a Mr. Barton, living in Covington. They had been sent over here on business, and one of them refusing to return, the other tried to compel him, but could not succeed, his brother slave being too obstinate, and strongest of the two.—*Cincinnati Nonpareil.*

South Carolina and England.—A Columbian correspondent of the Evening Post says the following passage was in Gov. Means's annual message, but struck out on the protest of the British Consul, informed, *after it had been actually delivered to the Legislature, and printed in the State paper!*

'Does history, upon a single page, record an instance of a nation ceasing its oppression from a returning sense of justice, or a feeling of mercy to the oppressed? Let the fate of dismembered Poland, of ruined Hungary, answer the question. Ay! read the history of a nation's forbearance in the conduct of England toward poor, suffering Ireland! Alas! the day of her successful resistance has been too long postponed! No voice of her patriot sons can be raised in her defence, which is not instantly drowned by the slaughtered noise at British drums! No hand can be raised to strike a blow for her liberty, that is not instantly pierced by British bayonets!

True to his Instincts.—Hon. Samuel Abductor Eliot, Representative in Congress from Boston, obtained himself when the vote was taken on the passage of the Chess Bridge Bill. Mr. E. is the man who voted for the Fugitive Abducting Law, and is so true to his consistency on his principle that he should vote against any measure of practical benefit to the masses of the people, besides. *Nothing* is a favorite position of tactics with the Boston representative in Congress. Mr. Eliot was called upon, while at home, to sign a petition for cheap postage, but strictly refused, saying that 'the common people have no business to be writing letters continually!'

Convention of Colored Men in Columbus, Ohio.—For two or three days past, a Convention of the colored men in this State has been in session in Columbus, called for the purpose of devising ways and means to elevate the condition of the race. The main point at which their efforts are directed is to procure the right of suffrage. A committee was appointed to wait upon Gov. Wood, and solicit his influence with the Constitutional Convention to secure the recognition of this right. The committee called upon his Excellency, and Mr. Day, a colored graduate of Oberlin College, and a man of fine powers of mind, it is said, made a speech which moved the old 'Cuyahoga Chief' very deeply.

☞ Charles Dickens has published a new edition of his 'American Notes,' in a preface in which he says he is still of the same opinion in regard to his views of life in the United States, and independently asserts that he has borne the ill-opinion of their citizens eight years, and can do so for eight more, and longer if necessary.

African Statistics.—From the report of Mr Gurley, just communicated to Congress by the Secretary of State, we glean the following aggregate:—

The imports from the west coast of Africa for 1849 were as follows:—Bullion and specie, $91,682; dye wood, $3410; copper ore, $2811; hides and skins, $146,825; cotton, $6815; dates, $4750; nuts, $4816; cut papers, $2001; ginger, $10,806; other articles, $223,405. Total value, $496,742.

The value of Domestic Produce and Manufactures sent to the west coast of Africa in 1849, was as follows:—Tobacco, $139,097; spirits, $92,501; beads, $27,670; powder, $57,709; domestic cottons, &c., $183,047; all other articles, $195,745. Total value, $575,770.

Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, has 9 stores, 40 stone houses, 51 houses of stone and wood, 90 do. of wood, 30 thatch do., 3 churches, 2 school houses, 180 out-houses. Total number, including shops, &c., 336.

☞ Darrynane Abbey, the former home of O'Connell, has been the theatre of a sheriff's sale! The whole of the household goods was sold for a little more than £364! The furniture of the liberator's own chamber and state bed sold for £3 5. 6d.

Florida.—The committee has determined that the perpetuity of the Union depends on the faithful execution of the fugitive law. On its refusal or doubtful modification, the State authorities are to call a State Convention, and prepare for the worst. Florida, in accepting the compromise, has done all she can do. The last resolution read—

'Resolved, That in spite of all the injustice of the past, we will adhere to the Union, if the Northern States cede from their aggression, and observe other obligations of the federal compact.'

Philadelphia, Sunday, January 26.—The friends of Stephen Bennett, the fugitive slave, arrested in Columbia, Penn., on Thursday, yesterday paid $700 to Mr. Gallagher, the claimant, in consideration of his manumitting him. This was formally done in the Sheriff's Marshal's office, and Stephen was set at liberty. The greater part of the purchase money was collected in Columbia.

The Impartial Citizen.

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From the New York Evangelist.

THE CONFLICT OF LAWS.

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D.

Of all possible consequences of human action, nothing is so evil as sin; and the first of all consequences to be regarded, in a proposed course of action, is the relation of it to the law of God. Is it pleasing, or displeasing to God? But some of our recent casuists, admitting that in a particular thing, an action required by human law may be opposed by the divine law in the general, as a law of love, do nevertheless hold, that for the sake of avoiding certain supposed evil consequences of refusing obedience to human law in the given case, it is man's duty to disregard the divine law, unless it has a particular revelation in regard to that case. They hold, that is to say, that God will be better pleased, for the sake of avoiding certain evil contingencies, with that which is contrary to his own law, than that which is consonant with it. In other words, God will be pleased with that course of conduct which is displeasing to his holiness, because, if the course of conduct condemned by his law had been pursued, there would have been great evils consequent upon that course.

Now the question returns, Is there any evil so great as the example and sanction of that which is opposed to the divine law, the divine holiness? Does not that one consequence of sin overtop and outweigh all others? And if any human law is of such a nature, as compared with the divine law, that in justice is the consequence of it, and an example and sanction of injustice contained in it, and thus injustices commanded and taught, that one consequence is to be regarded above all other possible or multiplied consequences that can be imagined. The action must stop, the law must be disobeyed, whatever the consequences of disobedience. If, the consequence of obedience is an immorality. That point settled, you are not to weigh the consequences any further. This setting up the consideration of consequences as our guide, in regard to a thing confessedly significant of the spirit of God, is itself a huge immorality; it is the destruction of all virtue. If consequences may be consulted, and laid in the balance with one violation of the law of love, or one crime, by one unrighteous law, a larger array of some expected evil may be put in the balance to neutralize the immorality of a still greater violation of the law of love, a still greater injustice, a still greater crime. If, for fear of consequences, I may obey a law commanding me to deprive my neighbor of his liberty, I may also obey a law commanding me to take away his life. Nay, if consequences are to be my rule, I may not wait for law, because the consequences themselves are the law. And it is to me, as an individual, the consequences of not taking my neighbor's life are going to be extremely disastrous, I may take his life, and God will excuse me, because, if I had not done it, the consequences would have been terrible. If this reasoning is good in one point, it is in another. If a regard to consequences will allow me to obey the law of a tyrannic government commanding an act of injustice, it will allow me to obey a clear conclusion of my own mind, rendering any crime profitable and necessary to my own interests.

What makes this reasoning the more infamous is the fact that all the supposed consequences of disobedience to an unjust human law are only supposed or imaginary; they may and they may not happen; but the consequence of sin is real, the injustice is a consequence about which there can be no mistake, no question. And these casuists go the whole length of allowing and sanctioning a *present* and *real* iniquity, for the sake of avoiding a future possible *evil*. To the case of a law, for example, commanding me to aid another person in taking away the liberty of my neighbor, these casuists tell me I are in danger of causing a revolution, if I disobey; that God has commanded obedience to all human statutes; that I must have a particular dispensation from God commanding disobedience in this particular case; and in fine, that the government of my country is so good, and its laws are so just and equal, that a little injustice may be pardoned and suffered, rather than make any disturbance, or lead the people to the habit of supposing that the laws are not good!

But now, in fact, the better the laws are, and the more fully we have been made, as a people, by God's teachings and blessing, to understand true liberty, and the true purpose of government and law, the greater is the wickedness of any injustice, and the greater is the crime, both before God and man, of any unjust, unrighteous law. The better our government is, on the whole, the less excuse there is for any infraction of right, the less violation of right should be permitted, the more earnestly, by every moral means, it should be resisted, and the more resolutely it should be disobeyed. The very first example of evil law, under such a government as ours, is infinitely pernicious; it is the beginning of evil, concerning which God only knows how far it may go, by allowance, example, and precedent, towards the utter corruption of the government and the destruction of our liberties. For if the people can be brought or persuaded to commit at one wicked law, to bear, permit it, sanction and obey it, they can at another. And if, even divines, and good men, palliate and excuse the setting aside of the divine law by human legislators in one case, for the sake of consequences, if they hold that unjust law may be permitted in some political conjunctures for the sake of peace and external prosperity, then the breach thus made will become wider, until injustice and oppression may become the rule, instead of the exception. And here it is one of the most alarming and ominous symptoms in a State, when it is seen that such political and moral casuistry can prevail, and that men, for the sake of present profit in peace and cotton, can quietly uphold the principle and action, of evil law, and endeavor to persuade one another not to oppose or disobey it.

While we were colonies of Great Britain, Edmund Burke used to say of our people, that they "snuffed the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze," they were so jealous against every advance of oppression. And certainly we ought to regard with no less jealousy the insidious approach of tyranny now. We are bound to take heed to the great maxim, *State principle*, resist the very beginning of evil law. If you give an inch, your legislators will take an ell. Admit the principle, that your legislators are not to be bound in all things by the divine law, are not bound to bring all their measures to that standard, and, we shall soon have exploded tyranny at work again among us. Admit the principle that once law is passed, the people are bound to obey it, notwithstanding it may be opposed to the divine law, and in a few years we shall have Roman Senators and Representatives enacting a law for the proper respect of Romish processions in the street; and, under the pretence of protecting religious from outrage, there may be fines and imprisonments for all men who dare to declare the worship of the *host* idolatry, or who refuse to take off their hats when the host passes. One step always leads on to another, and if the people can be accustomed to despotic and unjust law, setting aside the right of trial by jury, and favoring one class of men to the exclusion of the other, they can be prepared for still more direct incursions on their liberties. There is no safety but in the supremacy of the divine law, and of that alone, above all human statutes, over the conscience and the man.

Now, so far from evil being excused by its being commanded by a law, the moment it is so commanded, that moment the duty of opposition to it in every right way, the duty of showing up its wickedness, the duty of resolutely disobeying it, the duty of asserting God's law and an enlightened conscience against it, becomes absolute. For, the moment any evil becomes law, that moment it ceases to be evil, it increased ten thousand fold. But some men seem to feel, or at least they argue, that if there be a law, the evil itself, by being thus sanctioned, is diminished; and they argue that while it remains a law, unless it must be obeyed, it should be repealed, or else there will be greater wickedness in disobeying it, than there would be in committing the evil which it commands. Now if such a course were adopted, an evil law would ever be repealed, for some precedent upon precedent would be pleaded, and obedience to the law become the custom, and the willing obedience given would itself be pleaded as a proof that the people were well pleased, and so the wickedness would go on, and despotic legislators would have it all their own way. The only right and safe course is disobedience from the outset.

Let us test this casuistry by some plain cases; and, first, by the method of revelling in iniquities. Let us suppose that such a course of reasoning were applied to laws sanctioning and providing for houses of ill-fame. The moment those laws are passed, that moment the sin which was iniquity and evil before, would become a respectable action. Or suppose that laws are passed for the protection of gambling establishments; the moment they are passed, the various forms of gambling become respectable; and according to this reasoning, men must not oppose them, because they are protected by law. Or suppose the laws protecting the slave-trade were again in existence, then, according to this reasoning, it would be impious and dangerous to oppose that traffic, or to disobey those laws. The slave-trade might be admitted to be a sin and an evil, but it would be said that so long as the law protected it, so long men were rebellious in opposing it. In fine, on these principles, no unjust law could ever be opposed or broken; no reformation in society could ever be carried on, and no advancement in freedom would be possible.

But contrary to all this, the moment evil is passed into a law, that moment opposition to it becomes a duty—it is our duty now with all men—whereas, before, the duty of opposition to the well-intended law been confined to the few and individual instances or neighborhoods where the evil had prevailed. It is duty now, by the divine word, which declares, *Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor; thou shalt not suffer sin upon thy neighbor*. Nay, it is duty, by God's word is wrong, you are bound to *declare* it wrong; you cannot yourself obey it, and keep a conscience void of offence toward God; and you cannot suffer *others* to obey it without rebuke and remonstrance, and maintain a conscience void of offence towards man. And in regard to the enactment itself, God says, as to his own judgment of it, *Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with Thee, which frameth mischief by a law?* Nay! that which can have no fellowship with God, and which God will not allow, should in no case be allowed of man, but must be bound to oppose it. It is a great enormity of wickedness in God's sight, that connecting magistrate by a law; and men are bound to treat it as such.

There has been much irrelevant disquisition about the danger of revolutions, and much questioning as to when a revolution would be justifiable. Some have even dared to say that no human law ought ever to be disobeyed, unless it were so bad that a revolution would be justified. Men must have taken leave of all belief in the supremacy of God's law, as the standard of right and wrong, to say this. The question of disobedience to an unrighteous law has nothing to do with the question of a revolution. There could be no revolution, and no danger of it, if every man individually refused to obey every unrighteous law. And the sure way to prevent and forestall all *need* of a revolution, all possible conjunctures where a revolution might threaten, would be to render from the outset the enactment of unrighteous laws absolutely impossible, by the impossibility of getting a single individual to obey it. If disobedience to unjust law were in every case the known and fixed resolution and habit of a people, under supreme regard to the divine law, legislators and governments would be careful enough never to pass unrighteous laws, never to show their own weakness, by bringing law into conflict with conscience, under the absolute certainty that conscience would prevail, and law be disgraced and dishonored.

The highest, most sacred, surest, most invisible, and most perfect remedy against unrighteous laws, therefore, direct, positive, resolute, individual disobedience. Where this prevails, out of duty to God and justice, the arm of tyranny and despotism is palsied. Among us put at once to the enactment of unrighteous law, by the known certainty that the people *will not obey it*, so that it will be futile, inoperative, and injurious to the government. Let the government know that no religious principle enough in the people, and universal enough to prevent, retain that each individual will, from his own personal, conscientious regard to God and his law, refuse to obey an unrighteous human statute, *and no such statute will ever be passed*. And hence the great guilt of those who endeavor to persuade the people to obey an unrighteous statute, on the pretence of keeping peace with the government, and avoiding evil. Never such persuasion is treason against God; it is also, in fact, treason against the highest welfare of the country.

A State Convention to oppose the Fugitive Slave Law was held in the Congregational Church in Winthrop, (Me.) on the 29th ult., at which the following among other letters was read:—

LETTER FROM HON. HORACE MANN.

Washington, Jan. 25, 1851.

Thomas H. Talbot, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Your letter informs me that a meeting of persons opposed to the Fugitive Slave Act, is to be held at Winthrop on the 30th inst., and you do me the honor to ask my opinion of that Act, and the duty of the people with respect to it.

The law to which you refer is such a condensation of various iniquities, that it is impossible, within the brief compass of a letter suitable for such an occasion, to analyze it, and lay open its manifold wickedness.

Among its atrocious provisions, however, may be enumerated the following:

It takes away men's liberties, without the trial by jury.

It strips a man of self ownership—of his property in himself, without the trial by jury. While no man in a suit at common law can be deprived of a horse or a watch worth more than twenty dollars, without the jury trial, any man, under this law, may be robbed of his services for life, without such trial.

It authorizes the seizure and imprisonment of men, on a warrant for which it requires no previous oath.

It confers judicial power on a set of men, who are not judges, nor a court, nor members of a court, because they are neither nominated, nor do they hold office, nor are they paid, nor removable for mal-administration, as is required in the case of judges, by the express provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

These officers are called Commissioners, and the law gives each one of them *power* to declare any person who is brought before him a slave, and to consign him to unendurable bondage, without reserving to the person so doomed, or in any one case, any right of appeal from such decision, or to have any rehearing, or re-examination of his case by a writ of error, *mandamus, certiorari*, or in any other way.

In fixing the compensation of the commissioners, the law provides neither a *per diem*, nor a *per annum* allowance, nor what it calls a *quantum meruit*, nor a *quantum valebat*; but it adopts the pirate's rule of payment, "more blood, more pay,"—giving his incumbent,—some English Jeffries, or some American Ingraham,—twice as much when he betrays liberty as when he protects it.

It allows a freeman to be turned into a slave by *ex parte* evidence—by evidence wholly taken behind the back of the man to be ruined by it, without knowledge, or the possibility of knowledge on his part; and it offers a premium equal to the market value of a man on corruption and perjury and subornation of perjury, when there is not one chance in a million of bringing the offender to justice.

It gives to this worst possible evidence the greatest possible effect, making it legally "conclusive," so that no other evidence, however perfect in its kind, or commanding in its force, can outweigh it or rebut it.

It imposes "cruel and unusual" penalties upon the officers who may be called on to execute it, for events over which they may have no power of control.

From beginning to end, its provisions war upon all the ideas and mock at all the sentiments of liberty held sacred by our Revolutionary Sires.

And, after having perpetrated all these enormities, it commands all good citizens to assist in executing it, knowing that *bad citizens*, and bad citizens alone, could ever voluntarily imbrue their hands in so bloody a work.

In all the iniquitous legislation of Great Britain which drove our ancestors into the Wilds of Independence, I challenge any one to point out an act of baser, grosser, more cold-blooded tyranny than this same Fugitive Slave Law.

One of the main causes of the war with Great Britain in 1812, was her impressment of our seamen,—not for life, but for periods longer or shorter, during life. Should this law be allowed to continue, it cannot be reasonably doubted that it will be the means of bringing more Northern Freemen into all the horrors of slavery, than were ever before impressed from our merchant-ships by British men-of-war, great as that number was.

This law has but just come into operation. Its capabilities of wickedness are not yet fully unfolded.—I have heard of but one company of bandits who have been organized under it. In that case, it is now understood that the chief actor has sent three persons into slavery, two of whom were certainly free.

In another case, a Southern man-stealer, wrote to his Northern accomplice, "Send me the marks and names of negroes, and the devil is in it if I don't get them enough!" The Northern co-partner in guilt was arrested for another offence, and on searching his trunk, the letter was found.

I say the law is of no recent date, that its diabolical capabilities are not yet fully developed. Yet it is now true, that hundreds of persons have already been doomed to slavery by virtue of a Commissioner's certificate, all in due form. When companies are organized, and when the facilities of fabricating "*ex parte* evidence" becomes well understood, so as to strike the victim down at a single blow, a new and lucrative branch of business will be opened, worthy of those capitalists who compose the "Union and Safety Vigilance Committees."

You must have observed how the pro-slavery champions at the North are the informers of an equal force in favor of the law, whether the person who is doomed to bondage under it be a freeman or a slave. If nothing more than slide the grave is over heard of the unrighteous law is invoked and sent away, then, of course, he was a slave, and all is right. But if the venal Commissioner sends away Adam Gibson or any other freeman, and by one of those chances that would hardly happen once in a thousand times, he is restored, then it is discovered that such an event shows with equal clearness and force that no danger can exist under this law. Whoever has read our Northern pro-slavery newspapers, will remember that they used this logic upon their readers in Gibson's case. Gibson being free, they argued, all was right. Had he sunk into the abyss of slavery never to rise, as he would have been a slave, by virtue of Ingraham's certificate, and all would have been equally right.—This diabolical logic is not original. It was unoriginally copied from the infernal practices of the Dark Ages, when the accused were cast into the water for trial; if they sunk, it was all well, for their innocence was vindicated. If they floated, they were guilty and to be put to death. So that the actions of sinners or opposers of slavery are to be put out of the way in either case, so any one of our free fellow citizens whom a villain has selected for his prey, is to be doomed to bondage under this Fugitive Law. The question now what is the duty of the people in regard to this law. I answer, Demand its Repeal; or, at least, such an essential modification of it as shall secure free men in their freedom. By private speech and correspondence, by public resolutions wherever men are gathered together, through newspapers and through the ballot-box, demand a change. Our opponents are rocking the cradle of "agitation" so furiously that I trust they will keep you awake. The day when opposition, in all forms cool under all circumstances, against such a law as this shall cease throughout the Northern States, will be the day that shall witness the extinction of the last drop of Revolutionary blood and of Puritan blood in the hearts of the people, and when the lust of wealth and the lust of office will bolse all consanguinity between ourselves and our Fathers.

I believe that never since the formation of this government, whose grand object it was "*to secure the blessings of Liberty*," have efforts so strenuous and unscrupulous been made to debauch the consciences of the people, and to subdam them to the will of the holders of high offices and the aspirants for them, as at the present time. Mr. Webster once expressed the idea in the Senate, that he had never known an administration to set its heart upon any object, however wrong, that did not effect its purpose. What then are we to apprehend when both the partisan friends of the administration and its partisan opponents are, and ever since the passage of this law have been, leagued together in the most intimate coalition to force it, with all its abominations, upon the honest, reluctant and resisting hearts of the people? The grand and beautiful motto of this government once was, "*Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever*." But if a law so abhorrent as this to every patriot and Christian, so congenial to every sentiment in the Tyrant's bosom, can stand upon the statute-book of the nation, and if the great heart of the people can be imbued with its spirit, then the true motto of this government will ever afterwards be "*Slavery and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever*."

Very truly, your obedient servant,

HORACE MANN.

THE LAND OF THE PILGRIMS.

BY J. D. STEE.

When Winter, stern wis sitting on his throne of ice
and snow,
On the hills of Massachusetts, twice a hundred years
ago,
A band of weary pilgrims came and begged the tyrant old
For the shelter of his snow caves from the surly
winds and cold.
They had fled from home and country, where the
ascendotal whip
Tore the flesh of dauntless manhood, and woman's
blood drank deep;
They had left the English valleys, where a Milton's
song was hushed
By the ribaldry of Rochester, and Freedom's voice
was crushed;
And they came to Massachusetts when the Indian
owned the land,
And they sought a home of freedom on the Bay
State's rocky strand;
And Winter pale receded from the valleys and the
hills,
And the wild birds calmly dropped asleep beside the
sobbing rills;
And the flowers came forth to meet them with their
smiling mother Spring,
And the blue-bird from the maple did a joyous welcome sing;
And rugged-bosomed Nature, to the fugitives so
brave
A refuge from the tyrant, and a home of freedom
gave;
And those saintly pilgrims, kneeling on the hospitable sod,
Consecrated it to freedom, and themselves to freedom's God.

* * * * * * *

Does the sun see the North Star looking from the windows of the Night,
And casting down upon the earth the treasures of his light?
It is over Massachusetts that his golden glories fall,
For he heard the vow of freedom that was uttered by her soul,
And he loves to shine upon her streams, so flower-clad and so blue,
And the freemen on the rugged hills, so dauntless and so true;
And with smiles he bids the pilgrim from the land of shackles come
To the valleys where saintly Brewster found a country and a home.

* * * * * * *

But hark the blood-hound's baying by the winding Nashoe's shores,
And the negro-Sepper's waving over Plymouth's shrinking flowers,
And the tyrant's chains are singing merry tunes on Bunker's hill,
And the hireling priest is preaching submissive to his will,
And the panting pilgrim's fleeing in his terror from the sod
That by blood was consecrated to freedom and to God;
And the sons of England's pilgrims, by their fathers' hallowed graves,
Dare out give a kindly welcome to the weary pilgrim slaves.
Oh! the traitors of the present been betrayed their father's name—
Have denied their vow of freedom, and have sold their saintless fame;
And the winds of Massachusetts sigh a requiem o'er the sod,
That the hunter of the slave has won from freedom and from God.

From the Hingham Journal.

MR. THOMPSON'S LECTURE.

Being absent from town, we did not hear Mr. Thompson's lecture on Monday evening. A correspondent, however, has sent us the following sketch of it:—

The last of the series of three lectures, by this gentleman, was delivered on Monday evening, to an audience highly respectable in numbers, notwithstanding the very inclement weather, and the worst walking of the season. Had the evening been pleasant, and the travelling good, we doubt not that the Town Hall would have been entirely filled. The result of this experiment, under unusual obstacles, ought to encourage our town's-people to take immediate measures to secure a number of additional lectures, sufficient to make out an ordinary winter's course.

The impression made by Mr. Thompson has been, we think, highly favorable and gratifying. No man has ever contended, in this country, under the weight of greater prejudice, or more determined opposition. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to conceive of a popular feeling, based upon no specific and well-grounded facts and reasons, being so general as that which Mr. Thompson has had to encounter in America. But, the ease with which he has been enabled, by the force of his genius and winning manners, and the true native dignity which belongs to him, to triumph over the prejudices, and to appeal, successfully, to the better sense and the more magnanimous judgment of this people, is as instructive as it is pleasant to witness.

In listening, last Monday evening, to his lecture on the politics of England—to his enlarged and liberal ideas of political philosophy, his graphic descriptions, his discriminating delineation of party characteristics, his frank confessions, the clearness both of his reasoning and of his narrative, and the peculiar grace of his oratory, we could not but wish that every one who has denounced and decried Geo. Thompson could, if but once, meet him, face to face, in the lecture room, and be brought under the influence of his own mind.

That lecture was one which would be heard with profit, by every American audience. It was one calculated to make us estimate the greatness of our privileges, and the importance of our fidelity, as citizens, to the principles of our government, and to the ideas on which is builded the fabric of our liberty.

And, with all our hearts, we desire that the efforts of the people of Great Britain, and of such champions as Richard Cobden, John Bright, Joseph Hume, and George Thompson, may, day by day, strengthen and grow, until final success shall reward their labors and cares; and our brethren of our mother land share equally with us the blessings of democratic institutions and of just self-government. Little do the people of the United States appreciate the peculiar glory, or the peculiar responsibility of their situation before mankind. Little do they understand the hearts of the enlightened philanthropists of the old world. If they did, they would bear willingly their rebukes, and look more anxiously than now to the influence of their conduct on the hopes of liberty and the fears of despotism in other lands.

Inexpressive as was Mr. Thompson's reception, last Monday, in Faneuil Hall, we trust we may say, his visit has, so far, been a useful one; and, if it be a success before the people, when they have been permitted to hear, has been alike honorable to him and to ourselves.

* * *

From the Washington Union.

ABOLITION DEMONSTRATION.

We find the following in the New York Herald. It shows that the abolitionists are busy about Boston; but, at the same time, it proves that their violence is only equalled by their insignificance. As for the conduct of the miserable fanatic Chaplin, we are not surprised at any thing he does, with the penitentiary before his eyes. But so far as regards Thompson, the member of the British Parliament from the Tower Hamlet, he is acting just as we predicted he would on his first advent here. We said he came for no other purpose than to aid in the slavery agitation, and to contribute his mite to the disunion projects of the abolition fanatics. This was indignantly denied by the New York Post, the New York Tribune, the Liberator, and several other abolition organs, and we were censured for casting such reflections on the illustrious British philanthropist. It was said that he came only on a visit to his friends, and for purposes in no wise connected with our domestic affairs. What say these apologists now? He has been following the example and spending the zeal of Garrison and Fred. Douglass, his two bosom friends and cronies. How do the good people of Boston relish this vile incendiary from abroad, who repays the indulgence he recives by slander of and insult to the people and government of this country?

ABOLITION MEETING IN BOSTON—DISGRACEFUL PROCEEDINGS.

Boston, Jan. 18, 1851.

Mr. Wm. L. Chaplin, who has been bailed out of prison for having been caught in the act of abducting slaves from their masters, was arrested while speaking at Tremont Temple by an audience of about 700, one third of whom were colored people. He related his story, and a subscription was raised toward making up the $25,000 for which he is bailed. George Thompson, the notorious English abolitionist, arose amid applause and hisses, but the disturbance was so great as to prevent his speaking. He said he blushed for the city of Boston, and that not had been committed here which make it stink in the nostrils of humanity. He stunted the Union meeting which was held in Faneuil Hall. President Fillmore, the South, the Church, &c. &c. were all frequently interrupted in his speech by indignant hisses and cries, and there would undoubtedly have been a serious disturbance, had the holding of the meeting been more generally known.

From the Portland Transcript.

GEORGE THOMPSON'S LECTURE.

George Thompson, the English Reformer and Member of Parliament, lectured before the Anti-Slavery Lyceum on Thursday evening of last week. The Temple Street Chapel was filled to its utmost capacity by an attentive audience, who cheered and applauded the speaker throughout his discourse. His appearance was warmly welcomed, and he has every where received out of Boston.

Mr. Thompson is a fine looking man, of a tall, erect figure, graceful manner, and a countenance beaming with the light of intellect and warmth of the heart. He is more of the Bonaparte than the John Bull in his appearance, being of that lean sort that Cæsar liked not.

He is an eloquent speaker, clear and distinct in his enunciation, animated in gesture, rapid in the evolution of thought, and rising occasionally to a lofty flight. Its denunciation and satire he is terrible, flaying his enemy alive, without mercy. The approach of a conflict warms him into a fiery energy, as the blast of the trumpet stows fire through the veins of the war-horse. Strength the consciousness of the purity of his motives and the goodness of his cause, impatient of wrongs, and hating tyranny with all the strength of his nature, he is eager for the conflict, and throws himself into it with an ardency and impetuosity that sometimes betrays him into indiscretions. But his sincerity fully atones for all. No one can doubt that, who has looked upon his open countenance, listened to his burning words, or followed his course from his youth up. In his off-hand speeches, he is often unfortunate in rambling, but whatever topic he touches upon is presented in a strong light. In argument he is clear and conclusive, in retort ready and pointed; playful in humor, while his shafts of satire tell with wonderful effect.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

In the New York Assembly, Jan. 29:—

Mr Bradley, of Cayuga, offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, free citizens of the non-slaveholding States have been imprisoned by South Carolina, in direct violation of that clause of the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States; and whereas, Congress, in enacting the present Fugitive Slave Law, has done all in its power to secure to the slaveholder his alleged right in slaves; therefore

Be it Resolved, (if the Senate concur,) That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use all honorable means to secure the passage of a law to prevent the recurrence of a like outrage on the rights of citizens of the free States, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, (if the Senate concur,) That the Governor of this State be requested to furnish each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions.

A resolution offered by Mr. Norton, reaffirming the joint resolutions adopted by the Legislature of this State on the 15th Feb. 1850, as being the expression of its opinions at present entertained by the people of New York, was laid over.

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

PRESIDENT FILLMORE'S ANSWER TO MR. CLAY'S RESOLUTION.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21.

The following message was sent into the Senate by the President, in answer to Mr. Clay's resolution of inquiry relative to the Boston riot:—

To the Senate of the United States:—I have received a resolution from the Senate, requesting me to lay before that body any information I may possess in regard to the alleged recent case of forcible resistance to the execution of the laws of the United States, in the city of Boston, and to communicate to the Senate what means I had adopted to meet the occurrence, and whether, in my opinion, any additional legislation is necessary to meet the exigency of the case, and more vigorously to execute the existing laws.

The public newspapers contain an affidavit of Patrick Riley, Deputy Marshal for the District of Massachusetts, setting forth the circumstances of the case, a copy of which affidavit is herewith communicated. Prompt unofficial communications occur in establishing the main facts of this account, but no satisfactory official information has as yet been received, and in some important respects the accuracy of the account has been denied by the persons whom it implicates. Nothing could more unexpected the much gross violation of the law—such high-handed contempt of the authority of the United States, perpetrated by a band of lawless confederates in the city of Boston, and in the very temple of justice.

I regard these flagitious proceedings as being a surprise, not unattended with some degree of negligence; nay do I doubt that if any such act of violence had been apprehended, thousands of good citizens of Boston would have presented, themselves promptly and voluntarily to prevent it. But then the danger does not seem to have been promptly made known and duly appreciated by those who were concerned in the execution of the process in a community distinguished for its love of order and respect for the laws. Among a people whose sentiment is liberty and law, and not liberty without law, or where the law, when an outrage could only be the result of sudden violence, unhappily too much unprepared for to be successfully resisted.

It would be melancholy indeed if we were obliged to regard this outbreak against the Constitution and legal authority of the Government, as proceeding from the general feeling of the people on the spot, which is proverbially called the Cradle of American Liberty. Such, undoubtedly, is not the fact. It violates, without question, the general sentiment of the people of Boston, and the vast majority of the whole people of Massachusetts, as much as it violates the law, and defies the authorities of the government, and disgraces those concerned in it, their aiders and abettors. It is nevertheless my duty to lay before the Senate, in answer to its resolution, some important facts and considerations.

Connected with the subject—a resolution of Congress of Sept. 22, 1789, declared that it be recommended to the Legislatures of the States to pass laws making it expressly the duty of keepers of their jails, to receive into safe keeping all prisoners committed under the authority of the U. States, until they shall be discharged by the due course of laws thereof, under the penalties in case of prisoners committed under the authorities of such States respectively—the United States to pay, for the use and keeping of such jails at the rates per month for each prisoner that shall be under their authority, and be committed thereto, during the time that such prisoners shall be therein confined, and also to support such of the said prisoners as shall be committed for offences."

A further resolution of Congress passed March 3d, 1791, provides that whereas Congress did, by resolution, on the 23d Sept. 1789, recommend to the several States to pass laws making it expressly the duty of the keepers of jails to receive and safe keep therein all prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, in order therefore to insure the administration of justice, it was resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the U. S. of America, in Congress assembled, that in case any State shall not have complied with the same, the U. S. Marshal, under the direction of the Judge or District court, be authorized to hire a convenient place to serve as temporary jail, and to make the necessary provision for the safe keeping of persons committed under the authority of the U. States, until permanent provision by law for that purpose can be made; and the said Marshal shall be allowed his reasonable expenses incurred for the above purpose, to be paid out of the United States Treasury.

A resolution of Congress of March 3rd, 1821, provides that when any State or States, not having complied with the recommendation of Congress in the resolution of 23d day of Sept., 1789, shall have withdrawn, wholly, or in part, the use of their jails for prisoners committed under the authority of the United States, the Marshal in such State or States, under the direction of the Judge of the District, shall be, and hereby is, authorized and required to hire a convenient place to serve as a temporary jail, and to make all the necessary provisions for the safe keeping of the prisoners committed under the authority of the U. S. Marshal, until permanent provision shall be made by law for that purpose; and the said Marshal shall be allowed his reasonable expenses incurred for the above purpose, to be paid out of the United States Treasury.

By the various provisions of the law of Massachusetts, as that law stood before the act of the Legislature of that State of March 24th, 1843, common jails in the respective counties were to be used for the detention of any person detained by the authority of the court of the U. States, as well as by the courts and magistrates of that State, but these provisions were altered and repealed by the act of the Legislature on the 24th of March, 1843.

The act declared that no Judge of the Commonwealth, and no Justice of the Peace, shall hereafter take cognizance or grant a certificate in cases that may arise under the third section of an act of Congress passed Feb. 12, 1793, and entitled an act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their master, to any person who claims to be either person as a fugitive slave within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth.

It further declares that no sheriff, deputy sheriff coroner, constable, jailor, or other officer of the Commonwealth, shall be after arrest, or detain, or aid in the arrest, or detention, or imprisonment in any jail or other building belonging to the Commonwealth, or to any county, city, or town thereof of any prisoner for the reason that he is claimed as a fugitive slave, and it further declares that any justice of the peace, sheriff, coroner, constable or jailor, who shall offend against the provisions of this law by in any way acting directly or indirectly under the power conferred under the third section of the act aforementioned, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars for every such offence, for the use of the county where such offence is committed, or shall be subjected to imprisonment one year in the county jail.

This law, it is obvious, had two objects. The first was to make it a penal offence in all officers and magistrates to exercise the powers conferred on them by the act of Congress of Feb. 12th, 1793, entitled an act respecting fugitives, and persons escaping from the service of their masters, and which powers they were fully competent to perform up to the time of this inhibition to penal enactments.

Second, to refuse the use of the jails of the State for the detention of any person claimed as a fugitive slave. It is deeply to be lamented that the purpose of these enactments is quite apparent to prevent, so far as the legislature of the State could prevent, the laws of Congress being passed into acts to carry out that article of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that no person who is held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping to another State, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service is due. These acts of the State Legislature, although they may cause embarrassment, cannot derogate either from the duty or the authority of Congress to carry out fully and fairly the plain and imperative Constitutional provisions for the delivery of persons bound to labor in one State, and escaping into another, to the party to whom such labor may be due.

It is quite clear that by the resolution of Congress of March 3d, 1821, the Marshal of the U. States in any State in which the use of the jails of any State has been withdrawn, in whole or in part, from the purposes of the detention of persons committed under the authority of the United States, is not only empowered, but expressly required, under the direction of the judge of the district court, to hire a convenient place for the safe keeping of prisoners committed under the authority of the United States.

It will be seen from papers accompanying this communication, that the attention of the Marshal of Massachusetts was distinctly called to this provision of the law by a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, of the date of Oct. 29 last. There is no official information that the Marshal has probably on such place for the confinement of his prisoners. If he has not, it is to be regretted that this power was not exercised by the Marshal, under the direction of the District Judge, immediately on the passage of the act of the Legislature of Massachusetts of March 24th, 1843, and especially, that it was not exercised on the passage of the fugitive slave law of the last session, or, when the attention of the Marshal was afterwards particularly drawn to it.

It is true that the escape from the Deputy Marshal in this case was not owing to the want of a prison or place of confinement, but still it is not easy to see how the prisoner could have been safely and conveniently detained during an adjournment of the hearing, without such place of confinement, or if it shall appear that no such place has been obtained, directions to the Marshal will be given to lose no time in the discharge of this duty.

I think it to the Senate the copy of a Proclamation issued by me on the 18th inst., in relation to those unexpected and deplorable occurrences in Boston, together with copies of instructions from the departments of War and Navy, relating to the general subject, and also copies of telegraphic despatches, transmitted from the Commissioner of Navy to the District Attorney and Marshal of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, and their answers thereto.

In regard to the law branch of the inquiry made by the resolution of the Senate, I have to observe that the Constitution provides that the President shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and that he shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the States when called into the actual service of the United States; and that Congress shall have power to provide for calling upon the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasion; from which it appears that the Army and Navy are by the Constitution placed under the control of the Executive, and probably no legislation of Congress could add to or diminish the power thus given, but by increasing or diminishing or abolishing portions of such Army and navy.

Not not so with the militia. The President can not call out the militia into service even to execute the laws or to repel invasion but by the authority of some act of Congress passed for that purpose. But when the militia are called into service in the manner prescribed by law, the Constitution itself gives command to the President.

Acting on this principle, Congress, by the Act of Feb. 28th, 1795, authorized the President to call forth the militia to repel invasion and suppress insurrections against State governments, and to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States, and cause the laws to be faithfully executed. But the Act proceeds to declare that whenever it may be necessary, in the judgment of the President, to use the military force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith, by proclamation, command such insurgents to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within a limited time.

These words are broad enough to require a proclamation in all cases where the militia are called out under that act, whether to repel invasion, or suppress insurrection, or to aid in executing the laws. This section leaves consequently some doubt whether the militia could be called forth in executing the laws without a proclamation. But yet the proclamation seems to be words directed only against insurgents, and to require them to disperse, thereby implying not only an insurrection, but an organized or at least embodied force.

Such a proclamation is aid of a civil authority would often defeat the whole object, by giving such notice to such a State or Section to be arrested that they would be enabled to fly or secrete themselves. The force may be wanted sometimes to make the arrest, and also to protect the officer after it is made, and to prevent a rescue.

I have therefore suggest that this provision be modified by declaring that nothing therein contained shall be construed to require any previous proclamation when the militia are called forth, either to repel invasion, to execute the laws, or to suppress a combination against them; and that the President may make such a call, and place such militia under the control of any civil officer of the United States, as he may deem necessary to aid him in executing the law, or suppressing such combinations; and when so employed, they shall be paid by and subsisted at the expense of the United States.

Congress, not probably adverting to the difference between the militia and the regular army, by the act of March 3d, 1807, authorized the President to use the land and naval force of the United States for the same purposes for which he might call forth the militia, and subject to the same proclamation. But the power of the President under the Constitution as Commander of the Army and navy in general, and of the militia when the laws faithfully executed is general and positive. The act of 1807 therefore, ought not to be construed as evincing any disposition of Congress to limit or restrain the constitutional authority.

It may be well that Congress should modify or explain this act, in regard to its provisions for the employment of the army and navy of the United States, as well as that in regard to calling forth the militia. It is supposed not to be doubtful that all citizens, duly enrolled in the militia or not, may be summoned as members of the *posse comitatus* by the marshal or commissioner, according to law, and it is their duty to obey such summons. But perhaps it may be doubted whether the marshal or a commissioner can command, as the posse comitatus an organized militia force, acting under its own appropriate officers, without the consent of such officers. This point may deserve the consideration of Congress.

I use this occasion to repeat the assurance that, so far as depends on me, the laws shall be faithfully executed, and all forcible opposition to them suppressed; and to this end, I am prepared to exercise, whenever it may become necessary, the power constitutionally vested in me, to the fullest extent.

I am fully persuaded that the great majority of the people of this country are warmly and strongly attached to the Constitution, the preservation of the Union, the support of the Government, and the maintenance of the law. I am persuaded that their earnest wishes and the bias of my constitutional duty concur; and I doubt not, firmness, moderation, and prudence, strengthened by the general opinion of the people, will prevent the repetition of occurrences disturbing the public peace, and that such acts will be reprobated by all good men.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

A CUP AND A PEN.

There is at Troy, N. Y., a company of black soldiers, known as the Troy City Guards. Their Captain is Thomas Van Schaick. They are as orderly and well drilled a company as we recollect to have seen any where, considering their age, as soldiers. On the 11th inst., this company celebrated its first Anniversary. The occasion was early brilliant one. The Albany Rifle Guards, the Albany Johnson Guards, the Independent Cadets, and the Hannibal Guards of New York—all black men—were invited guests, and the two former were present. Some of the most prominent citizens of Troy were present also.

It was the pleasure of the Troy City Guards and the Rifle Guards to present to us a most beautiful silver cup, bearing elaborate and ornate devices, of most capital workmanship. The inside is of fine gold, and so, is the handle. The cup stands upon an ample base, and is altogether a splendid affair. Accompanying it was also presented, on the same occasion, a massive gold pencil case, so made as to be used either as a pen or a pencil. We never saw a more beautiful specimen of this sort of workmanship. In presenting these valuable gifts, Capt. Brown, of the A. R. Guards, said to us, in the course of his speech, that these were tokens of the appreciation of our humble labors in the cause of Impartial Freedom. As it was not in us to make anything but the lamest and most stammering apology for a speech then, we take occasion to say now, that we thank the patriotic officers and soldiers for their precepts, and that we shall ever indulge the hope of their help, in their sphere, helpers in the great cause to which we have devoted our life. That black men should study the military art, in time of peace, is but consistent with their having shown themselves proficient in that art—in Revolutionary times—at Bunker Hill—in Boston—and during the late war with Great Britain, upon Lakes Erie and Champlain. But our most earnest wish is, that their services in the battle-field may never be needed.

From the cup we shall never drink aught but clear, cold water—the best drink for soldiers or civilians. With the Pencil and Pen, we shall never, we hope, be left to write treason to the cause of Humanity. Both shall be stimulants to us, when our zeal shall flag, when we shall be sad at heart, and when we shall be tempted to discouragement. We know we do not deserve such a testimonial, but we shall show our grateful sense, in a deeper devotion to our only cause. Henceforth we cannot say—"Silver and gold have we none."

WEBSTER ON TREASON.

If any body has the patience, let him read the letter of that corrupt and graceless specimen of a Northern doughface, Daniel Webster, to a committee of volunteer bloodhounds at Tarrytown. [Published in the *Citizen* of February 8.] If you don't read that letter, you will lack the crowning evidence of the infernal depths to which Northern servilles can sink, in their base devotion to the interests of Slavery. If you don't read it, you may think Hayman, and such tyrants as he, are among the worst of modern despots, and that black Americans are among the most debased and most degraded of all American slaves. But black men are not voluntary slaves, and Hayman has never complained of the howling of "Free Soil" thunder by stealth. Daniel Webster has so complained, and the Tarrytown committee are voluntary slave-catchers to the slaveholders of the South.

Mr. Webster's talk about treason is characteristic enough, but honest, sober men, when reading it, will regard it as the senseless twaddle of second childhood. A man must live such a life as entitles him to decent respect, a life within the rules of, at least, conventional charity and sobriety, before the words of his old age shall be heeded. Beware, a few such precious prints as the *Post*, the *Advertiser*, and the *Journal*, and the *Albany Argus*, and the organs of Silver Grayism, will regard Dr. Webster's preaching as very authoritative; but beyond the barrooms, it will have but little effect. Mr. Webster need not have alluded to the unanimity with which Mr. Fillmore's Cabinet go for negro-catching. The world knows it to be THE GREAT IDEA OF THE FILLMORE ADMINISTRATION! And it may be that, in some parts of the country, that fact will cost the Whigs, in 1852, more than the Cabinet is worth to the party.

☞ God save the noble black men of Boston! May their fidelity to freedom never depart from them! They rescued poor Shadrach from the hands of a mere mob. Riley had no process for arresting Shadrach, and to rescue a man from the grasp of such an officer, was simply to take him out of the hands of a mere band of desperadoes. The black men had quite as good a legal right to rescue Shadrach, as Riley and his nine fellow conspirators had to arrest him. The talk of the *Courier* and the *Advertiser* about the repeal of our excellent State law for the protection of liberty, while abandantly worthy of the source whence it emanates, is just so much volunteer blood-hounding, and it will be so appreciated by the honest people of our beloved State. May the next election be an utterance of the verdict of the people on this matter!

☞ George Thompson is on attending a series of meetings in the State of New York.

JOURNAL SKETCHES.

Church in Syracuse—Convention at Syracuse Jan. 7th, 8th and 9th—Wm. H. Burleigh—Places Visited—Freedom of Speech—The 'Amen' of S. R. W.—Jefferson County—Ropes, Snowbanks and Politicians—Parrot Divines—The Journey of Life—George Thompson, &c.

HOWLIT HILL, Feb. 10, 1851.

SKOTRER WARD:

Please give us a helping hand in the work of recognizing an assembly of Christians in Syracuse, by the appellation of THE CHURCH IN SYRACUSE. We need a congregation established on such principles. In this recognition the 'Second Adventist' friends would find themselves at home. So might the 'Disciples.' So might all who are disgusted with the pro-slavery and sectarian organizations of our times, and who are prepared to make an impartial application of the gospel to all the relations of life. The congregation should have a plain and commodious house of worship, located in a central position. The pastors should be men of enlarged minds. The Church should send out missionaries to labor abroad, and, as in primitive days, they should report to the Church their toils, and success.

There are in Syracuse those who are indignant at the great expense which has been lavished on houses of public worship in that city. They cannot approve of 'mission churches,' as they are under the control of denominational organizations, and strongly countenance the worst features of aristocracy, by an attempt to colonize the poor, so that the rich may enjoy their splendid temples without being troubled by the presence of the needy. We want an assembly where 'the rich and the poor may meet together,' worshipping the Lord as the Maker of them all. There are persons residing ten, fifteen, and even twenty miles out of Syracuse, who would be much benefitted by aiding this contemplated effort in our city. This whole region constantly needs such an enterprise. It should be undertaken without delay. Those from a distance who would identify themselves with it, would soon find that in their own immediate neighborhoods similar congregations would be gathered, and the work would spread. My brother Ward, among the multiplicity of your cares and thoughts, do not forget to give us an editorial to help us.

OUR CONVENTION.

Its decision against the Fugitive Bill was unanimous. The trouble was that, of the Convention proper, the majority were Liberty Party men; or such as deeply sympathized with us. Of course, such persons were prepared to protest against slavery itself, radically, and in order to do that effectually, would, resist all influences of political, social, literary or religious pretensions, which would directly or indirectly endorse slavery. Consequently, such teachings would inevitably lead to the adoption of the righteous civil government theory. This made much agitation in the meeting. The Address which Gerrit Smith prepared, was so much in accordance with the individual convictions of the vast multitude, that it would have been adopted by an overwhelming majority, if some 'afraid debates' had not contrived to cast odium upon it, by appeals to prejudices involving recollections of old bygone controversies. This was sury unfair. S. J. May did not do any such thing; but others did, among whom was most prominent that eloquent gentleman, Wm. H. Sotleigh. If Mr. B. notices this, he will probably think that I misjudge his conduct. When he says so, then I shall attempt to sustain the opinion which I have given. If Wm. H. Burleigh will employ his powers to pour contempt on the rum traffic as earnestly as he did to render the Liberty Party despicable, so far as *speech-making* is concerned, he can make a flourish against rum. But let him know and understand, that the advocates of the Rum Power and the Slave Power, and of 'all the oppressions which are done under the sun,' will unite in one triumphant, fiendish laugh at all his splendid speeches—*unless the PHILOSOPHY of the Liberty Party of the State of New York shall be adopted as the philosophy of the masses.* Let those who doubt this, who think that I write too confidently, lay up this paragraph, and present it to me ten or twenty years hence, or to my children.

After a scene of domestic affliction, I begin to get a broad again. I never found it so trying to my heart to be from home as at the present time. Recently I have lectured at 'Sritsall's Settlement,' (Post Office, Collamer,) Matthew's Mills, Bridgeport, Cicero Centre, &c.

These Sketches are recorded thus far on 'Howlit Hill,' in the town of Oscudaga. I lectured here yesterday, and am to speak again this evening. There is much opposition to the naughty Bill here, but it is too superficial. It should be directed against the whole slave code. This is what I am trying to do; and also to obtain funds for the Chaplin Committee. Were I should get more funds (at present) for the Committee. But what of that? I have but a short time to live, and some what will of dollars and cents, while I have breath, my words must be in accordance with the dictates of my conscience. We had better speak thus, or keep silence. I know that S. R. W. says 'Amen.'

February 20th.—I am now at Mannsville, Jefferson county, enjoying the hospitality of that venerable defender of human rights, Mr. MARR. I shall do what I can to herald the way for the Chaplin meeting at Watertown, February 28th and March 1st. It is my purpose also to remain in the county some ten or twelve days after that meeting, to aid in extending the impression which may then be made. We have snow banks here, even on the plank roads. Last evening I worked my passage, (after paying cash for it,) by joining a company having ropes attached to the top of the stage, by means of which we pulled each way, like politicians, as occasion might demand, 'to save the Union.' Indeed, my organ of fear was much more excited in relation to the equilibrium of our vehicle, and the safety of the two ladies whom we left inside, than it ever has been concerning the Union, by the blaster of the South, or the sobs of PARSON divines and their 'good society men' at the North. But the cheerful reception which I met at the house of Mr. M., and the comforts of the morning, after refreshing sleep, more than make amends for the toil and hazard of the journey. So when life's journey shall be past, all its toils and dangers will serve to make our enjoyment the more precious, if, while on the way we perform our duties, humbly trusting in the Lamb of God.

To me, it is a matter of much regret that I cannot be at Syracuse this week, while GEORGE THOMPSON is there; but duty calls me in another direction, so I cheerfully submit.

Yours as ever,

J. R. J.

THE PHILADELPHIA SLAVE CASE.

PHILADELPHIA, February 12th, 1851.

DEAR MR. WARD:

A more startling and insidious attempt was probably never made in this city to rob a woman of her liberty, and at the same time sever the tenderest ties of mother and little helpless children, than the one of which I shall only give a very meagre sketch. I should go into particulars were it necessary, but the reports of the press, and especially the report contained in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, renders it quite needless for me to detail any thing more than what took place on the great procession in the evening, after the decision had been given in favor of the woman's freedom. I was an eye-witness to all that I am about to describe.

Several hundred persons assembled at the Philadelphia Institute, in Lombard street, for the purpose of receiving and paying a small tribute of respect to the sister who had fallen a victim to the insolent and brutal statute. The woman and her children were present. But one hour before, she had been released from her captors, by praying, in the most incontestible manner, that she was free.

A general demonstration on the part of the true lovers of liberty and humanity seemed quite indispensible; indeed, it was thought that a more suitable time could not be presented to honor the outraged woman, and also those who had so nobly defended her. At the same time, it was thought that a very manifest proof of indignation, might appropriately be conveyed to the base and insidious foes who had made themselves so perfectly contemptible in the eyes of this community.

Accordingly, the idea was soon suggested that no greater proof of sympathy could be manifested than by unloosing the horses from the carriage in which they had, but a few moments before, been drawn from their perilous situation before the Court to the Anti-Slavery Office, and back to the Philadelphia Institute. No sooner were the horses unloosed, than multitudes rushed to seize the ropes attached to the carriage containing the woman and her children, esteeming it a great privilege and pleasure thus to bear their testimony to the indescribable blessings of liberty! Dr. Bias and Wm. Forten occupied a prominent position on the top of the carriage, suitable for giving orders, &c., and the procession paraded in triumph through the city to visit different places designed to be especially honored or marked with contempt.

The procession started from the Philadelphia Institute, about 9 o'clock in the evening. It proceeded up Lombard street to 10th, up 10th to Walnut, down Walnut to the house of David Paul Brown, Esq. Opposite Mr. B.'s door, the carriage and procession stopped, for the purpose of giving Mr. B. nine hearty cheers. Dr. Bias arose and called the audience to order, and then proclaimed, in a very stirring voice, 'Here dwells the undaunted friend of universal liberty and humanity, for whom we have spoke nine cheers.' No sooner said, than the most deafening cheers were echoing, seemingly, everywhere. Quiet being restored, Dr. Bias called upon the audience to give three cheers in behalf of the honorable decision of Judge Kane. The request was most heartily responded to, and the procession started down Walnut to 7th, up 7th to Walnut, down Walnut to 4th, and up 4th, above Walnut, to William St. Pierce's, where it again stopped. Wm. Forten arose and called the procession to order, and in a brief but pertinent manner stated the object of the procession's visit to Mr. Pierce, and desired that nine cheers might be given, as a token of their high regard for his faithful services rendered on the present as well as on former occasions. It is needless to say how loud and long those cheers were, and the effect they produced upon the mind of Mr. Pierce and the audience generally. Mr. P. came forth with just such a response as might have been expected—filled with sympathy for the poor outraged woman and her children; but on the other hand, he could scarcely find language severe enough to express his utter abhorrence of the conduct of Mr. McMurtrie, the slaveholder's servant. Mr. Pierce's first utterance was, 'This is the happiest moment of my life.' Without attempting a report of his very touching speech, I wish only to call your attention to one sentance uttered by him, in order that you may know how contemptuous the slaveholder's is wyer is viewed in the estimation of one who takes sides with the oppressed. Said Mr. Pierce, 'I doubt not but that Mr. McMurtrie *would take the heart of his own mother, in his hands, and squeeze the very life-blood out of it, if he thought he could win it into gold, or for a paltry fee of fifty dollars!*' These remarks were uttered in the most thrilling and earnest manner, and no doubt placed Mr. McMurtrie in his true position. He concluded by declaring that, hereafter, he was resolved not to know McMurtrie in any position or relation of life, only as he was professionally compelled so to do.

The honored inmates of the carriage were cordially invited by Mr. Pierce to get out and go into his parlor, that Mrs Pierce and her family might have the pleasure of seeing them. Mrs. Williams soon returned to the carriage, and the procession passed on.

Mr. McMurtrie was the next person to be noticed—but not in the manner that the preceding ones had been. As the procession came opposite to his office, which is only about a stone's throw from Mr. Pierce's, they commenced groaning in the most hideous manner, and if the slaveholders were not utterly dead, they heard it no doubt to their shame.

Congress Hall [Kidnapper's Home] came next in order. It is located directly on the corner of 2d and Chestnut streets, surrounded principally by all the presses, telegraphs, and, in short, by every thing which one might suppose would repel any and all such vile wretches as had the daring to seek refuge there. But, alas! the presses, telegraphs, and all other influences, were dumb on the occasion. But the groans that went up from the indignant procession, when opposite Congress Hall, I have no doubt gave unmistakeable proof of the utter detestation in

which men and houses are looked upon who can land their aid to deeds as atrocious and base as has been the case within the last week in this city.

But what was most remarkable, on one seemed to think that we were behaving unbecomingly, or, it they did, they did not molest us in any way. What was done was done with great 'alacrity,' I assure you. The procession passed on up 3d street to Arch, up Arch to 4th, and so continued until they reached the residence of Mrs. Williams, where she had been kidnapped, near the corner of 5th and Germantown Road.

As the procession marched along, they would enjoy a tune now and then. A very favorite song here, commencing with the words—

'Set the captive free, set him free,
From his chains,' &c.—

was the one most sung.

There were other places visited, which I am obliged to pass without alluding to. It had been intended to visit Mr. and Mrs. Mott, and Mr. McKim and others, who had stood prominent and devoted to the cause of the oppressed; but owing to the lateness of the hour and the inclemency of the weather, as well as the great distance required to be travelled, they were obliged to forego their anticipated pleasure in greeting those friends as they had wished.

The whole affair was carried on with the greatest decorum and unanimity. The procession was marshalled by the very faithful Henry Cornish, who will long be remembered, for his active services in the present case, besides many preceding ones. The audience dispersed at the house of Edward Shanklin, where the honored victims were received.

I must not close without naming one other long-tried friend of the slave, at whose house the procession felt under special obligations to stop and pay their tribute of respect. That friend of the slave, so highly honored by nine cheers, was Mrs. Mary Newton.

Truly,

WM. STILL.

THE COLONIZATION SCHEME.

New Haven, Ct., Feb. 14, 1851.

Rev. S. R. Wade:

My Dear Sir,—In my communication of January 13th, I just hinted my approbation of your course with the friends of the Colonization Society. Since I wrote you, we have had an address in one of our churches upon that subject by the Rev. Mr. Orcut, an agent of the Society. Quite a number were present, and his statements were of the usual Ex-Governor-Phinney stamp. The great embodiment of the Society, the Hon. Henry Clay, has also spoken recently, and is reported to have delivered himself in the following style:—

'What, cried Mr. Clay, is to be done with these colored people? I again ask, what is to be done with them? They are here under our very noses; and in this District, in the course of the last ten years, they have doubled. In a number of the States laws are being passed—rigorous laws—of exclusion of them from their territory. Some States, indeed, are introducing into their fundamental laws, into their Constitutions, provisions against the reception of any free people of color within their borders. What is to become of them? I ask again. In the name of humanity and justice, what is to become of them? I see no other remedy than that of sending them back to the land whence their ancestors were taken; and I can conceive of no interest of any portion of the people of the United States that will not be benefitted by such transfer of the free people of color from the United States to Africa. The whites at the North will be benefitted—the whites at the South will be benefitted—the slaves at the South will be benefitted—the poor creatures themselves will be benefitted; for, instead of remaining in a country where they never can be elevated to the high social and political condition of the whites—where they must for ever remain a degraded, corrupt and dissolute class—they can be carried to the country of their ancestors, and rise into an importance there which they will never attain here.'

The correspondent of the New Haven *Palladium*—a paper which has championed the 'Union' interest in this city—one of whose editors recited some of the lines of the 'godlike' thunder most appropriately at the Union Meeting held here—thus writes from Washington of Mr. Clay's speech and the colored population of this country:—

'The subject of the colonization of Liberia with our free black population is receiving more attention than ever before. I hope there will be time this session for the consideration of this subject, and with Mr. Clay to lead the movement, we may expect something effectual to be begun, at least. His remarks a few days ago at the annual meeting of the Colonization Society were cogent and suggestive, and the feeling expressed on that occasion was highly commendable and encouraging. The present season shows an alarming increase of this class of miserable vagabonds in some parts of the country, especially in Virginia, Maryland, and the District. It is notorious that they are almost universally poor, wicked, idle and degraded, and their influence, not only on the slave, but on the white population, is exceedingly baneful and immoral. And how is this be otherwise? They are set free without property, without education, without any moral training, and generally without occupation—for if any labor is desired, free black labor is never made use of so long as any other can be obtained. Of this class and growing evil, the Southern States will not take effective measures to rid themselves. If the colored people are not sent to Africa, they will be driven into the free States. Would it be well for the abolitionists to consider well the tendency of their doctrines? Instead of using every means to attract to and retain in the free States all members of humanity, they ought to go heart and hand to the work of African colonization. This course must be taken if things go on as they have in for years past, or the North will be overrun by a population which they do not want and cannot wage to their satisfaction.'

With such sentiments constantly put forth in all ways—with appeals constantly made to such prejudices—with allusions to the persecuting spirit of many of the people of the different States arising against us—without any rebuke, but manifestly with an approving smile, as if the existence of spirit and its manifestation was a good reason why the Colonization Society should be supported—say wonder that the colored people should look with suspicion upon it, and upon all who advocate its principles, or intelligently lend it their aid and countenance?

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Yours, &c.

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THE PROSPECT.

Dear Sir:—

My mind is much depressed, most of the time, while looking at the state of our country. To a low-spirited mind, it would seem that God has given it up. It requires a stretch of faith to which I have not yet arrived, to have hope in the future. When I look at the two great political parties which sway the land, and the tremendous energy they manifest in maintaining the foul system of slavery—Oppression being the great 'hobby' that binds them together, North and South—in the midst of as much light as has been shed on the subject of civil government and human rights, it would seem as if God had said, 'Let them alone!'

Then, again, when I see the current religion—not to say Christianity—of our land, in a greater or less degree taking sides with this grand conspiracy against human rights, it is to my mind a dark omen. In not God saying or about to say to this nation, 'I have called, and ye have refused'? It often looks so to me. When I see the teachers of theology and the great and learned D. D.'s of our land taking a decided stand in favor of such infernal enactments as the Fugitive Slave Bill, and teaching their people to observe and carry it out, so far as their help is needed, I am tempted to cry out—'Away with such teachers from the earth! A religion that calls on me to lay hold on a panting fugitive, and urges me to such an act of inhumanity, from the bottom of my soul I despise. What, salve that threshing representative of Jesus Christ and hurl him back to the prison-house of slavery! No! rather let my right hand perish, or my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. If such teaching is gospel, then put me down as a Gospel despiser and a Christ rejecter.

Affectionately yours,
In a fraternal and equal brotherhood,

IRA HILLS.

☞ George P. Richardson, Esq., Attorney General of the State of Maryland, died at Barnum's Hotel this morning, after a short illness.—*Syracuse Star.*

Among the last acts of Mr. Richardson's professional life, was the making of the most ingenious and most assiduous efforts to seed William L. Chaplin to the Penitentiary for life. It was owing to this gentleman's action that seven indictments were found against Mr. Chaplin by the grand jury, and that Mr. C. was ordered to stand trial immediately upon the finding of the indictments. Mr. Chaplin was ordered to find bail in the sum of $19,000. His trial will not occur till the 17th of March. Mr. Richardson it is said to say, is suddenly called to the bar of Almighty God, on the 10th of February. How great the folly of devoting one's life and talents to the support of such a stupendous system of wickedness as slavery! How unlike our own words, when before the Divine and final Tribunal, it is to prosecute, with ingenious perseverance, one of our fellows, so as to endanger his life and destroy his liberty, for being a deed of humanity! How little will such a reflection lighten and smooth the pangs and the pillow of the dying hour! Living or dying, who would not prefer the character of Chaplin to that of Richardson? So let us live, that we may always be included among those to whom Christ says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy'—so that we can pray,

'The many I to others show
That mercy show to me.'

☞ Henry Long, the fugitive slave, inadvertised for sale in Atalanta, Georgia, by Mr. Clopton, who purchased him at Richmond.

So say the papers. Long has gained nothing by suffering himself to be taken to slavery. Had he defended himself, like a man, as any member of the Union and Safety Committee would have done, (unless—as is quite possible—they are cowards as well as slaveocrats,) he could have had a fair trial, a decent imprisonment, a freeman's death, and a grave thrice honorable. He can only retrieve the past by better behavior in future. He should get away again, and keep out of the way of his Southern pro-mentors and his Northern prosecutors. Then should any man, officially or otherwise, lay hands upon him, again, to enslave him, he ought to know better than to keep his knife in his pocket. A Honker said to us the other day, that if black men kill slave-catchers, black man will be exterminated. That's better than slavery. But it is a game that two can play at, remember!

☞ Henry Clay seems determined to end his days in the concocting of plans for the injury of free black man, as a means of securing the perpetuity of slavery. This is his object in advocating his African Line of Steamships. We hope it is to be added but abortive humbugs. In a short time the project and its projector will be forgotten. Mr. Clay must go for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia, before any body will believe him. And he and all Colonizationists must accord to black men their rights, at home, are their plans will deserve attention. Such fellows as Colonizationists describe us to be would make great missionaries, ah?

☞ President Fillmore's Proclamation is a choice specimen of what a Northern doughface can do, when he tries. Why have no proclamations been issued against those who mobbed Thompson in Faneuil Hall and in Springfield?

☞ The tide of old-fashioned anti-slavery is fast rising in Western New York. The voice of Chaplin from the prison-house is being heard to Slavery's cost.

From the Liberator.

THE ARREST—THE RESCUE—THE FLIGHT.

In the succeeding columns, we give an account of the arrest, rescue and flight of a slave in this city, on Saturday last—the details of which, together with other matter, occupy so much room as to allow us very little space for comment on these eventful proceedings.

Stated in the briefest form, what are the facts in the case? The Deputy U. S. Marshal, with two or three base confederates, seizes an inoffensive colored man, guiltless of any crime against the laws of God or the well-being of society, in a manner the most unerring, treacherous and dastardly,—in a manner which shows how conscious the villains were that they were engaged in the work of the devil,—and yet in a manner in exact accordance with the spirit and object of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law,—on the charge of his being a fugitive from the chains and scourges of the Southern house of bondage. Hurried without a moment's warning before Commissioner Curtis, (the willing and pliant tool of the Slave Power, which is dragging this nation down to interminable ruin,) the victim, through his counsel, intercedes for a little delay, in order that he may be enabled to meet his accusers in the best legal manner possible. This is granted, and the case stands adjourned for a subsequent day. At this moment, the door of the court room is pressed upon by a crowd of sympathising colored persons, who, without any deliberate concert—without any weapons in their hands—without any wish or intention to do personal violence to any one—but operated upon by a sudden electric thrill, such as the emergency was well calculated to produce, seize their doomed brother, almost unresistingly, and in the twinkling of an eye hurry him out of the room, and soon place him beyond the reach of his pursuers. In the rush, a few of the officers may have been jostled, but no one was injured, no blow appears to have been given by the invading forces, no scar was made, no blood was drawn. It was as peaceful a rescue as was ever made in any case of physical interference. The rescuers were not actuated by a lawless spirit, but by a deep and commendable sympathy with a wronged and outraged man, in imminent danger of being deprivated for life—by a love of liberty—by a clear appreciation of justice—by the spirit of the revolutionary motto, '*Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.*' They apprehended that Shadrach was one who had fled from the hell of slavery; that, legally, there was no power to save him from being carried back to torture; that, in all human probability, unless he was rescued just at that precise moment, his fate was sealed for ever; and as the opportunity to take him without a serious struggle was extremely favorable, they seized upon it with a wise judgment, and with entire success. Thank God, Shadrach is free—and not only free, but safe! Under the banner of England, on the Canadian soil, he is now standing erect, redeemed and disenfranchised, bidding a proud defiance to President Fillmore and his cabinet, though backed by the army and navy of the United States! Promulgate thy bloody edicts, O Nero who occupiest the Presidential Chair; they shall be laughed to scorn and trampled in the dust! Howl, and gnash thy teeth, O damned and damning Secretary of State in comparison with whom Asortran Hayman is an angel of light; thy prey has escaped thee, and the 'higher law' is triumphant! Rave, and roar, and speak great swelling words of blasphemy, and take counsel together against the Lord and his Anointed, O Pharaoh in human flesh. 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh—the Lord shall have you in derision.' Threaten and conspire, and proceed to deluge the pavements of the streets with innocent blood, O Northern minions of Southern slave-drivers! Is God no longer God? Does the Slave Power sit on the throne of the Universe? Has Sin no Retribution?

'The head and front of the offending,' in this instance—what is it? A sudden rush of a score or two of unarmed friends of equal liberty—an uninjurious deliverance of the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor—the quiet transportation of a slave out of this slave-ridden land to the free soil of Upper Canada! Nobody injured, nobody wronged, but simply a chattel transformed into a man, and conducted to a spot whereon he can glorify God to his body and spirit, which are his!

And yet, how all the fiends of the pit are writhing and yelling! Not tormented before their time, but just at the right time. Truly, 'devils with devils darned, firm concord hold'! The President of the United States is out with his Proclamation of Terror, conveying it to us in tones of thunder, and on the wings of the lightning, even as though in the old Bay State chaos had come again, and a million of foreign myrmidons were invading our shores! A poor hunted, enslaved, fugitive slave is dextrously removed from the court-room, and the whole land is shaken! A hundred free white citizens of the North may be thrown into prison, or tarred and feathered, or compelled to fire for their lives, at the South, on suspicion of being morally averse to the slave system; but who cares? A thousand colored seamen of the North may be incarcerated in lothsome cells, and compelled to pay for their imprisonment, though guiltless of crime, and even sold into slavery on the auction block, at the South; but whose breast burns with indignation, or what voice calls for redress? Official State Commissioners, remonstrate for their years and esteemed for their worth, sent to the South, to test the constitutionality of such atrocious acts, are driven away by lawless violence, and not allowed to remain on the soil; but where is the Presidential Proclamation, calling on the people of the South to obey the laws, and observe their constitutional obligations? But a solitary slave in Boston is plucked as a brand from the burning, and forthwith a cabinet council is held, and behold a menacing Proclamation, bearing the signature of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States! Henry Clay—with one foot in the grave, and just ready to have both body and soul cast into hell—so far eager to make his damnation doubly sure, rises in the U. S. Senate, and proposes an inquiry into the expediency of passing yet another law, by which every one who shall dare peep or mutter against the anection of the Fugitive Slave Bill, shall have his life crushed out!

How like a probe this case has proved, afresh, the utter corruption of the Boston press! The Coerjen Daily Advertiser, Mercantile Journal, Traveller, Post, Transcript, &c. &c., distort, falsify, rave and foam, in a manner not to be surpassed by any Southern journals. We have on room this week, for their rabid outpourings.

For a week past, we have been prostrated by illness; and we dictate these few comments on what is transpiring, with much bodily weakness, and with deep regret that we have so little power of expression to convey to our readers the emotions that fill our breast. We defy the Fugitive Slave Bill, its framers and upholders, together with the devil and all his works. Freedom for all, and for ever!

PROGRESS OF THE TRIALS, &c.

On Thursday of last week, Elisur Wright was ordered to recognize in the sum of three thousand dollars, with surety for his appearance at the District Court of the United States, next to be holden in Boston, the 3d Tuesday of March next.

After some discussion between Mr. Sewall, counsel for Mr. Wright, and the Commissioner, the latter reduced the bonds to the sum of $2000. Mr. Sewall, then became surety for Mr. Wright, whose trial will come on as above.

The examination of Charles G. Davis, Esq., attorney at law, followed.

The complaint against Mr. Davis contains two counts—the first alleges that on Saturday, the 15th instant, he did aid and assist in the escape of the fugitive slave Shadrach; and the second count charges that he aided and assisted to the rescue of the fugitive slave from the custody of Charles Devens. Mr. Davis plead not guilty, and, assisted by R. H. Dana, Jr., Esq., he conducted his own defence. Mr. Dana's management of this case, as also Mr. Sewall's in the case of Mr. Wright, have been acknowledged, on all hands, to have been eminently able. Mr. Davis, after a protracted examination, was fully discharged on Wednesday last.

A. P. Burton, a colored young man of Salem, was arrested on Friday morning, on a charge of aiding to the rescue of Shadrach. The city of Salem was much excited, and it was openly said that he would not have been taken out of town, had he been arrested as a slave. It was evident, from subsequent proceedings, that the intention was to have held him as a slave on his arrival at Boston; but it was there found that the wrong man had been caught, and Commissioner Hallett discharged him without day. Had the intended person been taken, the fraud would doubtless have become obvious to all.

U. S. Marshal Devens purchased sixty revolvers on Friday, and distributed them among his men. This fact, when known in town, tended to excite rather than quiet the public feeling.

Authentic information has been received from Montreal, that Shadrach, the fugitive, arrived safe at that place.

Washington's birth-day was celebrated in Boston by the following arrests in behalf of slavery:—

A seventh person was arrested Saturday morning, charged with being concerned in the late rescue in this city. His name is Thomas Paul Smith, a colored man. On giving bail for his appearance on Friday, at the Court-House, for trial, he was set at liberty.

The eighth arrest for aiding in the late rescue of a fugitive slave, was made in the afternoon. The person was named Lewis Hayden, a well-known clothes dealer in Cambridge street, and one of the most intelligent of the colored people of this city. He was ordered to give bail in $3,000 for examination hereafter, which was promptly given by James N. Buffum, of Lynn. Richard H. Dana, Esq., one of the counsel for the fugitive Shadrach, testified to day that he supplied on Saturday, before the rescue, to Judge Shaw, of the Supreme Court, for a writ of *habeas corpus* for Shadrach, which was refused.

Mr. Davis's trial being over, Mr. B. F. Hallett proceeded to the examination of the other persons arrested.

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ Mr. Schermerhorn, Congressman from Monroe county, N. Y., after voting against the Fillmore Kidnapping Law, and after being elected as a pledged friend of the repeal of that law, has signed a pledge that he will vote for no man for any legislative office, State or National, who is in favor of its repeal. This we believe to be the result of promised patronage. See if Mr. S. does not get something from the Administration as a reward for this bad faith with his constituents. But suppose the enemies of this precious piece of diabolism should come to a like conclusion, when and by whom would your Fillmores and Schermerhorns, *et id omne genus*, receive an election? Would that Greely and Gov. Seward and Thurlow Weed would meet these gentlemen on this issue.

☞ Stephen S. Foster, author of the 'Brotherhood of Thieves,' defends pro-slavery churches and Whigs and Democrats. He and his wife both boast of the sums of money given to them by pro-slavery politicians. Wm. Lloyd Garrison would do no such thing.

☞ The New Yorkers are to go without a Senator till next winter. Silver Greelism, in that State, demurres to have the Democrats triumph in the next election of President, and so leave it without the people's money to fight Seward with. It would seem 'cave in' then, for in the State of New York it is a very small minority.

☞ Henry Bradley, Esq., of Penn Yan, N. Y., is suffering severely from an affection of the chest.

☞ Chaplin, Smith and Ward held a large meeting at Fairport, N. Y., on the 9th ult.

☞ Gen. A. M. Riley is doing good service in behalf of the American Temperance Union, in Western New York. So is W. H. Burleigh, in behalf of the N. Y. State Temperance Society. If these two organizations could divorce themselves from corn parties, they would be in a position to do more effectual service to the cause.

☞ Gov. Bontwell's message, on the Fugitive Slave Law, is so cold-blooded a piece of loco-focoism as was ever miscalled by the name of Democracy. And as the Free Soilers aided in the election of a slave-catching Governor!

☞ Elisur Wright is to be tried by Levi Woodbury. A pretty slim chance he will have of it, we reckon. Wright violated no law but the Fugitive Slave Law; had he conformed his action to that, his name ought to have been changed, except the first two letters, so as to have it read Wrong.

☞ Henry Long went to Virginia with a dirk knife in his pocket. For a man to go through each a trial and prosecution, and then be dragged to Virginia, and sold to the far South, with a *knife in his pocket*, were a piece of unpardonable cowardice or unmanly submission to despotism. What would the man have thought, had a knife was made for him? A knife well used, in such a case, would place a sixteen-shooter beyond the aid of the Union and Safety Kidnapping Committee.

☞ The Address of the Syracuse Convention of the 8th ult. is creating some sensation among certain black men, because the address tells them just about who and what and where they are. The dunkeyism of black men is a serious injury to our cause, and it is time they were told of it plainly. We do vastly more towards our own injury than our enemies could do by any possibility.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

INVITATION.

Those who wish to consult respecting the gathering of a congregation in Syracuse which shall sustain public worship apart from all denominational designation, and so rebuke all phases of pro-slavery philosophy in Church and State, are invited to meet at BRINNALL'S HALL, at half past ten o'clock, on the morning of the first day of the week, March 16, 1851.

George W. Dean,
A. C. Lutkins,
John Thomas,
J. R. Johnson,
L. D. Mansfield, Auburn.
Thomas L. Casson, Jordon.
J. Wickston Bostwick, De Witt.
} Syracuse.

Notice.—On the same day of the above named consultation, at the same place, J. R. Johnson designs to preach on *Church Organization*, at 2 o'clock, P. M.; and at 7 in the evening on this question—How shall we prepare for the coming of Christ?

which men and houses are looked upon who can lend their aid to decide so atrocious and base an act as been the crime within the last week in this city.

But what was most remarkable, on one seemed to think that we were behaving unbecomingly, or, if they did, they did not molest us in any way. What was done was done with great alacrity. I assure you. The procession passed on up 3d street to Arch, up Arch to 4th, and so continued until they reached the residence of Mrs. Williams, where she had been kidnapped, near the corner of 5th and Germantown Road.

As the procession marched along, they would enjoy a tune now and then. A very favorite song here, commencing with the words—

'Set the captive free, set him free,
From his chains,' &c.—

was the one most sung.

There were other pieces cheered, which I am obliged to pass without alluding to. It had been intended to visit Mr. and Mrs. Mott, and Mr. McKim and others, who had stood prominent and devoted to the cause of the oppressed; but owing to the lateness of the hour and the inclemency of the weather, as well as the great distance, required to be travelled, they were obliged to forego their anticipated pleasure in greeting those friends as they had wished.

The whole affair was carried on with the greatest decorum and unanimity. The procession was marshalled by the very faithful Henry Cornish, who will long be remembered for his active services in the present case, besides many preceding ones. The audience dispersed at the house of Edward Shanklin, where the honored victims were received.

I must not close without naming one other long tried friend of the slave, at whose house the procession felt under special obligations to stop and pay their tribute of respect. That friend of the slave, so highly honored by nine cheers, was Mrs. Mary Newton.

Truly,

WM. STILL.

THE COLONIZATION SCHEME.

New Haven, Ct., Feb. 14, 1851.

Rev. S. E. Ward:

Me Dear Sir,—In my communication of January 13th, I just hinted my apprehension of your course with the friends of the Colonization Society. Since I wrote you, we have had an address in one of our churches upon that subject by the Rev. Mr. Orcut, an agent of the Society. Quite a number were present, and his statements were of the usual Ex. Governor-Phinney stamp. The great embodiment of the Society, the Hon. Henry Clay, has also spoken recently, and is reported to have delivered himself in the following style:—

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Affectionately yours,
In a fraternal and equal brotherhood,
IRA HILLS.

☞ George P. Richardson, Esq., Attorney General of the State of Maryland, died at Barnum's Hotel this morning, after a short illness.—*Syracuse Star.*

Among the last acts of Mr. Richardson's professional life, was the making of the most ingenious and most assiduous efforts to send William L. Chaplin to the Penitentiary for life. It was owing to this gentleman's action that seven indictments were found against Mr. Chaplin by the grand jury, and that Mr. C. was ordered to stand trial immediately upon the finding of the indictments. Mr. Chaplin was ordered to find bail in the sum of $19,000. His trial will not occur till the 17th of March. Mr. Richardson, it is said to say, is suddenly called to the bar of Almighty God, on the 10th of February. How great the folly of devoting one's life and talents to the support of such a stupendous system of wickedness as slavery! How unlike our own words, when before the Divine and final Tribunal, it is to be proved, with ingenious perseverance, one of our fellows, so as to endanger his life and destroy his liberty, for doing a deed of humanity! How little will such a reflection lighten and smooth the pangs and the pillow of the dying hour! Living or dying, who would not prefer the character of Chaplin to that of Richardson? So let us live, that we may always be included among those to whom Christ says, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy'—so that we can pray,

'The mercy I to others show
That mercy show to me.'

☞ Henry Long, the fugitive slave, is advertised for sale in Atlanta, Georgia, by Mr. Clopton, who purchased him at Richmond.

So say the papers. Long has gained nothing by suffering himself to be taken to slavery. He has defended himself, like a man, as any member of the Union and Safety Committee would have done, (unless—as is quite possible—they are cowards as well as slaveocrats,) he could have had a fair trial, a decent imprisonment, a freeman's death, and a grave thrice honorable. He can only retrieve the past by better behavior in future. He should get away again, and keep out of the way of his Southern tormentors and his Northern prosecutors. Then should any man, officially or otherwise, lay hands upon him again, to enslave him, he ought to know better than to keep his knife in his pocket. A Hunker said to us the other day, that if black men kill slave-catchers, black men will be exterminated. That's better than slavery. But it is a game that two can play at, remember!

☞ Henry Clay seems determined to end his days in the concocting of plans for the injury of free black man, as a means of securing the perpetuity of slavery. This is his object in advocating his African Line of Steamships. We hope it is to be added to the list of that unfortunate statesman's splendid but abortive humbugs. In a short time the project and its projector will be forgotten. Mr. Clay must go for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia, before any body will believe him. And he and all Colonizationists must accord to black men their rights, *at home*, ere their plans will deserve attention. Such fellows as Colonizationists describe us to be would make great missionaries, eh?

☞ President Fillmore's Proclamation is a choice specimen of what a Northern doughface can do, when he tries. Why have no proclamations been issued against those who mobbed Thompson in Faneuil Hall and in Springfield?

☞ The tide of old-fashioned anti-slavery is fast rising in Western New York. The voice of Chaplin from the prison-house is being heard to Slavery's cost.

From the Liberator.

THE ARREST—THE RESCUE—THE FLIGHT.

In the succeeding columns, we give an account of the arrest, rescue and flight of a slave in this city, on Saturday last—the details of which, together with other matter, occupy so much room as to allow us very little space for comment on these eventful proceedings.

Stated in the briefest form, what are the facts in the case? The Deputy U. S. Marshal, with two or three base confederates, seizes an inoffensive colored man, guiltless of any crime against the laws of God or the well-being of society, in a manner the most sneaking, treacherous and dastardly,—in a manner which shows how conscious the villains were that they were engaged in the work of the devil—and yet in a manner in exact accordance with the spirit and object of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law,—on the charge of his being a fugitive from the chains and scourges of the Southern house of bondage. Hurried without a moment's wareing before Commissioner Curtis, (the willing and pliant tool of the Slave Power, which is dragging this nation down to irretrievable ruin,) the victim, through his counsel intercedes for a little delay, in order that he may be enabled to meet his accusers in the best legal manner possible. This is granted, and the case stands adjourned to a subsequent day. At this moment, the door of the court room is pressed open by a crowd of sympathizing colored persons, who, without any deliberate concert—without any weapons in their hands—without any wish or intention to do personal violence to any one—but operated upon by a sudden electric thrill, such as the emergency was well calculated to produce, seize their doomed brother, almost unresistingly, and in the twinkling of an eye hurry him out of the room, and soon place him beyond the reach of his pursuers. In the rush, a few of the officers may have been jostled, but no one was injured, no blow appears to have been given by the invading forces, no scar was made, no blood was drawn. It was as peaceful a rescue as was ever made in any case of physical interference. The rescuers were not actuated by a lawless spirit, but by a deep and commendable sympathy with a wronged and outraged man, in imminent danger of being dehumanized for life—by a love of liberty—by a clear appreciation of justice—by the spirit of the revolutionary motto, '*Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.*' They apprehended that Shadrach was one who had fled from the hell of slavery; that, legally, there was no power to save him from being carried back to torture; that, in all human probability, unless he was rescued just at that precise moment, his fate was sealed for ever; and as the opportunity to take him without a serious struggle was extremely favorable, they seized upon it with a wise judgment, and with entire success. Thank God, Shadrach is free—and not only free, but safe! Under the banner of England, on the Canadian soil, he is now standing erect, redeemed and disenthralled, bidding a proud defiance to President Fillmore and his cabinet, though backed by the army and navy of the United States! Promulgate thy bloody edicts, O Nero who occupiest the Presidential Chair; they shall be laughed to scorn, and trampled in the dust! Howl, and gnash thy teeth, O damned and damning Secretary of State in conspiracy with whom Austrian Haynes is an angel of light; thy prey has escaped thee, and the 'higher law' is triumphant! Rave, and roar, and speak great swelling words of blasphemy, and take counsel together against the Lord and his Anointed, O traitorous men in human flesh. 'He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh—the Lord shall have you in derision!' Threaten and conspire, and proceed to deluge the pavements of the streets with innocent blood, O Northern minions of Southern slave-drivers! Is God no longer God? Does the Slave Power sit on the throne of the Universe? Has Sin no Retribution?

The head and front of the offending, in this instance—what is it? A sudden rush of a score or two of unarmed friends of equal liberty—an unlicorious deliverance of the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor—the quiet, transportation of a slave out of this slavery-ridden land to the free soil of Upper Canada! Nobody injured, nobody wronged, but simply a chattel transformed into a man, and conducted to a spot whereon he can glorify God in his body and spirit, which are his!

And yet, how all the fiends of the pit are writhing and yelling! Not tormented before their time, but lost at the right time. Truly, 'devils with devils darened, firm concord hold!' The President of the United States is out with his Proclamation of Terror, conveying it to us in tones of thunder, and on the wings of the lightning, even as though in the old Bay State shame had come again, and a million of foreign mymidons were invading our shores! A poor hunted, entrapped, fugitive slave is dextrously removed from the court-room, and the whole land is shaken! A hundred free white citizens of the North may be thrown into prison, or tarred and feathered, or compelled to flee for their lives, at the South, on suspicion of being morally averse to the slave system; but who cares? A thousand colored seamen of the North may be incarcerated in loathsome cells, and compelled to pay for their imprisonment, though guiltless of crime, and even sold into slavery on the auction block, at the South; but whose breast burns with indignation, or what voice calls for redress? Official State Commissioners, venerable for their years and esteemed for their worth, sent to the South, to test the constitutionality of such atrocious acts, are driven away by lawless violence, and not allowed to remain on the soil; but where is the Presidential Proclamation, calling on the people of the South to obey the laws, and observe their constitutional obligations? But a solitary slave in Boston is plucked as a brand from the burning, and forthwith a cabinet council is held, and behold a menacing Proclamation, bearing the signature of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States! Henry Clay—with one foot in the grave, and just ready to have both body and soul cast to hell—as if eager to make his damnation doubly sure, rises in the U. S. Senate, and proposes an inquiry into the expediency of passing yet another law, by which every one who shall dare peep or mutter against the execution of the Fugitive Slave Bill, shall have his life crushed out!

How like a probe this case has proved, afresh, the utter corruption of the Boston press! The Courier, Daily Advertiser, Mercantile Journal, Traveller, Post, Transcript, &c. &c., distort, falsify, rave and foam, in a manner not to be surpassed by any Southern journals. We have no room this week, for their rebid outpourings.

For a week past, we have been prostrated by illness; and we dictate these few comments on what is transpiring, with much bodily weakness, and with deep regret that we have so little power of expression to convey to our readers the emotions that fill our breast. We defy the Fugitive Slave Bill, its framers and upholders, together with the devil and all his works.—Freedom for all, and for ever!

PROGRESS OF THE TRIALS, &c.

On Thursday of last week, Elizur Wright was ordered to recognise in the sum of three thousand dollars, with surety for his appearance at the District Court of the United States, next to be holden in Boston, the 3d Tuesday of March next.

After some discussion between Mr. Sewall, counsel for Mr. Wright, and the Commissioner, the latter reduced the bonds to the sum of $2000. Mr. Sewall, then became surety for Mr. Wright, whom trial will come on as above.

The examination of Charles G. Davis, Esq., attorney at law, followed.

The complaint against Mr. Davis contains two counts—the first alleges that on Saturday, the 15th instant, he did aid and assist in the escape of the fugitive slave Shadrach; and the second count charges that he aided and assisted in the rescue of the fugitive slave from the custody of Charles Devens. Mr. Davis plead not guilty, and, assisted by R. H. Dana, Jr., Esq., he conducted his own defence. Mr. Dana's management of this cause, as also Mr. Sewall's in the case of Mr. Wright, have been acknowledged, on all hands, to have been eminently able. Mr. Davis, after a protracted examination, was fully discharged on Wednesday last.

A. P. Burton, a colored young man of Salem, was arrested on Friday morning, on a charge of aiding in the rescue of Shadrach. The city of Salem was much excited, and it was openly said that he would not have been taken out of town, had he been arrested as a slave. It was evident, from subsequent proceedings, that the intention was to have held him as a slave, on his arrival at Boston; but it was there found that the wrong man had been sought, and Commissioner Hallett discharged him without day. Had the intended person been taken, the fraud would doubtless have become obvious to all.

U. S. Marshal Devens purchased sixty revolvers on Friday, and distributed them among his men. This fact, when known in town, tended to excite rather than quiet the public feeling.

Authentic information has been received from Montreal, that Shadrach, the fugitive, arrived safe at that place.

Washington's birth-day was celebrated in Boston by the following arrests in behalf of slavery:—

A seventh person was arrested Saturday morning, charged with being concerned in the late rescue in this city. His name is Thomas Paul Smith, a colored man. On giving bail for his appearance on Friday, at the Court-House, for trial, he was set at liberty.

The eighth arrest for aiding in the late rescue of a fugitive slave, was made in the afternoon. The person was named Lewis Hayden, a well-known clothes dealer in Cambridge street, and one of the most intelligent of the colored people of this city. He was ordered to give bail in $3,000 for examination hereafter, which was promptly given by James N. Buffum, of Lynn. Richard H. Dana, Esq., one of the counsel for the fugitive Shadrach, testified to day that he applied on Saturday, before the rescue, to Judge Shaw, of the Supreme Court, for a writ of *habeas corpus* for Shadrach, which was refused.

Mr. Davis's trial being over, Mr. B. F. Hallett proceeded to the examination of the other persons arrested.

SORIBELINGS.

☞ Mr. Schermerhorn, Congressman from Monroe county, N. Y., after voting against the Fillmore Kidnapping Law, and after being elected as a pledged friend of the repeal of that law, has signed a pledge that he will vote for no man for any legislative office, State or National, who is in favor of its repeal. This we believe to be the result of promised patronage. See if Mr. S. does not get something from the Administration as a reward for his bad faith with his constituents. But suppose the enemies of this precious piece of diabolism should come to a like execution, when and by whom would your Fillmores and Scharmerhores, *at its own grave*, receive an election? Would that Greely and Gov. Seward and Thurlow Weed would meet these gentlemen on this issue.

☞ Stephen S. Foster, author of the 'Brotherhood of Thieves,' defends pro-slavery churches and Whigs and Democrats. He and his wife both boast of the sums of money given to them by pro-slavery politicians. Wm. Lloyd Garrison would do no such thing.

☞ The New Yorkers are to go without a Senator till next winter. Silver Greelam, in this State, deserves to have the Democrats triumph in the next election of President, and as leave it without the people's money to fight Seward with. It would soon cave in 'thee, for in the State of New York it is in a very small minority.

☞ Henry Bradley, Esq., of Penn Yan, N. Y., is suffering severely from an affection of the chest.

☞ Chaplin, Smith and Ward hold a large meeting at Fairport, N. Y., on the 9th ult.

☞ Gen. A. M. Riley is doing good service in behalf of the American Temperance Union, in Western New York. So is W. H. Burleigh, in behalf of the N. Y. State Temperance Society. If these two organizations could divorce themselves from rum parties, they would be in a position to do more effectual service to the cause.

☞ Gov. Boutwell's message, on the Fugitive Slave Law, is a cold-blooded a piece of loco-focoism as was ever miscalled by the name of Democracy. And so the Free Soilers aided in the election of a slave-catching Governor!

☞ Elizur Wright is to be tried by Levi Woodbury. A pretty slim chance he will have of it, we reckon. Wright violated no law but the Fugitive Slave Law, had he conformed his action to that, his name ought to have been changed, except the first two letters, so as to have it read Wrong.

☞ Henry Long went to Virginia with a dirk knife in his pocket. For a man to go through such a trial and prosecution, and then be dragged to Virginia, and sold to the far South, with a knife in his pocket, were a piece of unpardonable cowardice or unmanly submission to despotism. What could the man have thought a knife was made for? A knife well used, in such a case, would place a slave-catcher beyond the aid of the Union and Safety Kidnapping Committee.

☞ The Address of the Syracuse Convention of the 8th ult. is creating some consideration among certain black men, because the address tells them just about who and what and where they are. The fuckeyism of black men is a serious injury to our cause, and it is time they were told of it plainly. We do vastly more towards our own injury than our enemies could do by any possibility.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

INVITATION.

Those who wish to consult respecting the gathering of a congregation in Syracuse which shall sustain public worship apart from all denominational designation, and so rebuke all phases of pro-slavery philosophy in Church and State, are invited to meet at BRITNALL'S HALL, at half past ten o'clock, on the morning of the first day of the week, March 16, 1851.

George W. Deay,
A. C. Luther,
John Thomas,
J. R. Johnson,
L. D. Mansfield, Auburn.
Thomas L. Carroll, Jordon.
J. Wesaton Bostwick, De Witt.
} Syracuse.

Notice.—On the same day of the above named consultation, at the same place, J. R. Johnson designs to preach on *Church Organization*, at 2 o'clock, P. M.; and at 7 in the evening on this question—How shall we prepare for the coming of Christ?

☞ Although our readers, ere this, have read the substance of the following article, we put it on record. The day is coming when Massachusetts will be proud of this event; ay, when it will be reckoned among the noblest of her glories, and celebrated as a day sacred to Impartial Freedom.

ARREST OF A MAN IN BOSTON AS A SLAVE—RESCUE OF THE PRISONER.

[Prepared chiefly from the 'Commonwealth.']

A hired kidnapper, of Norfolk, Va., named John Cephart, came to this city last week with papers prepared in Virginia, claiming a man called Shadrach as the slave of John Debree, of Norfolk, a purser in the United States Navy. He applied to GEORGE T. CURTIS, Esq., United States Commissioner, for a warrant to arrest the fugitive under the Fugitive Slave Law, and it was granted. In the absence of Marshal Devens, who is not yet returned from Washington, whither he went to answer a complaint against him for his delinquency in regard to the Morrissey law, the warrant was placed in the hands of Deputy Marshal Patrick Riley for execution.

This Riley is bail for Hughes and Knight, in the cases now pending against them on behalf of Craft and his wife, and it is supposed that in hope of recommending himself to notice at Washington in case Mr. Devens should be turned out, he volunteered on this service. At all events, the glow of joy on his face, and the infinite pomposity of his manner during the time that Shadrach remained in his power, would serve to show that he had some special personal interest in the matter.

The warrant was served on Saturday morning, at the Cornhill Coffee-House, (late Taft's.) Marshal Riley and an associate named Byrnes going there on pretence of getting breakfast, and while the alleged Shadrach was unsuspectingly waiting on them, he was seized, as the property of U. S. Purser Debree, and hurried to the court-room, without even time to put off his waiter's apron. Like a man, he declared that, whatever might be the decree of the Court, he would not be carried to Virginia with breath in his body.

SETH J. THOMAS, Esq., of previous notoriety in the Crafts case, appeared as counsel for the claimant. S. E. Sewall, Esq., Ellis Gray Loring, Esq., Charles List, Esq., Richard H. Dana, Esq., and Robert H. Morris, Esq., volunteered for the defendant.

The counsel for the defence, after conferring with the prisoner, stated that they needed time to prepare for the defence.

Thomas declared that he was ready, and as the proceedings were to be summary, he urged that the hearing should proceed at once. Mr. Sewell replied, that the very circumstance that the claimant was ready, and had been preparing for days, perhaps for weeks, while the defendant had been snatched up but a few minutes before from about his daily business, without any notice at all, was in itself ample reason for delay. Mr. Commissioner Curtis, with all the gravity of a judge of the Supreme Court, expressed his opinion that summary proceedings could not mean proceedings without giving the defendant any chance for defending himself, and he decided to allow time for that purpose till Tuesday morning next.

The counsel for the defendant then requested to see the papers, which were read accordingly for their information, and afterwards delivered into their hands.

These documents consisted of a petition of Cephart to Geo. T. Curtis, Esq., stating that he was the agent of Debree, the owner of Shadrach, who escaped from him in Norfolk, Va., May 3, 1850; a power of Attorney, signed by Debree on the 1st of Feb. 1851, with the seal of Richard H. Baker, Judge of the Circuit Court of the city of Norfolk, certified by the Clerk of the Court, John Williams; a deposition, which Judge Baker certified that John Debree appears before him and states the escape of his slave Shadrach, and gives his title; a deposition, in which William Robertson testifies that he knew Shadrach as formerly belonging to Mrs. Hutchins, that he was afterwards sold at a sheriff's sale to John Higgins, and that Higgins sold him to Debree. He had heard Shadrach speak of Debree as his master. He was thirty years old. Another deposition of Edward H. Higgins pretends to establish the selling to Debree.

In another deposition, William Marcus testifies that he saw Shadrach in Boston, who said he had run away from Mr. Debree, and asked him to carry a letter for him to Virginia.

Thereupon, R. H. Baker, Judge as aforesaid, adjudges that Shadrach was held to service as a slave of Debree, and gives a *general* description of him—applicable to a hundred men in Boston, as well as to the one arrested. There was a certificate of the Clerk to Baker being Judge, a receipt from Higgins, &c. The papers were prepared with great formality and care, but the counsel for the defendant were by no means prepared to admit their legality or validity.

After the reading of the documents, the Commissioner postponed the further hearing of the case till 10 o'clock, A. M., on Tuesday.

The court-room was then gradually evacuated by the crowd which had assembled, the Deputy Marshal and his half-dozen assistants conducting the process as fast as could be done with prudence. The prisoner remained in the custody of Mr. Riley in the court-room, and for aught that appeared, that august room was to be his jail for the night, as the use of the county jail for such a detestable purpose as enslaving a man is forbidden by law.

The above account we have from persons who were present during the proceedings. The remainder is from our own personal observation, and differs materially from the statements published in the Saturday evening papers.

We reached the court-room at about half-past 1, P. M. A good many colored people and a very few white ones were standing in the corridors, conversing earnestly, but quietly. The representatives of the press were just passing out of the court-room, and as they passed out, we passed in. The room was nearly empty. The claimant's lawyer had left, and the Judge had vacated the seat of summary injustice. There were no persons in the room except the Deputy Marshal, Riley, four or five assistants, the prisoner and five of his friends, besides ourself.

Mr Riley said—'I wish you to say, gentlemen, which of you are counsel, for we could talk more than two, and I will thank the rest to retire.' No reply being given, he said, 'Gentlemen, we are ready to sell, if you have any propositions to make. I will give twenty-five dollars out of my own pocket to buy the man.' We remarked, that if there was any selling, we hoped it would be of the fellows who were so ready to be sold to the kidnappers. He appeared offended at this remark, and said he only did what he was obliged to do. We replied, we thought no law could oblige a man to assist in such atrocious villany.

Upon this, Mr. Deputy Marshal threw himself upon his dignity, and ordered us out of the room, calling upon his assistants to execute the disagreeable duty of showing us the door. They were dilatory, and we were very loth to leave the temporary prison in any haste. We staid, and conversed with the prisoner, an intelligent, smart looking man, who claimed himself as the Declaration of Independence and the Bible. We assured him we thought he was right in so doing. The few friends, after a few minutes consultation, withdrew, leaving only one colored brother and ourself, with the Marshal, his posse and victim. We were on the point of leaving.

Just at this moment a circumstance occurred, which was over in less time than it will take us to tell it, and altered the face of things entirely. There was a 'HOLLAR!' outside in the passage at the head of the stairs. A decided pressure commenced against the door on the left hand of the Judge's Bench. The chivalric Patrick Riley and his brave little posse all rushed to it to keep it shut, holding against it with all their might. In the meantime, there was nobody to guard the prisoner but our colored friend aforesaid, who seemed sadly to lack patriotism for the occasion. Shadrach was making for the door on the Court St. side. An officer, we think it was Riley's brother, started and headed him off from that, and he was then making for the opposite door, which was left unguarded. Riley, puffing like a porpoise with his exertion, in holding the door, sang out, 'Shoot him! shoot him!' to the officer.

The officer, probably not having any pistol, ran and seized the sacred 'sword of justice.' But after partially drawing that symbolic weapon, he dropped it, and we saw him raising one of the eastern windows, looking towards Parker's, as if to call for help. He had not time to call, for just then the door partially opened, and a stream of men began to rush in. Pat Riley being snugly squeezed behind the door, e place of semi-concealment and safety which he seemed loth to leave.

The *Traveller* speaks of the officers at the door, being 'kicked, cuffed, and knocked about in every direction,' but we can testify that nothing of this sort occurred inside. Not an officer was struck or menaced there. The half dozen men who first entered ran up to the prisoner, and invited him to walk out. He accepted the invitation, and certainly not more than fifteen persons had entered the room before they were all walking out, 'Shadrach' in the midst—an old colored man, who had picked up and drawn the sword of justice, bringing up the rear. He held it in a decent and solemn manner, but as he passed Deputy Marshal Riley, that important functionary seemed to shrink up more closely behind the door. He kept behind that door all the time from the inruption to the exodus.—Neither did any officer that we saw offer any resistance to the egress of Shadrach with his friends.

We think it quite improbable that there was any knocking down of officers outside of the door. Mr. Davis, one of the defendant's counsel, was the last person who passed out, and he saw nothing of that sort. Moreover, there did not appear at that time to be any officer outside the door to be knocked down. The moment the door of the fortress was forced, the prisoner walked out. There was not a sign of any battle inside, but merely a dreadful looking aghast of not more, at most, than half a score of officials, who at that moment seemed thoroughly sick and ashamed of their business.

We have not learned the names of all the officers who composed Marshal Riley's posse in the Court Room. His brother, we understand, was one. The well-known Byrnes was another. There were some there, we believe, in violation of their duty as Massachusetts officers, if whom we can mention Constable Edward J. Jones, and Constable Alonzo P. Neal, a brother of Rev. Rollin H. Neal. A powerful man, by the name of Chas. F. Flint, of Norfolk Reading, was engaged by Riley as an assistant, but was below writing a letter to his wife at the time of the release.

We have no doubt that the few men whom Marshal Riley was able to call to his aid did all they dared to for their slave-holding employers, but they could not wholly conquer the Higher law either in or out of themselves.

Riley had taken the precaution to send to the Navy Yard to request Commodore Downes to take the alleged slave into custody, but the Commodore refused, having no authority to turn the United States Navy Yard into an accommodation for kidnappers.

Nothing more has been seen or heard of 'Shadrach' in Boston. We hope, and have no doubt, that he is far beyond the reach of his merciless pursuers. Who dares to call this a Christian land?

The comments of the Boston press generally have been vile and profligate to the last degree. Under pretence of a regard for the law, they set at defiance every sentiment of humanity, and libel every principle which characterises and justifies the struggle for liberty both in America and in Europe. Prominent among these pro-slavery sheets, in venom and in falsehood, are to be named the *Courier* and the *Traveller*.

CHAUNTS OF THE ANGELS.

Living to-day,
With God's book before thee,
What book of yesterday
Shall have rule over thee?
Let the soul's voice be heard;
This is the Living Word;
This is the Living Word.

Seeing to-day
Fresh events of beauty,
What man of yesterday
Knoweth thy duty?
Let the soul's voice be heard:
This is the Living Word;
This is the Holy Ghost, whom men blaspheme;
This was the prophet's guide—
Tried, tempted, crucified;

Willing to-day
A new Revelation,
What creed of yesterday
Brings the salvation?
Let the soul's voice be heard:
This is the Living Word;
This is the Holy Ghost whom men blaspheme;
This was the prophet's guide—
Tried, tempted, crucified;
This was Christ's glory, his stay, and his theme.

E. B.

☞ Mazzi, a German, of Cincinnati, has constructed a microscope with a magnifying power of 5000—2000 being about the highest hitherto in use.

From the Commonwealth.

SOUTH CAROLINA PIRATES.

South Carolina has certainly reared some respectable and patriotic citizens, exhibiting in their lives refinement, humanity, and some chivalry. Thomas Grimke may be mentioned for one. But it is not too much to say that the State is now in the hands of pirates, who are determined to pray upon their species, in defiance of the laws of God and man. The treatment recently received by a respectable citizen of Boston, at Columbia, S. C., is a good exemplification of this. Dr. Larkin B. Coles, well known in this city as a Christian gentleman, a preacher of the Baptist persuasion, and an eminent physician, has for some time past been travelling at the South, delivering lectures on physiology, and selling a valuable work on the art of preserving health. He had been in Alabama and Georgia, and was every where well received, till he came to Columbia, S. C. The treatment he there suffered is thus described in a letter which he writes to the National Era (dated Baltimore, Feb. 5):—

I left Augusta, Georgia, on Saturday morning, January 24, in order to reach Columbia in time to make my usual arrangements for the Sabbath; but the cars ran off the track, so that I could not reach there till Sunday evening, too late to accomplish the object. On Tuesday morning, I called on the book sellers, and a few of the leading business men at their places of business, who took several copies of the work. On Tuesday morning, I breakfasted at 8 o'clock, to take the cars for Charleston. As I came out from breakfast, a constable met me, saying, 'You are summoned to appear before the city authorities, to answer to the charge of selling books manufactured out of the State of Massachusetts, contrary to the laws.' I saw at once what was the real offence in the case: it was not because I had sold a few books for the physical and moral well-being of men, but because I was from the Free State of Massachusetts; and especially the accursed city of Boston, where, notwithstanding all the legal facilities which Satan can devise, it is hard to drag a man from his rights of self-possession, and from his home into bondage, where there are at least a few men who dare not, under the lies of boasted American freedom which God has seized over the nation, commit the darkest deeds of the foulest iniquities—who dare not, in God's highway, rob a man of property vested in himself, which was bequeathed to him by the great I AM.

It was not because I had uttered any sentiment, or done any thing also obnoxious to their views, but because I happened to belong to a bad section of this glorious Union. I thought it was now a good time to exercise the peculiar privileges of a citizen of this confederacy, and to measure the length of the devil's chain in this matter. I therefore yielded myself to the protecting care of two civil officers, and conducted myself locked in a cell provided for horse thieves and murderers, where the dense darkness would have shielded a ghost from my vision, and the cold and dampness required constant walking to keep me from shivering. I remained there from about 5, A. M., till 10, and was then escorted to the court-room, before Mr. Mayhin, the city warden, who issued the summons. I told him who I was, and what I was doing; and he appeared to think he had a somewhat different case from what he anticipated. He very politely asked whether I would be willing to have my baggage examined. I told him to do so. He then ordered the officer's hands, to meet the mayor and others at 12 o'clock, and sent a Mr. Snowden, the town marshal, and the constable, to the hotel, for the purpose of examining my baggage. I opened my trunk, valise, and carpet bag. The marshal looked over their contents awhile, and then said he must have them up to his office, and ordered a servant to take them. I objected that he had no right. He said he was sorry, and so have them there, say how—am going to make thorough search in this matter. I threw myself back upon my first resolution, to see where Satan would lead, and gave him up. At the time of meeting, I wrote to two lawyers, stating the case, to get their interpretation of the law, under whose cloak they had arrested me. But they were so much exposed they could not possibly attend to it. I saw my only hope was in myself. I went to the marshal's office, and again exposed my baggage.

Everything I had with me was ransacked with the eye of light, unmerciful, and insulting scrutiny. All my private family letters from my wife and daughters were opened and read. I objected; but he persisted in reading them, and I was obliged to stand opening every one of them, and reading in each what he could afford time; and would often utter insulting remarks: 'he never saw a man have so many letters!' What was a man to do? 'Here is so many letters to many letters, too, of introduction; a man must be up to some mischief; in need so many letters to help him on.' I had any large pocket-books to spend in the village. He wondered what a man needed of so many pocket-books. He took out and examined all their contents, papers of various kinds, and read them.—Even papers pertaining to my ordination, he found a report of the council, which was called some twelve years ago, to settle a matter between a deacon and myself, by which I was sustained, and the deacon led to confess. After reading this, Mr. Snowden said, 'Why, sir, this is a good thing!' The first time you have been tried for a misdemeanor, you have been tried for bad conduct before.' I looked him indignantly in the face, and asked, 'Sir, what was the result of that council?' 'Oh,' said he, 'you were cleared, to be sure!'

He examined and commented on some small drawings done by my wife, and given me to keep in my absence, of my children, and of my daughters. He found a few cakes of toilet soap in the bottom of my trunk. 'Oh! said he, 'dealing in soap are you? Selling that about the country, where it is manufactured?' How much is cake? I took a several pair of woven long stockings. 'What in the world does an honest man want of so many pairs of stockings?' What have you got hundreds of yards of ribbon for?' He found a long examination of my family letters, the multitude of which vexed him so much, he found one written to a daughter, but not subscribed or sealed. 'What, is this? Is this a letter to a daughter, not sealed? Your name is not to it.' I see you do not always put your name to things you write—very shy about matters.'

He found I had a daughter, a teacher in a seminary in Tuscumbia, Alabama. He wanted to know if she I had ever lived or tried to live there. I told him no; that I had recently visited my daughter there, had given lectures, &c. He replied, 'Yes, you have tried to live there.' He drew out of her, her conduct; I saw a paper stating it; it was you, I know it was; and the people finally agreed to allow you to return back on your giving bonds for good behavior.' I did him assuredly that there was no such single word of truth in any part of that statement. He repeated several times, with great vociferation, 'It is true, and I can prove it.' Insinuated that some paper referred to, which he had seen only two or three days since. He finally promised to look for it, and bring it down to the house that evening. He finally acknowledged that he might be mistaken—that it might have been another man.

After about an hour and a half in this search, we met the Mayor and Wardens. The charge being made, and the corporation law read, I was asked how I pleaded, guilty or not guilty. I then rose and stated that I did not consider myself guilty of any misconduct among them even in the sight of their laws; that I had done in good faith what I sought to disseminate light on the subject embraced in the work before them of which I was the author, and had sold copies at bookstores, and to a few persons at their places of business, as I had done in nearly every city in the United States; that in nearly all the Southern States the same law existed, either as a statute or municipal regulation, but that it had never been construed into a law to affect me; that no lawyer accustomed to interpreting that law would consider it as having any bearing on such a case; that it referred to the boat trade. I explained to them how I came to enter this field of labor, with my ways and wherefores. I found I was to be judged by men who knew little about law, nor did most of them appear to know or to care to know much about any things but food and dinner. They were much less qualified to judge of the merit of my mission than an Arab would be of moral philosophy. It is due to 'one of them to say that he considered me free from the bearings of their law, and explained it decidedly. The clerk also said on my the next day, 'I have no hesitation in saying you was most illy treated.' After some consultation, and finding that no proof could be winds of insidiary efforts, after the most determined purpose to make out a case of that kind, they finally softened down, and, instead of requiring fifty dollars for violating their law, which was the maximum penalty, required a tax of one dollar and eighty cents, and dismissed the concern.

I went to the Marshal's office to gather up my letters, papers, clothing, and every thing belonging to my baggage, which had been scattered in most painful confusion. I found the marshal determined to assume further, threatening, if I objected, to procure a search warrant and examine me personally. I thought to indulge him would only lengthen my report, and let him go on. He searched and searched, but he seemed determined to find nothing by which fully to glut his thirst for blood, and gave it up. I packed up my trunks, requiring him to see them back to the hotel, and retired as from the tyranny of a barbarian, and the obsequious officer, who sought hard for a pretext for vengeance, but found it not.

I am, respectfully, yours,

L. B. COLES.

☞ Acts of atrocity, like the above, may be committed with impunity at the South, and the North is as submissive as a whipped spaniel!

The Impartial Citizen.

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☞ The following letters were read at the Union celebration of Washington's Birth-day, Feb. 22d, in New York.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17, 1850.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter, informing me that the Union-Safety Committee have joined in unity with their fellow-citizens in celebrating the anniversary of Washington's Birth-day, and further me to participate in the festivities. Many considerations would tempt me to accept this flattering invitation, did not my official duties compel me to decline it.

Nothing could be more gratifying than to meet my old friends in your enterprising city. Their uniform kindness has laid me under many obligations, and the noble stand which they have taken in support of the law of the Union is deserving of the highest commendation.

It appears to me, too, that the Birth-Day of Washington is deserving of every honor which Americans can bestow upon it. It is no more than half a century since the grave closed over all that was mortal of this illustrious man; his voice still speaks from the tomb. His paternal advice still sounds in our ears, and his far-seeing wisdom still warns us of our danger. How truly prophetic is that paragraph in his Farewell Address, in which he says:—

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real distinction of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other, those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

Who can doubt that his calm, contemplative mind looked down the long vista of coming years, and saw, in the distance that, designing men would use sectional jealousies for selfish objects, which might destroy that Union which he loved so well, and which he justly regarded as the very palladium of our national safety and independence?

But this illustrious patriot taught quite as much by his example as his precepts. He was blessed by nature with a vigorous Constitution and a well-balanced and discriminating mind. His brilliant, but singularly calm and practical, his judgment was never clouded by prejudice or disturbed by passion. With a never failing trust in an overruling Providence, he never doubted that a righteous cause must succeed; and with a self-sacrifice which nothing could give but a disinterested devotion to his country, and a firm resolve—if necessary—to offer himself upon its altar, he proved himself the prudent, brave and victorious General, and the wise and impartial Statesman. His career as public officer, but where confessed, he devoted soul and body to the performance of its duties. He shrunk from no labor or sacrifice, and whenever his services could be dispensed with, he voluntarily resigned the high trust with which he was invested, and, without a regret, retired to private life. It is truly refreshing to contemplate such a character, and shake aside thus from us, as from a fountain of patriotism.

But I have said more than I intended, and must close by returning my thanks for your invitation, and expressing the hope that so far from weakening, the recent agitations may strengthen the bonds of Union; that every sectional jealousy may be dispelled; that every Constitutional right may be held sacred and inviolate; and that our glorious Union may see an enduring as the flame of the immortal Washington.

I have the honor to be,

Your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

To Messrs. J. J. Henry, M. Taylor, H. Grinnell, I. Townsend, G. Dangerfield, C. J. Carlton, F. Griffin, F. R. Lathrop, E. K. Collins, and R. C. Wetmore, *Committee.*

LETTER FROM DANIEL WEBSTER.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20, 1851.

GENTLEMEN:—It is a source of deep regret to me, that my public duties absolutely prohibit me from having the pleasure of accepting your invitation, in behalf of the Union Safety Committee, to attend a public dinner on the Twenty Second, in honor of that auspicious day. Auspicious indeed! All good Americans, all friends of independence, liberty, free government, the creation of a nation, its prosperity, happiness and glory, hung over the hour, when the eyes of Washington first opened in the light.

You say truly, gentlemen, that the present moment admonishes us to rally in support of his principles, to express anew, our admiration of his character, and our gratitude for his parting lessons of patriotism and wisdom.

You say truly, gentlemen, that the great duty devolving on us is that of regarding the Union as the foundation of our peace and happiness, and the CONSTITUTION as the cement of that Union. So Washington regarded them; so he conjured his fellow-citizens, in all time, to regard them; and whenever his FAREWELL ADDRESS to his country shall be forgotten, and its admonitions rejected by the people of America, from that time it will become a firewill address to all the bright hopes of human liberty to cease.

Gentlemen, the character of Washington is among the most cherished contemplations of my life. It is a fixed star, in the firmament of great minds, shining without twinkling or obscuration, with clear, steady, and unchangeable light. It is associated and blended with all our recollections on those things which are near and dear to us. If we think of the Independence of our country, we think of him whose efforts were in no element in achieving it; if we think of the Constitution which is ever us, we think of him who did so much to establish it, and whose administration of its powers is acknowledged to be a model for his successors. If we think of glory in the field, of wisdom in the Cabinet, of the purest patriotism, of the highest integrity, public and private, of morals without a stain, of religious feelings without intolerance and without extravagance, the august figure of Washington presents itself as the personation of all those ideas.

You do well, gentlemen, at this interesting time, to invoke his example, to spread over all the land a knowledge of his principles among the rising generation, and fervently to pray Heaven that the spirit which was in him may also be in us.

When Washington, in behalf of the Convention, presented to the old Congress and to the country, that Constitution which was the production of their patriotic and assiduous labors, he made but one brief appropriate declaration:—"In all our deliberations upon this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that natural deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

And, when his public career was drawing to a close, he left to his country, as his last best gift, his most earnest and affectionate exhortation, to uphold that Union as the main pillar of independence, and to frown indignantly upon the first dawning of any attempt to dissolve it.

The storm is headed now, and will be headed hereafter. But, nevertheless, there are some among us, whom it is no injustice that those frowns of indignation should fall. There are those who are alleging that the abolitionists, the Union, and alienating one portion of the country from the rest. They avow their wishes, they disclose their purposes. They open their hearts, and in those hearts there is found no pollution for that Union, which makes it what it is, a union of one people. All is but the ebbing and flowing of the dark, unwholesome, troubled current of secession, schism, and separation.

Notwithstanding all that we see and hear, Gentlemen, and all that we have seen and heard, for the last twelve months, some persons affect to believe that the Union is not, and has not been in any danger. They treat your efforts, made for its preservation, with indifference, and often with derision. It appears to me, that the temper of these persons is very much like that of those, who, when the foundations of the great deep had been broken up, the windows of heaven opened, and rain had fallen upon the earth forty days and forty nights, until everything but the peak of Ararat was already covered, still said and still believe that there would be no flood, or a shower.

We have seen propositions for secession formally brought forward, and solemnly discussed in the Legislatures and Conventions of several of the States. Conventions are soon to be holden, under regular legislative provisions, to consider the same subject. In one important State, recent elections show that there prevails among the people almost an entire unanimity of sentiment, in favor of breaking up the Union; and this dissolution of the Union, it is supposed, may not take place without conflict in arms. Munitions of war are therefore provided, schools of instruction in military tactics are established, and a warlike attitude assumed. These apprehensions of conflict, in case secession be attempted, are not only well founded, out, in my judgment, certain to be realized. Secession cannot be accomplished but by war. I do not believe those who talk of it expect any other result. Their hope is, that their cause, and its objects, may spread; and that other States, by local sympathies, or a supposed common interest, may be led to secession; so that the whole domain of the Union may come to be divided into two great local parties, and as such to contend for the mastery.

But Providence has not forsaken us.

This object, I believe, has been delighted by the measures of adjustment adopted by Congress at the last session, and by the spirit, stability and success, with which the friends of the Union have resisted it in the South. Nor have the efforts of your association, Gentlemen, been either unimportant or unavailing. Your voices have been heard throughout the whole land, and no man can doubt how the great Commercial Metropolis of the country feels and acts, or hereafter will feel and act, on questions involving public interests of such indescribable magnitude.

We have recently been informed, Gentlemen, of an open act of resistance to law, in the city of Boston, and if the account be correct of the circumstances of this occurrence, it is, strictly speaking, a case of treason. If men combine and confederate together, and by force of arms, or force of numbers, effectually resist the operation of an Act of Congress, in its application to a particular individual, with the avowed purpose of making the same resistance to the same act in its application to all other individuals, this is levying war against the United States, and is nothing less than treason. Now I understand, that the persons concerned in this outrage in Boston, avow openly their full purpose of preventing by arms, by force of the power of the multitude, the execution of process for the arrest of an alleged fugitive slave in any and all cases whatever. I am sure, Gentlemen, that shame will burn the cheeks, and indignation fill the hearts of fifteen twentieths of the people of Boston, at the outrage of principles, and the commission of outrages, so abominable. Depend upon it, that if the people of that city had been informed of any such purpose or design, as was carried into effect, in the Court House in Boston, on Saturday last, they would have rushed to the spot, and crushed such a nefarious project into the dust. The vast majority of the people of Boston must, necessarily, suffer in their feelings, but might and ought, at all times, to depend on their honor, or in their loyalty to the Constitution, from the acts of such persons as composed the mob. I venture to say, that when you hear of them next, you will learn that, individually and collectively, as individuals, and also as represented in the city councils, they will give full evidence of their fixed purpose to wipe away, and obliterate to the full extent of their power, this foul blot on the reputation of the city.

I do not apprehend that the spirit of disorganization have taken so much of form and pressure in public bodies in the South, when lawless violence, trampling on the public authorities, stalks forth so boldly in the North. I hope that this year, and this, highly respectable body, will not, nevertheless, not yet concluded. It is wise and patriotic, therefore, that you commemorate, year love of country, strengthen your resolution to maintain the Constitution, the Union, and the rights of the United States, in the spirit manifested by the birth of the Great Father of his Country. You do well to call to memory his services, to revive in your own bosoms his love of liberty and order, and to draw in patriotic inspiration from his principles and his example. For these principles, and this example, there will be fixed respect and admiration everywhere, where there is a true love for the institutions of the country. And every American may well hope that the patriotism of his own heart, when he finds, that in that heart veneration for Washington begins to be languishing and dying away.

Gentlemen, the path of duty before you, and before me, is plain and broad; it is, to do our duty and our whole duty, thoroughly and fearlessly; it is to embrace the free institutions of our country; and to hold them up, with all our might, as if it were our last struggle upon earth. And then, if, the blood of civil war shall flow, it will not stain our garments; if disgraceful outrages, gaining strength by indulgence and temporary success, shall proceed from stage to stage, till they destroy the lives of men, women and children, pull down and demolish the temples of Justice, and even whole cities in flames, you, and I, and our children and our posterity, will at least escape the consuming conflagration of reproach.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your much obliged servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Messrs. Moses Taylor, Isaac Townsend, Chas. G. Davison, Robert Henry, Francis S. Lathrop, George Douglass, Francis Griffin, Henry Grinnell and Edward R. Collins, Committee, &c.

MR. CLAY'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17, 1851.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your kind invitation, in behalf of the Union Safety Committee of New York to celebrate the approaching anniversary of the Birth-day of Washington, by a public dinner, and inviting me to attend it. And you express the motives which prompt the desire to distinguish the occasion by unusual demonstrations. I heartily concur in all of them. It is highly refreshing to recur, sometimes, to the great principles on which our Union has been founded, and to the great men who established it. Among these, the Father of his Country stands out in bold, prominent and unrivaled relief. To his wise counsels we may, with perfect confidence, repair, to invigorate our patriotism and to stimulate our highest exertions in the support of that Union which it was his noble ambition to achieve and perpetuate.

In surveying the actual condition of our country, we ought not to shut our eyes to the dangers which encompass it. On the one hand, in some of the free States, it should not be disguised that there is existing a spirit of opposition to the Constitution and laws, which, if it be not checked and discontinanced, may lead to the most calamitous consequences. On the other, in a single State, from opposite causes, there is a like spirit prevailing to a great extent, threatening most immediately the peace and safety of the Union, so far as they depend on the proceedings of one State.

In favor of the supremacy of the Constitution, of the Union, and of the Laws I am equally opposed to all attempts to violate, or endanger them, from whatever quarter they may proceed. I hope that the opponents of the General Government will solemnly pause before they venture to make forcible resistance to its lawful operation. No one living would more deplore than I should, the shedding of blood in a civil war. But if, regardless of the most sacred obligations and all consequences, the standard of resistance to the laws and of rebellion against the constitution for ever should be raised, I have no doubt that it will be promptly and effectually put down, and that the moral effect would be to add greater strength and stability to our glorious Union. Of that Union, I have not time, if the occasion were fit, to say all that I could think. It embodies all that is great and grand and glorious, and all the hopes of the enlightened friends of liberty throughout the civilized world. Destroy it, and break up into petty, jealous and belligerent fragments, and there is certainly annihilation of all the bright and cheering anticipations of mankind.

Gentlemen, you have devoted yourself to the noble object of the preservation of the Union, and of the principles which it depends. You have already rendered important and patriotic service, for which the whole country ought to be thankful. Go on; fearlessly move on! Triumph and universal gratitude await your patriotic exertions.

I should be most happy to be with you on the ever memorable 22nd of February, but my public duties here will not allow me the enjoyment of that high satisfaction.

With great respect and regard, I am,

Your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

To Messrs. F. S. Lathrop, Francis Griffin, and the other Members of the Committee, &c. &c. &c.

From the New Englander.

THE TEMPEST.

BY GEORGE N. SUNDAY.

The eye-lids of the drowsy day
Were closed, or slumbering earth and sea;
The evening star, with gentle ray
Shone like a smile on lake and lea;
But clouds arose, and robed the night
In cap and cloak of funeral dye,
And with their mantle hid the light
That looked down like an angel's eye.

Then, shouting thunder shook the arch
Where lately glowed the evening lamp,
As though the battle-gods did march
Above that floor with Titan tramp;
And spouting fire broke from the clouds
That sailed before the wailing air,
Like helmless ships with sable shrouds,
On cloudy billows heaving there!

Amid the pipings of the storm,
I heard a woman's fearful cry;
A lightning flash revealed her form,
"Oh-God!" she cried, "where shall I fly?"
She opened my window when the light
Streamed o'er the sky from east to west;
Her face was wet with tears of fright,—
She held an infant at her breast!

The moaning wind and rain that came
Were knocking at my cottage door;
The thunder spoke with tongue of flame,—
"In God's name, help the hunted poor!"
I gave her to her mother and her child
A welcome to my home and hearth;
The dusky babe looked up and smiled
On me, the happiest man on earth!

I dressed the raw and reeking wounds
(That seemed their own and tale it state,)
Torn by the teeth of hound-mouthed hounds,
Then laying at my garden gate,
I would not let the hunter come,
With whip and gun, and gag and chain,
To decorate my humble home,
But left him to the winds and rain.

The tempest fled on fiery wing;
The dark night slowly passed away;
The song-birds made the woodland ring
Their anthems to the new-born day;
The thunder-shaft had left no scars
Upon this blue and cloudless vault;
Beneath my roof shone clear as stars
The eyes of those whose tears so gushed!

From the London Patriot.

THE AMERICAN FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT.

SIR,—Perceiving by the last *Anti-Slavery Reporter* that a public meeting of the friends of negro emancipation will be held shortly in London, may I be indulged with the permission, through your columns, of addressing a few words to your readers upon the present very interesting position of the Slavery question of America.

A crisis in the matter has occurred in the United States. One of brief series of struggles which for many years has distracted the minds of slavery is finally overthrown, has commenced. All the people are now called upon to take an open and decided part either for or against the slave. The recent Fugitive Slave Bill is compelling masses of the inhabitants of the free States, who have long striven to avoid running counter to the prejudices and talks pecuniary and political interests of the community, by openly expressing their hostility to slavery without doing anything to proscribed, to leave the neutral ground they had taken. The question has become one of conscience. According to the present law of *Christian America*, if a trembling slave-mother with her young infant, shivering with cold, exhausted by fatigue and hunger, and frantic with fear and rebellion, at the prospect, should present herself at the door of a charitable and opulent citizen of the North, that poor fugitive must be spurned from the house, or subject its owner to a fine and imprisonment!

The property of the one class, the majority of the inhabitants of the free States cordially assent. Among the remainder, in whose breasts humanity is not extinguished, some maintain that the Federal Government has exceeded its powers in thus interfering with the rights and laws of the Sovereign States of the Union, and, consequently, that the new bill is unconstitutional; but a larger number take higher ground; they declare that this law of the land is contrary to the law of God, and, that they will obey God rather than man. As might be expected, that portion of the religious press of America not under the influence of its websiders, is speaking out with much decision on the subject. Many journals, hitherto silent upon the wrongs of slavery, find they have no alternative but to condemn the fugitive resistance to an ordinance demanding a direct violation of Christian duty. The *New York Independent* (a paper of extensive circulation—the organ of the Congregationalists) has incurred much odium from the commercial community of New York, for the firm manner in which it has advocated the mild and gentle precepts of love and benevolence inculcated by our Saviour, in opposition to the selfish, money-getting, and cruel spirit of the New York public. Numerous are the instances in which ministers of the Gospel, and citizens of all callings and stations, have publicly declared that they will rather suffer fine and imprisonment than withhold that charitable aid and sympathy from a retaxed supplicant, which they would rejoice to afford to a distressed brother of a fair complexion.

This state of affairs is well depicted by the New York correspondent of the Times, who, in a letter to say all that I could think. It embodies all that is great and grand and glorious, and all the hopes of the enlightened friends of liberty throughout the civilized world. Destroy it, and break up into petty, jealous and belligerent fragments, and there is certainly annihilation of all the bright and cheering anticipations of mankind.

Gentlemen, you have devoted yourself to the noble object of the preservation of the Union, and of the principles which it depends. You have already rendered important and patriotic service, for which the whole country ought to be thankful. Go on; fearlessly move on! Triumph and universal gratitude await your patriotic exertions.

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The thunder spoke with tongue of flame,—
"In God's name, help the hunted poor!"
I gave her to her mother and her child
A welcome to my home and hearth;
The dusky babe looked up and smiled
On me, the happiest man on earth!

I dressed the raw and reeking wounds
(That seemed their own and tale it state,)
Torn by the teeth of hound-mouthed hounds,
Then laying at my garden gate,
I would not let the hunter come,
With whip and gun, and gag and chain,
To decorate my humble home,
But left him to the winds and rain.

The tempest fled on fiery wing;
The dark night slowly passed away;
The song-birds made the woodland ring
Their anthems to the new-born day;
The thunder-shaft had left no scars
Upon this blue and cloudless vault;
Beneath my roof shone clear as stars
The eyes of those whose tears so gushed!

At Boston there was little or no violence used, the United States Deputy Marshal paying the court room while the negroes came in and carried off their fellow, and the city officers not conceiving it their duty to interfere. The whole thing was done before any body got wind of the affair. At Springfield, on the other hand, the neighborhood was kept excited for three days; the walls and trees were placarded with inflammatory hand-bills; the effigies of Thompson and John Bull were hung in the public squares on Sunday morning; bands of rioters paraded the streets, making night hideous, with shouts, drums and bonfires; while the public rooms were closed by terror or force.

The proceedings at Boston were prompted by a feeling which, though in conflict with a temporary law, is, in itself, honorable—the love of human liberty; the doings at Springfield came of the lowest passions of a mob determined to suppress one of the most sacred and valuable rights—that of free speech. In the case, we have an illegal act to which persons seem were betrayed by their sympathies with the cause of freedom; in the other, an illegal act was done in the cause of a detestable despotism.

Yet the *Journal of Commerce* and the authorities at Washington, can see in the former nothing short of the greatest outrage and rebellion, while they have not a word to say of the grossier outrage and riot of the latter case. It is horrible to break the law, when misled by an instinct which is in itself right, and noble, but it is excusable to do so, in the cause of injustice and oppression. The speech of Boston people are denounced by the *Journal* and the whole Boston press, with the utmost ferocity of hatred; but the rioters at Springfield, who violate not only the press provisions, but the whole spirit of the Modern Constitution, as well as the laws of the State, are referred to with evident satisfaction and a threat of further outrage.

The telegraph informs us that Mr. Fillmore had a special cabinet council on Monday, at which Mr. Clay and some other distinguished men were present, when it was determined that a proclamation should be issued commanding the execution of the Slave Law. In the Senate, the same day, the subject was vehemently discussed; but no further intelligence do we find, that any notice was taken of the outrages at Springfield. The Senate, indeed, treated the matter, as it treats petitions, passing over them when against, but cherishing them, when in favor of the extension of slavery, for the majorities were of the jog-handle sort—all on one side.

From the Athens, (Geo.) American Michaels.

A BETTER TIME IS COMING.

Days shall come, such as were never seen
The nations, starting from their sleep,
Shall hurl in dust each kingly throne,
Earth's proud ones wail and weep.

Then Vengeance shall the tocsin toll!
Then Revolution's storm shall roll!
With the strong surging of its soul,
Like the surging the deep!

Up through the tempest man must go—
Meeting his trampler, brother man!
Face as he may the side of wo,
Or sink beneath the ban!

Charge hosts Oppression's countless horde,
With Right's cry of defiant word,
Or carve his red way with the sword,
O'er all the broad earth's span!

Even now, for his Thought comes to bless,
Discussion wakes desire,
And ceaseless day and night the Press
Drops thick its tones of fire!

In crowded shops and dusty room,
Above the din of wheel and loom,
Ring high o'er the trip-hammer's boom,
The taya from Labor's lyre.

That day is hastening—Wrong must yield!
The seed is broadcast o'er the land,
Thick as the tall grain in the field,
Shall the Reformers stand!

And who their mighty march shall stay!
Who meet them in their stern array!
What power shall cope in fierce array,
With Labor's myriad band!

From the Commonwealth.

GROSS HYPOCRISY DETECTED.

Simultaneously with the rescue of the alleged fugitive, Shadrach, from the grasp of a band of all most adroit to be exceedingly harsh and cruel, and which a great number (we may say the whole of the community whose religion and humanity are anything more than a mere decent outside show) believe to be as well unconstitutional as inhuman, it appears, by a singular coincidence, and as if to shed sunlight evidence on Hunker consistency, that one of the most deliberate and best organized mobs recorded in the history of the Hunker party, headed by a liberal expenditure of money and drink, originally among the ignorant Irish, in the commonly quiet town of Springfield, for the avowed purpose of stimulating that national antipathy against England which has already cost us so much, and of depriving certain citizens of Massachusetts of their constitutional right of public discussion and free speech!

The arrangements, preparations, and doings of this illegal mob, and their attempts to frighten respectable citizens into surrendering their constitutional rights, are recorded in all the Hunker papers, from the *Post* down to the *Herald*, respectable *Daily*, trembling *Atlas*, and raving *Courier* included; and even by that pink of pious humanity, the *Tuesday Morning Post*, not a single word, even, without the slightest hint of censure or any expression of horror at this contemplated violation of law!

These same papers view, without the least disquietude, the Massachusetts right of free speech trampled under foot; they can applaud and encourage it by their silent consent; but they are shocked into perfect agonies and paroxysms of alarm at the idea that a poor fugitive slave, after having been hunted out and caught by the hounds of slavery, should once more, by the help of his friends, have given them the slip, and he enabled to set out on a fresh run for Canada!

PANDEMONIUM OR THE PARADISE. We cannot but think that it is making a "very great cry" for a "very little wool"—this breathing out the thunders of the government and holding the Army and Navy of the United States in readiness to "wipe the hands of" a couple hundred of "poor, deluded negroes," as Mr. CLAY, in the Senate, styled them. As well might the Governor of this State, or the Executive of any other State, issue his formal Proclamation upon the occurrence of every little row, or assault and battery, and threaten the participators therein with all the terrors of the violated law. But, it is the fashion now-a-days, to bow the knee to the dark spirit, and the who gives evidence of the deepest submission, is in the blind way to gather the greatest laurels.—*Marrisville Free Press.*

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

THE WHITE AND BLACK RIOTS.

There have been two mobs in Massachusetts lately—one at Boston and the other at Springfield. The mob at Boston consisted of a handful of blacks, who rescued an alleged fugitive slave from the Court House, in which no particular pains seem to have been taken to detain him, while the mob at Springfield was composed of white citizens, who took a portion not hear George Thompson lecture.

From the Liberator.

☞ Our readers will be gratified by the addition to our stock of Biblical literature contained in the following recently recovered chapter of the Book of Daniel. It was first sent by the learned pundit, to whose researches the world is indebted for it, to the Tribune. But we are happy to present our readers with a new edition, revised and corrected by the discoverer, with some amendments and additments, suggested by a more careful study of the original Hebrew Manuscript.

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

The Story of Shadrach, and how he was delivered out of the hands of the Kidnappers.

1. Now it came to pass in the latter days that Daniel was King over all the children of Jonathan, which had waxed many and fat in the land. And by reasons which the prophet detaileth not, Deniel's head was turned, and he went after strange gods, and his strength was turned into foolishness; for the strange gods, which he no gods, had turned away his heart from serving the Lord, persuading him that there was no Higher Law, but great men might do what seemeth them best.

2. At that time there were many of the sons of men, whom the Southernites had stolen, and made slaves of them, hurting their feet with fetters, and setting them to sore bondage. Yea, there were three times a thousand thousand thereof.

3. Divers of them had escaped from the hands of the oppressor, even as the children of Israel had fled out of the land of bondage; and they want unto the Northernites, who reverenced the word of the Lord and hid the outcast, letting him dwell where it liked him best, and eat his morsel in peace and quietness.

4. But this escaping of the Fugitives was a sore thing unto the Southernites, for with them such he reckoned but as cattle and beasts that perish; and the Lord God is esteemed only as a dumb idol. It grieved also the heart of Daniel.

5. And he said, reasoning with himself, but not aright, Go to, now; I will get to myself great honor by betraying the outcast into the hands of such as seek his life; yea, I will counsel the eyes of the needy to fail; then I shall get me much silver and gold; yea, and Texas scrip also in great store. And the strange women said unto him, Do so, oh Daniel, and the wages of iniquity shall be sweet unto thy soul; for there is no justice but the King's pleasure, and no God greater than Daniel. And the word of the strange women pleased the King exceedingly.

6. So he called together the magicians, and the astrologers, and the soothsayers, and the sorcerers, and the doughfaces from the North in great numbers, and the Southernites who had taken the Ark of the Constitution out of the hands of the Lord's people, them and everything that loveth and maketh a lie—And they gathered together in the great city of Jonathan, whither the tribes go up to the great Sanhedrim.

7. Then they made a decree, and sent it forth unto all the tribes, unto the Governors, and the Princes, and the Judges, and the Marshals, and the Deputies and the Bailiffs, and the Understrappers, saying:

8. G, ye children of Jonathan! ye shall assuredly catch every poor man that ye will, and deliver him up to such as shall claim, and he shall be their slave. Ye shall make haste to do so. Let all people obey the decree, as they love money and fear the King.—And any one that speaketh aught against the decree shall be declared a one that levyeth war against the people. Let him die the death.

9. Moreover Daniel appointed him Inquisitors and a Satrap in every tribe, to execute the decree, to bewray the wanderers, to sell the needy for a pair of shoes, and to cast down such of the Lord's people as were ready to perish.

10. Then Daniel was glad and rejoiced, and comforted himself greatly, saying: Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer. The strange women also made their hearts merry, and all the hosts of the ungodly, saying,—Where is now their God?

11. So the decree was sealed with the seal of Jonathan, and sent out into all the land from sea to sea, and the sons of Belial rejoiced, and their foolish heart was darkened. But the sons of the godly lifted up their voices and wept, as was said by them of old time, When the wicked rule, the people mourn.

12. Yea, Rachel mourned for her children, and would not be comforted, for Daniel's eye had no compassion on the babes of the poor, longing to dash the little ones to pieces.

13. Then might you have seen a sore sight, for men betook themselves to the mountains: they fled in the darkness to dwell as strangers in a strange land, needy and destitute. And their flight was in the winter. But Daniel and the strange women cared for none of these things, but waxed prouder, as did also the doughfaces.

14. Now, there is a great city of the Northernites, which lieth to the eastward on the sea shore, as thou goest down to the old country, and it is called Boston. The same is a great city and rich, and one mighty pleasant to dwell in, if thou have silver and gold enough, and also much brass, and keep the traditions of the Elders after the fashion of the township: but it want hard with the godly therein.

15. This city was also called the Athens of Jonathan; pondexterate, because, like the Athens of the Greeks, it was given to idolatry. Some of the merchants thereof be called Princes, because they trusted in uncertain riches, and sought Lordship over other men, even their betters, as did also the Princes of the Gentiles.

16. In that city there was exceeding much people; yea, nine hundred and four score and seven men grown, who knew not the right from the wrong, but called Good, Evil, and Evil they called Good. Likewise there was much cattle, and ships, and shops, and household stuff, and fine twined linen, which one man can measure, and also much strong drink.

17. And in that city, there was a street called Milk pondexterate, because it is the dwelling place of so many of the babes and sucklings of commerce. And also another called State, wherein be the priests' offices, and the temples of their chief gods.

18. For in that city they did worship many and strange gods, whereof the chief was called Money, an idol, whose head was of fine gold, the belly of silver, and legs of copper; but second thereto was another notable idol, called Cotton.

19. Unto this latter they did sacrifice, and built him high places and factories, by the brooks that run among the hills, and bowed down and worshipped him, saying, Cotton, help us! Cotton, help us! Yea, they made their children pass through the milk vats Cotton, and he was to many of them as a Conscience.

20. Now, when the decree came to Boston, diver of the merchants, and of the money-changers not a few, and also of the babes and sucklings in and about the streets called Milk and State, rejoiced thereat with the men of Belial who worshipped Cotton.

21. For they said, We shall now be savory unto the Southernites and they will lay a tax (called in their tongue a Tariff) upon the people for the worshippers of Cotton, and the people will sacrifice as to our net and our drag, and, like the sons of Eli, we shall share in the sacrifice.

22. Then they held a meeting, and cried out, Great is Cotton of the Bostonians; there is no God but Money; no Lord but Cotton; no King but Daniel; nothing better than Riches; and no Justice, but only the laws of Daniel. Then said they, we be a great people.

23. Likewise the nine hundred and four score and seven who knew not Good from Evil, they added farther, and wrote to Daniel concerning the decree; and they said, it is the voice of a God, and not of a man, (meaning it was the voice of Cotton.) Let no man say aught against it.

24. Then they set up another idol called Union, and they served him by calling out in their tongue, Union is in danger! Union is in danger! And Daniel also lifted up his voice, and cried lustily and louder than the rest, and the Bostonites said, Daniel is pious. Behold how he loveth him!

25. Howbeit there were yet others who said unstedfastly, yet in meekness, Nay, now, it is a wicked thing to keep this decree, and we will not heed it, as the Lord liveth, who brought up our fathers out of England, and helped us mightily at Lexington and at Bunker Hill. Thereupon they looked at the moonment, and they said, Ebenezer: Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.

26. So they bade the outcasts to tarry even in Boston, saying, Be of good cheer; if the Lord be on our side, who shall rise up against us?

27. Now, there was a certain Satrap in Boston named Charles, appointed to ensnare the outcast, and to watch for his halting. The same was an upright man and a modest, yea, comely withal, and age evil in his heart, albeit he swore by Cotton to keep the law. This man was acoused unto Daniel, that he could not do a disagreeable duty and with alacrity. So he was had before the King in his palace, to show cause of his slackness.

28. And while he was absent, a certain understrapper of his, a Bumbailiff, called Patrick, stood in his place, and was his deputy Satrap. The same was a Paddyite, from an island where, it is said, there be no toads, (belike it is so said, because they come away thence, and squat in other lands to do mischief therein.)

29. Then Patrick, the Bum-bailiff, called together the servants of the chief Satrap, his beadles and his runners, and his scouts, and his spies, and his hog-reeves, and his field-drivers, and his catchpolls, and his tip-staves, and his hashers, and his fogies, and swore after his fashion, By the shawl of St. Pathorick, that they would take them an outcast, and sell him into bondage. And the thing pleased the fellows, for like consorteth with like.

30. So they went and laid hands on one Shadrach, a servant in an Inn. And they took him away from his frying-pans, and his skillets, and his ovens, and his gridirons, and his spits, wherewith he had made ready a feast for this ungodly crew.

31. And they had him in the Court in his shirt-sleeves, with his serving apron on, and his napkin about his neck, and the savor of their breakfast in his garments.

32. And he was there on trial for his life and liberty before a single Inquisitor; for so went the decree. Now there were two Inquisitors ready to ensnare the outcast; and the two were of the same heart and mind, as if brothers.

33. Thenceroe George, one of the Inquisitors, and set in the seat of the Scorner, and made all things ready for to deliver up Shadrach unto the tormentors. Now the decree went that, if the Inquisitors sent the outcast into bondage, they should receive ten talents of silver, but if into freedom, only five talents. For Daniel, of all men, knew that a gift perverteth judgment.

34. Then said the Bum-bailiff, making a great swell in the court, and looking brave and big. Will ye not buy this slave of me? But no one offered to buy a man.

35. Then there arose one Seth, a Centurion, the servant of kidnappers, a man of mean stature, having a very little hat in his hand, and demanded that Shadrach should be delivered up unto his tormentors, and that Summarily.

36. Then Shadrach cried unto the Lord, saying, Oh! Lord God, who wert with Josuh in his extremity, and didst deliver thy prophet out of the lion's den, and Shadrach, my father, out of the furnace of fire, deliver me also out of gunshot of the devil, and out of the hands of this Bum-bailiff.

37. Then the Lord God answered his prayer, and said, Fear not, Shadrach; Lo, I am with thee, unto the end of the world.

38. Then the Lord, whose eyes are in every place, beholding the evil and the good, sent down his Messengers from before his face, and it was all dark about them. And the doors were opened, no man knowing how; hot as one said it thundered; and others that the earth had quaked.

39. Then the Angels came into the Court, and for fear of them the Bum-bailiff, and his beadles, and his runners, and his spies, and his hog-reeves, and his field drivers, and his catchpoles, and his tip-staves, and his fogies, and all the crew of them, did quake likewise, and stood still.

40. Yea, the Bum-bailiff even added yet above all, that he shrunk down behind the door, and became as a dead dog; for all that he did so use to swell and look big.

41. But the Angel of the Lord took Shadrach in the hollow of his hand, and carried him out of that great city, even out of the midst of Boston, at high noon; and on the way showed him the stones of Help, the monuments at Bunker Hill, and at Lexington, and at Concord, and contigued his heart in him, and set him down in a safe place prepared for him.

42. Then the worshippers of Money and of Cotton fell down on their faces and wept sore, and they said, Alas for us, the Lord has triumphed, and Cotton has fallen down! Lo, Daniel will hate us, and will make a proclamation and send a message, and the Southernites will be upon us and take away our hope of a tariff. We be all dead men! And their heart became as a dog's heart, when he barketh, but knoweth out whom he may bite.

43. And all this happened that it might be fulfilled which was written,—He taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the wicked is carried headlong; yea, another Scripture likewise saith, The sinner shall not escape with his spoils, and the patience of the godly shall not be frustrate.

AMEN AND AMEN.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

I have been obliged to go on a sort of a break-neck journey, so far as haste is concerned, from Rochester, N. Y., to Troy, and from Troy back to Rochester, whence I now write. A very good Chaplin Convention was held in West Bloomfield, Ontario county, on Friday and Saturday last, 14th and 15th inst. The rain was almost incessant. The mud was deep and then deeper still. West Bloomfield against the world for mud, in a February thaw! Well, we had a regular February thaw, in West Bloomfield, and mud enough and to spare. But, bless the good people of that region! they turned out, defiant of mud and rain, and gave us a really good meeting. Elder Millard was in the chair, and Mr. Olin was Secretary. The discussions were carried on by Frederick Douglass, J. C. Hathaway, Mr. Wendall, the chair, Sereno French, &c. Some $60 were raised for the Chaplin fund. G. W. Clark sang us a most beautiful solo, and the Geneva Choir, consisting of Mrs. M. J. Bland, Miss Nancy L. P. Lucas, and Miss H. L. Lucas, members of the choir of the colored church in Geneva, gave us some music such as cheered us and delighted the audience.

I shook the hands of several old friends, whom I had known before. Among them, was Elias S. Gilbert, Dr. Sheldon and his family, Rev. C. F. Fisher Dr. Sheldon and his family, Sereno French, Col. H. Blackman, and his family, Sereno French, Col. H. Blackman, and many others. I remained till Monday, speaking twice on Sunday. On Saturday night, according to the old saying, 'the ducks had eaten up the mud.' It had frozen suddenly and snugly, and during the day on Sunday, the roads were as rough as roads ever were.

On Monday, we started for Rochester, riding through as fine a country as ever delighted the eye of man. It is really afflicting, when looking over the ample fields of Western New York, beautiful as they are, in summer or in winter, to remember that every acre of that luxuriant soil, every horn and hoof of those excellent cattle, every bushel of grain grown on those fields, as well as every dollar raised by the sale of them, must, through the abominable subservivacy of our Northern politicians, be laid under constant contribution for the support of slavery. And so must it be, while Northern men will submit to be led and controlled by these politicians, who are themselves the willing tools of the Slave Power. In New England, we have a little, poor apology for our subservivacy; in Western New York, there is none. The factory system, which is but another name for a gigantic, uncontrollable, all-absorbing monopoly, has grown to be the chief system of labor, in many parts of New England. The soil long since ceased to sustain the ever-teeming, ever-increasing population. The poor of both seeks are therefore driven into almost dependence upon the cotton lords. These cotton lords can control, and do control, the money, the men, and the politics of almost all New England. There, then, there is some sort of an apology, though a very poor one, for men's submitting to the controlment of pro-slaveryism. But in New York State, and in Western New York, especially, there is land enough, and independence enough, to enable every man who will to maintain a manly position, in spite of political disengagements. That the farmers of Western New York should do otherwise is very much to be regretted.

Arriving at Rochester, we accepted the invitation of Frederick Douglass, Esq., to make our sojourn with him. We were delighted with the charming family of Mr. D., as also with the household of brother Marsh, editor of the *Advent Herald*, with whom we spent two nights.

On Tuesday, the 18th inst., at 2, P. M., the Convention was called to order, and the venerable Samuel Chipman, Esq., was elected to the chair, with two Vice Presidents, one of whom was Rev. Stephen Cook, who, upon the resignation of father Chipman, was elected President. G. W. Clark was Secretary. The meeting the first afternoon was very interesting—Chaplin, Douglass, Clark, Pickard, and others, entering into the subject with zeal and strength. The most radical propositions were submitted to the meeting, by the Business Committee, and the discussions upon them were earnest and searching. The Geneva Choir sang to the acceptance of the audience several times during the continuance of the Convention. The first evening session was attended by a very large gathering of earnest listeners. The unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, or, as I prefer to call it, the Fillmore Kidnapping Law, was discussed at length, the audience exhibiting a very high degree of lively interest in the remarks of the speakers, and cheering quite frequently. A loud and unanimous call being made for Mr. Chaplin, he appeared upon the stand, and was received with six as hearty cheers as ever greeted any man. The meeting closed at a late hour.

The morning session of the second day was small, but interesting. The afternoon having been set apart for the hearing of Mr. Chaplin's account of his imprisonment, a vast crowd were in attendance at an early hour. The highest state of interest at the recital of Mr. Chaplin's narrative was depicted on every countenance. Chaplin never before had so many true and strong friends in the Monrovian Metropolis as he has now. His sufferings, and the brave manner in which he bore them, have endeared him to many hearts. Hathaway's appeal was effective in the direction of funds. The evening of the second day brought together not only as many as could be seated in Minerva Hall, but, after the filling of every seat, I presume two hundred persons stood up. When I went in, Frederick Douglass was speaking, in his most animated style, and his hearers were partaking of his enthusiasm. The guilt and responsibility of the North touching slavery was the chief theme of the evening. J. C. Hathaway entertained the audience with a sketch of the Satanic proceedings in Maryland against Chaplin, the latter not being present. The Geneva Choir sung Shinn's 'Bloodhound Song,' and the 'Welcome to Chaplin,' by J. R. Johnson, with thrilling effect.

The intelligence of the noble rescue of Shadrach, in Boston, by the brave black men of that city, having reached Rochester, and the bloodhound speech of that most detestable of all modern slaveocrats, the hoary-headed doulloet, gambler, debauche of Kentucky, caused more interest to be felt in the proceedings of the Convention. The *Rochester American*, a regular bloodhound concern, sought to give such a coloring to matters as to favor its infernal side. On the other hand, Mr. Douglass, who spoke at some length on the subject, expressed the most decided willingness and readiness to be one of those who should do in Rochester what my noble townsmen did in my own city. A few rowdies of the Silver Grey kidney,—they surely had nothing more valuable than kidney,—tried to make some little disturbance, and the owner of the hall, who charged a most enormous price ($28 for two days or less) for the same, made no attempt to keep order. Still, the meeting passed off quietly, and the impression made, I do out doubt, was one long to be remembered. Larger, more spirited meetings were never held in Rochester. The effect of Chaplin's presence and narrative is such as to cause the most careless to reflect. Men are every where canvassing such questions as these:—What is Chaplin's crime? Why was so enormous bail demanded? How could a man be a Christian, or a Democrat, and do less than Chaplin did? How safe are any of us, if such proceedings are to be countenanced? Verily, great good must arise from these discussions, carried, as they are, to every hearth-stone and fireside. All that Slavery can gain by it she is most heartily welcome to.

I started on Thursday, the 20th, for Cayuga county, where our next appointments were for Friday, Saturday and Sunday. But I had the *hardest* travelling, through about the *hottest* and deepest mud, I ever had to do with. It was as much as my good Duke could do to travel three miles in an hour, and to do that we so hard, that it seemed cruel to drive more than a half-day at a time. In the counties of Monroe, Ontario, Seneca and Cayuga, the mud, in time of a thaw, is super extra, and it is surrefloved by plank roads. So, to wade and wallow through it was my only course. But to reach our first appointment *was* out of the question. I got to the second, at Union Springs, while Mr. Chaplin was speaking, in the evening. On my way thither, I called at the residences and enjoyed the hospitalities of Ezek Wilkor, of Pittsford, H. W. Johnson, of Canandaigua, Jason Jeffrey, of Geneva, Thomas McClintock, of Waterloo,—all of them old and tried friends of the cause of Humanity, and all of them welcomers of the Pilgrim of Reform to their homes.

I find that the Boston rescue, in the case of Shadrach, is exciting universal attention. The Proclamation of the President is among the things that will sink him for ever beneath the lowest layer of civil despots, in the eyes of the great majority of the right-minded. The petty, truckling, venial, second-rate and second-hand slaveocracy of Millard Fillmore is exciting, as it ought, universal disgust. In future ages, his name, and that of Webster and Dickinson, will be alike remembered as we now remember the names of tyrants' tools of by-gone days—with execration.

The account detailed in the affidavit of Patrick Riley, the Deputy Marshal, shows the whole to have been, on the part of the slave-catchers, a most dastardly affair. One poor, defenceless black man was to be captured. The brave Patrick Riley, and nine men, went to take him! Well, then these ten gallant bloodhounds, led by the undaunted Riley, actually entered for coffee, and paid for coffee, and drank coffee, to boot; partly to conceal their abominable business, and partly, no doubt, to stimulate their flagging courage. They then went behind their victim, and seized him unawares. Surely, there is policy in war, and brave commanders, like Patrick Riley, are generally the best of strategists. They carry off their prey to the court-house, and then Paddy Riley, fearing that the *peace* was endangered, calls for the aid of officers who, he knew, were forbidden to aid him in negro-catching. Were he at home, or about his business, the peace would have got along well enough. But he must break the peace, by kidnapping a citizen, without any process, accompanied by nine unofficial conspirators against the peace of the Commonwealth; and the liberties of Shadrach, and then call on officers to save him from the legitimate consequences of his own duplicity! In the circumstances, had Shadrach plunged a *piece* of cold steel into the heart of one of his assailants, he would have been guilty of no crime. No man is obliged to submit to such an arrest, without process, by a band of ruffians, whether led by an Irish Deputy Marshal or not. Besides, the Kidnapping Law authorises such a seizure, but that imposes no obligation upon the person seized to submit to it. It is his right to resist, and to destroy his assailants. But more of this hereafter. We have not yet got fairly into this business. S. R. W.

WATERTOWN, N. Y., Feb. 28, 1851.

I have been to the Oswego county Chaplin Convention, in Mexico. It was the wise pleasure of my heavenly Father, that upon going to Mexico, I should be afflicted by hearing of the somewhat sudden death of Ransom G. Williams, of New York, whose birth-place was Mexico. Mr. Williams was, seventeen years ago, when a young and poor man, publisher of the periodicals of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Under his auspices, the *Emancipator*, *Human Rights*, the *Anti-Slavery Record*, and the standard works of that Society, (previous to the division,) came before the public. Mr. Williams was afterwards Publishing Agent of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society. It was while he was publishing agent of one of these societies, that a Southern Governor demanded his surrender as a fugitive from justice, for the crime, as Mississippi termed it, of sending and thus circulating anti-slavery documents in that State. It was, of course, regarded by Gov. Marcy, of the State of New York, as a most unjustifiable demand. After he resigned his post as Publishing Agent of the N. Y. State Society, Mr. Williams went to New York, where he engaged in mercantile business. He married some fourteen years since, and established his family in Brooklyn, where he died last week.

The meeting in Mexico was one of interest. It began at 2, P. M., on Tuesday, the 25th inst., and continued during that and the next day. Messrs. Chaplin and Hathaway were listened to with the utmost attention. There was some little, very little opposition, from a Dr. Tillipaugh, once an enemy, now a friend of the Slave-Catching Bill. Ans S. Wieg attended to him sufficiently for all practical purposes. Levi Mitchell was Chairman, and our good friend, Mr. Ford, was Secretary. The resolutions were radical. Among them was one standing up fully side by side with the noble black men of Boston, in their gallant rescue of Shadrach from the ferocity of the men who brutally conspired against his liberty. Some forty odd dollars were raised for the Chaplin Fund. Friend Hathaway, on the evening of the second day, made, as Elias Spike says, 'the most feelingest speech I ever used,' in behalf of the *Impartial Citizen*. The result will tell some what upon the *Mexicans* list. That man Joseph C. Hathaway is worth his weight in gold as an agent for any paper. The hospitalities of our old friends Mitchell and Ford we enjoyed 'to the fullest extent.'

We spent the next day in riding to Watertown. We did not get here till 2 o'clock in the morning. We found that a good house—the Second Presbyterian Church—had been secured, and abundant notice given.

The meeting here is not just exactly such as one as I could desire. The call seemed to implode only the Kidnapping Act, and not the whole matter of slavery. The call was signed by men of all parties, and the meeting seems not to be straight-forward on account of its having been so called and composed. The officers are—

WILLIAM S. ROBINSON, *President.*

SILAS F. SPICER, *Vice President.*

ABEL ELMER, } *Secretaries.*
S. R. WARD, }

The resolutions are pretty radical on the Bloodhound Bill, but not so straight out on politics. The morning session of the first day was not largely but respectably attended. The afternoon session was larger; the evening session presents us a full house. Hathaway made, this afternoon, the best speech I ever heard from his lips. Chaplin this evening holds the people as with a silken cord, every one desiring to see and hear him. What he has seen, in Maryland and elsewhere, he tells with a most powerful effect. And no place ever needed such truths more than Watertown does. It is a beautiful, wealthy, increasing village, but as cold, stupid and dead as the grave on the subject of slavery. The clergymen, the bankers, the traders, the mechanics, are so absorbed in money getting and money keeping, and lie a sort of religion in which this form of humanity has no particular place, that they care no more about our cause than do the Sadducees about Baal-bee-bub. The ministers here sort o' do and sort o' don't go for the Kidnapping Bill. I never say much about myself, but I will say, 'this once,' that I gave this Bill as hard a talk as I could, to save my neck. This afternoon, I saw some symptoms of dissent. This evening, Rev. Mr. Snyder promises to give us his position to-morrow. We now adjourn till 10 o'clock on Saturday.

MARCH 1st.—At 10, the President called the meeting to order. Mr. Chaplin spoke till the hour for Rev. Mr. Snyder, who at 11 o'clock took the stand, at the invitation of the Chair, and spoke from the golden side. A very considerable portion of the reverend gentleman's speech was devoted to the defence of religious slaveholders, or those who hold slaves for benevolent purposes. He is a minister of the New School Presbyterian Church, and just as anti-slavery as that organization is so is he, and not a whit more. But he is a frank, manly, generous gentleman, one whom you cannot help loving. He has not the bold impudence of Rev. R. R. Raymond, nor the skulking disingenuousness of such a man as Parson Bogue, nor the pompous self-importance of Dr. Cox. A very lovely man is brother Snyder, but not sufficiently radical for a thorough reformer. But if say thing like a dozen and a half of the ministers in Jefferson county were as frank, as liberal, as courteous as Mr. Snyder, the anti-slavery cause would assume a different aspect in said county.

This afternoon the house is full. Brother Chaplin opened the meeting with prayer, and then, upon invitation, took the stand and gave a narrative of his Southern experience, prefaced by some most bold remarks upon the state of the cause generally. But how the people do listen! Men and women are breathless. Whigs and Democrats are forgetting that they are any thing else than men. Some, many, will not forget this meeting and this narrative till their dying day. Very few, upon hearing Chaplin, can differ with him. Some, doubtless, are brave enough to envy him his honors. There are young men here who would do just as Chaplin did, if an opportunity should present itself. This is far from being the least of the good effects of Chaplin's example. In none of our meetings has the attention to Chaplin's story been so perfect and so enchanting. Tears flow freely. I have been at theatres when tragedies the most popular have received less attention. Truth seems, to those who are now breathless in their silent and tearful attention, stranger than fiction. What a pity it is that so many of this audience will go away and speculate, in their different relations, the very same slavery which did its deeds of mischief to Chaplin, and does like deeds to all our slave brethren. But they will do it, surely, and so slavery will gain more triumphs through their own means. But all will not do so. Some will act the man and the Christian. Some who were once professed abolitionists may be called back to the truth, and they may not. Perhaps other and better men will take their places. At any rate, God is with the right. Chaplin sits down. The people remain to hear Rathaway. Hathaway, as a lady in Mexico said to me, talks like a lawyer. The crowd out of his stating the

law points in Chaplin's case. This is the first visit of Hathaway to Watertown. A man rarely makes so good a first impression as does this great hearted Quaker. Some money is raised—$50 or $60; so much as can be expected in a proud, aristocratic, pro-slavery village, full of wealth, like Watertown. The meeting adjourns under the best of auspices.

The evening session is a good one—a full house. A good speech, and a good address to the South, by Mr. Bourne, of New York. Chaplin and Hathaway give the audience entire satisfaction. Would that they would do as they seem convinced that they ought to do. But I am tired and homesick. I can't write any more therefore; and what is more, I shan't.

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March 3d.—We went to Adams on Sunday, where I spoke in the afternoon, and Chaplin and Hathaway spoke in the evening. Large audiences attended. Rev. Mr. Clark is not now pastor of the Baptist Church in Adams. His successor, Rev. Mr. Manning, is a very affable, gentlemanly man, and a man of deep-toned and thorough piety. Very cordial was his treatment of me in his church. The choir, also, performed in a most admirable manner. A deep impression was made upon the audiences. The facts in the Chaplin case struck the people with very great force. But there are a few 'Silver Greys' and some 'Hunkers' in Adams, who suppose that Chaplin did wrong. What they think of Commodore Eaton, in bringing the American slaves from Derpe, we what they would do if one of their own children was ever enslaved, they do not exactly say. Bet nobody believes in Silver Grey and Hunker sincerity. Nobody believes that they have faith in their own doctrine. They violate extreme laws and usury laws, and, in the great cities, they trample under foot the revenue laws, and they stand by the South in her violation of the Constitution and the laws. Nobody believes in such folks. God knows I don't.

I ought to say, that an effort was made on Saturday night, by Mr. Hadduck, one of the editors of the village, to get the Committee to pass a resolution approving of the Slave-Catching Bill of Millard Fillmore and his compeers. But although the effort was a strong and a persevering one on the part of the friends of the resolutions, and they all voted, and they sprung the thing upon us after ten o'clock, it was unsuccessful.

William Orland Bourne, the poet, is now editing the *New York Reformer*, a paper devoted to the cause of Labor, somewhat, I presume, after the manner of Greeley's Labor Department in the *Tribune*. Mr. B. read to the Convention a very good paper, purporting to be an Address to the South. The Address was voted to be published among the proceedings of the Convention.

To-day we left Adams, where I had enjoyed the kindness of H. H. Whitcomb, Esq., at whose house I sojourned. I am now sitting in the parlor of my my excellent friend, Ass. S. Wing, Esq., Justice of the Peace in and for the town of Mexico, county of Oswego. To-morrow, the Bonesa of Humanity go to Fulton, where, doubtless, we shall do something towards the enlightenment of the masses. We have abundance of snow, and good sleighing.

Colosse, N. Y. S. R. W.

M. D.'S AT WAR.

The allopathic doctors in Onondaga county are howling over the coals Dr. H. Hoyt, one of the oldest members of their Medical Society, for the offence of consulting with homeopathic doctors, and so forth. Dr Foran, one of their number, declares that the people ought not to have a respectable physician attend them, while they will employ quacks. Doctors and engineers belong to the two most stupid and least progressive professions in the world. They shut their eyes to all improvement, they denounce all innovation, and they are ready to hurl thunderbolts upon all who dare to differ with them. But, thank God, the people will think, in spite of them, and they will determine who are, and who are not quacks; and they will also determine what class of quacks, whether regular or irregular, shall attend them when sick, and the Medical Societies can't help it. We hope Dr. Hoyt will in future commit his medical reputation to no despotic clique of bigot medical. He is old enough, and skilful enough, to stand upon his own merits; and the efforts of Dr. Foran, Smith, and others, to blast his reputation, will be as harmless and as ineffectual in Syracuse, as have been like efforts to damn Homeopathy. Sick folks care nothing for Medical Societies, and yet we imagine they held them at their real value.

TROY FEMALE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

The Female Benevolent Society of Troy celebrated its eighteenth anniversary on the 12th inst. A very large audience assembled, filling the Troy Tabernacle. Several carriage loads were there from Albany. The Society, according to its reports, is in a very flourishing condition. It has been a minister of good to a great many during the past eighteen years, nor have its benefactions been confined to members of the Society. We know of no organization of the sort that is more potent for good in its sphere. We had previously been invited to address the Society at this Anniversary, and we accordingly did so. Seldom have we taken more pleasure in speaking to any audience than in saying a word of encouragement and gratulation to the Troy Female Benevolent Society. Long may it live and prosper! Long may it be a blessing to the poor of the Troy city! May every member of the Society feel her heart beating with pulsations in unison with the great benevolent heart of Christ!

We hope that Miss Charlotte Pitman, the very able Secretary of the Society, will send us the reports read at the Anniversary.

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☞ In taking to the South those slaves who have been among us long enough to learn the ways of freedom, the slave-hunters will burn their fingers. For every one taken South, there will learn to run away to Canada, where even the President's Proclamations cannot reach them.

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☞ The editor is still absent from the city. This will account for the non-receipt of answers to private letters which have been received at this office, and also for the non-appearance of several communications, which await his decision.

SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT.

[In the *Liberator* of March 6th is an article from the pen of Edmund Quincy, (who, during the illness of Mr. Garrison, fills the editorial chair of that fearless and uncompromising sheet,) relative to some strictures by a correspondent upon a selected article published in that paper some time since with regard to Father Henson, well known to many of our readers. The correspondent corrects some misstatements in the article—testifies that the cordial friendship between Mr. Henson and the recreant Boston Representative has not been disturbed by his treachery to freedom—that Mr. Eliot has been of pecuniary service to Mr. Henson—and volunteers the opinion that, in his vote for the Fugitive Slave Law, Mr. Eliot was actuated by as pure motives as ever influenced any act of his life. We subjoin a portion of Mr. Quincy's reply, which will, we think, be found worth reading.]

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But while we thus cheerfully admit the correction of the mistakes of fact into which our contemporary had fallen, we cannot say that the emphatic statement of our correspondent in any material degree modifies the opinion we hold of Mr. Eliot for the public crime of which he has been guilty. We do not doubt that Mr. Eliot has been personally kind to Mr. Henson, and that our Correspondent's representation of its extent, and the inconvenience attending it, are quite correct. But Mr. Eliot must not expect to shelter himself from the execration justly due to his offences in Congress behind his acts of kindness to a favorite negro. Mr. Henson is personally obliged to him, we dare say, and we know that he can visit Boston without danger, his freedom having been bought; but what consolation is this to hundreds of terror-stricken men, as good and as worthy of compassion as Mr. Henson, whose homes have been broken up, whose new prospects in life blasted, whose peace of mind destroyed, who have been obliged to fly a second time from before the face of white Republicans, or whose lives are made bitter to them, if they remain, and all through the instrumentality of Mr. Eliot? When Long was marched, handcuffed, down Broadway, when he stood on the auction-block at Richmond, when he was hurried to his hopeless captivity at the Far South, would it have been any comfort to him to have known that one of the men through whose agency all this calamity was brought upon him, had lent large sums of money to Mr. Henson? Mr. Eliot cannot purchase his absolution at so cheap a rate. Though he has endowed Mr. Henson with his whole fortune, be the same less or more, it would in no wise dissipate the cloud which blackens over his fame. * * *

We are, of course, most ready to allow the expression of our Correspondent's opinion as to Mr. Eliot's motives in voting for the fugitive bill, (which we do not understand him to approve,) all the weight that can attach to it, and whatever influence it may have upon our readers. The motives of men are known only to Him that looketh on the heart. Men can look only on the acts, and infer the motives from them. It is a maxim of common sense, as well as of law, that a man is always supposed to mean to do what he does. Actions derive their character from their tendency and natural consequences, not from any supposed state of mind of the actor. Arnold may have been inspired with the purest love of country, Count Julian by the most exalted philanthropy, and Judas himself by an honest zeal for the God of Abraham and of Moses; but the unanimous voice of mankind refuses to allow any hypothetical extenuation of the acts they perpetrated to take them out of the category of crimes of the blackest dye. Our correspondent takes it for granted that Mr. Eliot believed that 'the perpetuity of this government and the Union of these States' depended on the passage of the fugitive bill, (though we first have high an opinion of most intelligence to believe him capable of being duped by that trying pretence, himself,) and that therefore his vote for it was a pure act. But admitting the hypothesis, does it justify the vote? To preserve the Government, he voted to pervert government from its first object, the protection of its most helpless members, to their oppression and destruction. To maintain the Union, he voted to cut up by the roots the very rights which the Union was professedly made to secure. He consented to leave questions of personal liberty to the decision of tribunals unknown to, and forbidden, by the Constitution, bribed to decide adversely to freedom, irresponsible, unchecked and without appeal. He was swift to place, not only all fugitive slaves and all people of color, but the white and the free, at the mercy of perjury and avarice,—for our Correspondent need not be told that Slavery has no prejudice of color. All the safeguards of personal freedom which the wisdom of ages had devised, which the Revolution was bought to vindicate, and the Constitution, in profession, at least, framed to secure, seemed of no account on the Representative of Boston, when weighed against the threats and blustering of Slaveholding bullies. This is a small part of what Mr. Eliot did. Is it not fair and reasonable to believe that he meant to do it?

We know that Mr. Eliot, in the letter which was extorted from him by the universal roar of indignation with which the Bill of Abominations was received at the North, justified himself on the ground that the Constitution providing for the rendition of fugitives, he was bound to vote for some law for carrying it into effect. But was there not a law already? Was he bound to vote for a bill which he says he did not entirely approve? Did he not vote for the Previous Question, by which all discussion and amendment was cut off? He cannot excuse his swift servility under the Constitution. Bad as it is, it required no such work at his hands. Was he compelled by the Constitution to leave the gate open for slavery to enter New Mexico and Utah, if it pleased? Was he compelled to give Texas a territory as large as New England, to which she had no more claim than to China, for the expansion of slavery, and to pay her Ten Millions of dollars as an equivalent for not giving her more? Men will judge of the motives which induced Mr. Eliot to act as he has done from the acts themselves. The proportions of weakness and of wickedness, the degree in which he was cajoled or frightened by the slaveholders about him, the force of the personal and political influence of the chief of his wing of the Whig party, the extenuation which his deeds may derive from the weakness of his head or the aggravation which may be added to them by the depravity of his heart, can be weighed and adjusted only by a higher Judge than man. Men will look at what he has done, will believe that he meant to do it, and will qualify their opinion of him accordingly.

Mr Eliot is one of those unfortunate men that have been promoted beyond their capacity. Of a very moderate calibre of mind, the industry with which he has been willing to supply its deficiencies, and the leisure afforded by his ample fortune, raised him to some offices of trust, the duties of which he discharged respectably. In an evil hour for him, the vacancy occurred which, by an unexpected and unintended coincidence of circumstances, placed him in Congress. Like many men of narrow capacity, he is notorious for an inflated self-opinion and that dogged obstinacy of nature which strong men know how to use for their own purposes. Under ordinary circumstances, he would have lived out a life of respectable mediocrity, and left his children, at least, no legacy of disgrace. He has achieved a place in permanent history, but it is one which his children will one day wish blotted out forever. But it can never be. Men never forget such passages as these. Tariffs, Banks, Free Trade, all political and economical schemes are forgotten, and their advocates with them. But acts which strike at the root of human rights, which attack the permanent condition of great masses of human beings, endure forever. The profligate division of the profligate party to which Mr. Eliot belongs may endeavor to keep him in countenance for awhile. But the general heart of Massachusetts and of New England rejects him as a bastard to its blood. His name, which the industry and munificence of his father had made respectable, he has disgraced.

'Oh, it hath caught a taint of infamy,
That, like Incarnate, through all time shall last,
Reeking and fresh forever!'

His name will be inseparably connected with the history of this State and of the country! but his example is one of those which Philosophy holds up for the warning and not for the imitation of mankind.—ed.

LETTER FROM REV. H. H. GARNET.

Brother Wade:

I herewith send you an extract from a letter which I have just received from our eloquent friend, Rev. Henry H. Garnet. Every item of news from him, and the good cause in which he is so successfully laboring, will be received with joy by thousands in this country. Yours truly A. G. B.

New Haven, Feb. 12, 1851.

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'I am deeply grieved at the religious condition of our brethren. But when will it be better, if those who lead them will continue their connection with men like Drs. Spring, Cox, Fuller, Parker, Skinner, &c.? You may not live to see a better day, and I may pass away without beholding a reformation in the American churches, but whenever it does come, it will be preceded by a faithful ministry among the blacks themselves. I ask, in the name of high Heaven, what have our people to do with men, in a religious capacity, who deny to them the rights of human beings, to say nothing of their treatment of us as fellow Christians? Where, O where, is the spirit of our fathers gone? Should they arise from their tombs, they would deny their degenerate sons. I say it calmly, that there was more of true heroism and manhood in the good Richard Allen, than we find in all this generation. Behold the men of these times bowing themselves voluntarily to receive the yokes of their oppressors! Their masters kick, and drive, and hale them, and still they kiss their feet. Look at the conduct of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians towards their negro brethren. The deliverers of the people will be reserved for another age, for we are more than slaves. In England, and Ireland and Scotland, there are tens of thousands of Christians who will hold no communion with men-stealers and oppressors, and even the 'Evangelical Alliance' has cut its connection with them; and yet the chief men in many of our religious organizations cling to these dead bodies.

'I have thought, my brother, that much good might be effected through the agency of fasting and prayer. If our brethren of the various denominations, and their friends, would appoint the 4th day of next March for such purpose, and if thousands should humble themselves before the Lord, and ask Him to restrain the wrath of man and to destroy the accursed Fugitive Slave Law, it may be that the Almighty will hear. Do say it before the brethren, and though I am far from you, I will endeavor to ask the aid of Christians here.'

CONVENTION AT WEST BLOOMFIELD.

West Bloomfield, Feb. 15, 1851.

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to a call of the Chaplin Committee, a Convention assembled here yesterday, for the purpose of considering the present condition of the anti-slavery cause, and to raise money for the Chaplin Fund. Notwithstanding the unfavorable state of the weather and travelling, it being rainy and muddy, a goodly number came together.

The Convention was organized by appointing Elder David Millard President, and Wm. H. Olin Secretary.

Messrs. J. C. Hathaway, Rev. C. Fisher, S. French, Wm. F. Sheldon, and S. R. Ward, were appointed a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the Convention.

The committee, through their chairman, reported the following resolutions, which were almost unanimously adopted. The speakers were Messrs. Douglass, Ward, Chaplin, Hathaway, Codding, Wendell, and the President:—

1. Resolved, That since Democracy and genuine Christianity alike assume the brotherhood of the human race and the equality of their rights, to maintain and secure these is the grand purpose for which all just governments are established among men.

2. Resolved, That slavery, in its imperious denial of manhood to its victims, is in utter defiance of the authority and arrangement of God; that it does all that the most ingenious and malignant contrivance can do to suppress the upward aspirations and to crush the divine capacities of the human soul.

3. Resolved, That slavery should be and will be treated by all enlightened people as a remnant of barbarism and atrocious cruelty, which impairs our just influence as a nation by bringing free institutions into contempt among the despots of the old world; which will never cease to agitate society, and put in peril its best interests, till it is completely prostrated and buried out of sight.

4. Resolved, That whilst the Fugitive Slave Bill is a gross violation of the spirit and some of the most distinct provisions of the Constitution, it is the natural offspring of slavery, and, as such, only worthy to be trampled upon, defeated and abolished, by the people, in their primary capacity as sovereigns. This they *will* do, as they love honor and decency, and intend to cherish their own rights.

5. Resolved, That slavery exists in this country by means of a false and corrupt public sentiment, which gets itself embodied in *National* parties shaped and controlled by it, of necessity; and which therefore will be avoided, abandoned and opposed, with constancy and firmness, by the consistent friends of the slave, and all the supporters of humane, just and wise government.

6. Resolved, That the slave, of all persons, has the most urgent claim upon the sincere and earnest advocacy of the pulpit and the press, upon the ballot box, intelligently and heavily wielded, for his relief and security, upon the sympathy of the social circle, and the honest, untiring efforts of all men.

The exercises were inter spersed with singing by the Geneva Choir. Sixty dollars were raised for the Chaplin Fund.

By a vote of the Convention, the Secretary was directed to furnish a copy of the proceedings for the *North Star*, and *Impartial Citizen*,

WILLIAM H. OLIN, *Secretary*.

FUGITIVES IN CANADA.

CAUTION!

A brief statement under this head is due to the public.

The undersigned has recently visited Niagara Falls and Chippowa, in Canada, with funds and clothing for the fugitives; and also with the intention of learning the real state of things there, inasmuch as contributions in this vicinity had recently been made for those places, through one Thomas Clarkson, an alleged fugitive. There are at those places (which are near together) and vicinity, between one and two hundred fugitives, not more than twenty-five of whom are recently from slavery. Nearly all the colored people there are in comfortable circumstances; none need suffer who will work; few, if any, do suffer.

There are several houses of stealing in that vicinity (enough for present need) from friends abroad, not yet distributed. Thomas Clarkson above named, alias Wilson Jones, has for a year or two past unlicensed aid for himself in Northern Ohio and elsewhere, and (of late) for fugitives in Canada, in name of the Western counties of N. Y. Whatever Clarkson *may have been*, I am confident he is no longer trustworthy. So far as I can learn, he has never distributed any thing among the fugitives, of all that has been given him for that purpose, but has appropriated all to his own use. He is also living in open bigamy with an Irish white woman, while a former wife is still living. While at the above named places in Canada, I saw Clarkson and the women with whom he now lives. He could make no apology, but slunk away, having engaged to meet me again, and left for the States while I was still there. He is no doubt again practising fraud on the public.

Other statements might be made to show that he is an impostor *now*, whatever he *may have been*, and he has, no doubt, been a slave.

Clarkson is a dark mulatto, tall, stout built, large features, hair straight, of good appearance, but speaks in very broken language. He is well calculated to deceive a benevolent public. *Let them be on their guard.*

The poor robbed and wronged slave, whether still in his Southern prison-house, on his way to the North, or already in Canada, has, I am happy to know, many *true* friends here and elsewhere; and I hope to be still numbered among them. I deeply regret the unpleasant duty of making this statement; but I feel that I owe it to the public, as my love to mankind is, I trust, *impartial*. I owe duties to both *white* and *black*, and do not intend to abrize from either; nor shall the needy and deserving bondman and fugitive hereafter ask of me in vain, notwithstanding this trying circumstance.

W. A. WALDO.

Arcade, Wyoming Co., N. Y., March, 1851.

Mr. Waldo is a fellow-townsman of mine, long resident, and well known here, of unimpeachable veracity, judicious, and fully reliable. His attachment to the cause of impartial freedom is of long standing and undeniable. The friends here are forced to the unpleasant conclusion in the above case to which he has been reluctantly brought, while we all promise, with him, that we shall not hereafter withhold aid from the deserving, because *one fugitive slave* practices *here* what is *practically* taught *old* by, and while in slavery, to wit, *deception* and *fraud*. C. O. SHEPARD.

N. B. Will editors please copy the whole or the substance of the foregoing?

PETITION TO VICTORIA.

Springfield, March 8, 1851.

Friend Wade:

The following preamble and resolution were passed in our anti-slavery meeting on last Sabbath evening, without one dissenting voice. Now, we went then published in the *Citizen* of next week, and we want some of your in Boston to call a State Convention—say within six weeks; and I would suggest that the Convention be held in the city of Worcester. If our people cannot stay here, because of the slave-hunter, it seems to me to be the duty of those of us who were born in New England to be active in helping to hide the outcast. And in order that we may act in concert, let there be a Convention in this State, and we will come together like men, and devise plans, and pledge ourselves to stand by our brother or sister till the last gun is fired. Let us get a petition signed by thousands, and send it over the great waters to the World's Fair, seeking for protection. Now is the time! Will some of you in Boston act this hall in motion? Do not delay. Let a call go out for a Convention forthwith, and we will come up, rank and file, as the law directs. Yours for God and equal rights,

J. N. MARS.

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To the Fugitives in Massachusetts from the Prison-House of Slavery, and all whom it may concern:

Whereas, the profession is made by the government of these United States, that 'all men are created equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;' and, whereas, the law passed by the American Congress in 1850, known as the Fugitive Slave Law, if enforced, makes the Declaration of Rights null and void, false and hypocritical, and deprives the colored man of his God-given right to the enjoyment of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, within the limits of this government, as the government has consented that the army and navy shall be used for the purpose of slave-hunting, in the (so-called) free States; therefore,

Resolved, That the colored people of Massachusetts do petition the Queen of England to give the flying fugitives a place on British soil, and protection under the lion's paw from the American slave-hunter, our most devilish and inhuman foe, where we, with our wives and children, may live and die in peace. And we will ever pray, God bless the Queen!

THE RESCUE CASES.

The examination of persons charged with participation in the late rescue of Shadrach, or Frederick Minkins, has at length come to a close. During the last week, Robert Morris, Jr., Esq., J. P. Coburn, and Joseph K. Hayes, have been bound over for trial at the U. S. District Court, which commences its sittings in this city on Tuesday next. These gentlemen have severally given bonds for their appearance at that time. Horatio Foy, charged with aiding the rescue, has been discharged without examination. Seven persons in all have been bound over for trial.

Mr. B. F. Hallett, in bringing his arduous and patriotic labors to a close, delivered himself of a speech in which he complimented District Attorney Lunt for the part he had taken in the examinations, and waved his wand of the more arduous duties he yet had to discharge in conducting the approaching prosecutions, alluding, we suppose, to the fact that when Attorney would then have to appear before a Court and Jury, not as much prepossessed, as the Commissioner has shown himself to be, in favor of slave-catching. Mr. Hallett also tried to give some *moral advice* to his fellow-citizens as to their duty to obey the Fugitive Slave Law, and said if any body really felt sympathy for the slave, it would be decidedly the better course to let the law proceed, and then come forward and buy the slave,—which the slave-catcher is supposed to consent to, as a matter of course. Mr. Hallett winds up his discourse with saying that if such a course had been pursued, in the present instance, 'we should have been spared all that great injury and discredit, which may have been inflicted by the indecentions and outrages of the few, upon this whole community and this Commonwealth, in their, *commercial and political relations* to the other States of the Union.' If there were no other grounds of condemnation against the Fugitive Slave Law, the men whom it calls into its service would be swift witnesses against it.—*Liberator*.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

CINCINNATI ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle of Cincinnati earnestly invite all who advocate the doctrine that slaveholding is a violation of God's law, and a cruel wrong to man, and therefore, that slavery ought to be immediately abolished, to meet in Convention in the city of Cincinnati, on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th days of April next, (1851,) to take into consideration the present and prospective condition of the Anti-Slavery cause, and to counsel together on some common platform, in respect to the evils to be opposed, the difficulties to be surmounted, and the proper means and measures for maintaining and sustaining their principles practically and thoroughly.

There has never been a moment when Christian philanthropists could be we been justified in relaxing their vigilance in the cause of human freedom. But at no period of the Anti-Slavery enterprise has there been a greater demand for their watchfulness, and their earnest, energetic, bold and persevering exertions, than at this time, when the mightiest powers of the civil government are put more strengthened for the support of slavery by the aid of the highest talents and the combined influence of the American church.

It is painful to reflect upon the fact that after eighteen hundred years of the promulgation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and whose very title of Redeemer is a standing condemnation of slavery, the first principles of Christianity should be so little understood, and felt, that three millions of the human family are now held in the most abject servitude under the laws and institutions of a Government whose Constitution allows more freedom of conscience than any other upon earth, and with the assertion of a church that glories in its independence of the civil power. It is distressing beyond measure to see great Statesmen and learned Doctors of Divinity putting forth all the strength and power of their mighty intellects to dry up the fountains of human sympathy, and deliver the poor panting fugitive to the tender mercies of the despot who claims him for his slave.

In the mortification and distress of our hearts, in view of this unhallowed combination, we call upon the friends of humanity to rally in defence of all that is right and true in the principles of civil and divine law. Let no slight consideration, Beloved Friends, prevent your attendance. The cries of humanity, the voice of brother's blood, and the claims of Christianity, call upon you to make every sacrifice needful to accomplish the great object which you profess to have near your hearts, and to do all you can to deliver them who are bound out of the hands of the spoiler.

The weapons of our warfare not being carnal, but mighty, through God, in the pulling down of strong holds, we may with certainty calculate upon a glorious triumph, if we battle together in the unity of the Spirit and the bonds of peace, wielding with boldness the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

For Christ and Humanity,

SARAH H. ERNST, *President*.

M. M. Guild, *Secretary*.

INDUSTRIAL FAIR.

The Colored Institute of the State of Pennsylvania, for the promotion of the Industrial Mechanic Arts and Sciences, intend holding an Exhibition of the products of skill in the various branches of industry of the Colored Mechanics of this and other States, on the first MONDAY in April, 1851.

The Exhibition is intended to encourage and promote the different industrial mechanic arts and sciences among the colored population throughout the entire Union, and it is therefore earnestly hoped that all those interested in the welfare and prosperity of our mechanics and trades people, will give it their cordial co-operation and hearty support.

Persons desirous to exhibit their productions are requested to send them to the undersigned, at the Hall of the Philadelphia Institute, LOMBARD street, above Seventh, at least four days previous to the opening of the Exhibition.

The Committee will receive and arrange all articles sent for Exhibition, and also award medals for the most approved specimens.

L. B. SEYMOUR, *Secretary*.

SELECTIONS.

From the Liberator.

BOSTON ON HER KNEES!

Times have changed since Boston was the gaze and admiration of the world for her heroic resistance to tyranny. Seventy years ago she was a little town, in comparison with her present dimensions, yet she would not submit to insult from the constituted authorities set over her when they were violating what she esteemed 'a higher law,' and she defied the whole physical force of the most powerful empire in the world, when it presumed to invade her rights. Then she could stand against the world;

——— now lies she there,
And none so poor as to do her reverence!'

Now she is insulted and spit upon, and takes it patiently,—not from a Christian spirit of endurance of injuries, but from sheer cowardice and lack of manly spirit. Her very servants mock her, and she thanks them for it. Her political tyrants cover her with ignominy, and she falls prostrate and blesses them for the benediction. If the action of the City Government and the general tone of the press of all parties are to be accepted as the expression of the state of mind of the city, never was there the semblance of a corporate body of a more mean and abject spirit than the citizens of Boston. The spirit of the time-serving corporations of England, which would substitute the name of William of Orange for that of James II., in their servile addresses, rises into magnanimity and elevation of soul, compared with theirs.

What has been the history of the last fortnight? A man was arrested as a fugitive slave. He was detained for safe-keeping in a certain upper chamber, sometimes used as the U. S. Court Room. Not in the Temple of Justice, as the sycophantic newspapers say, sitting to darken counsel with great swelling words of sanity, but in a *barracoon*, a slave-jail, extemporized for the occasion. The fact that Judge Wells sometimes sits in that room is not enough to sanctify it at all other times. When he is on the bench, it is a Court Room. When Mr. George T. Curtis (better known as the Little Expounder, in contradistinction from the Great Expounder) sits there as Commissioner, it is a Commissioner's Office. When Deputy Marshal Riley makes it a place of detention for a fugitive slave, it is a Slave Jail, and entitled to all the reverence and observance due to a construction for that purpose, and no more. It was no more a desecration for a Temple of Justice' to take the Slaimed slave from that room, under those circumstances, than if they had taken him from the adjoining water-closet. Well, Mr. Slave-Jailer Riley was keeping his jail fast enough, some fifty, or, at the outside, hundred colored men, quiet the door, without hurting anybody, and the Boston Shadrach walks quietly out of the jaws of the fiery furnace, which were just yawning for him, body and soul, and goes his way, and is seen no more.

This is the amount of what was done,—*the res gestæ*, as the lawyers say. Now, there is no question that those colored men had violated a law of the United States; and were liable to suffer its penalties, if they could be found out. That, we presume, they know and had made up their minds to, before they undertook their expedition. Just as John Hancock and the brave of Adamsdom, when they undertook to violate the laws of Great Britain, in obedience to the 'higher law' of their generation, knew both what they were doing and the penal consequences of their acts, should they be taken by King George III. The offence, such as it was, was strictly limited and confined to the men who planned and carried it into effect. But the lightning flashes the news to Washington. The politicators of the country are confounded and filled with rage. So blinded are they with passion and disappointed wickedness, that even Henry Clay, the hard-headed and clear-sighted character of whose villany seems him from the suspicion of senility and dotage, moved on Monday morning a Resolution asking the President to 'lay before the Senate, *if compatible with the public interest*, any information he might possess' relative to the Boston rescue! As when he must have known, if the fury of baffled tyranny had not blinded him, that the President could, in the nature of things, know no more of the transaction than the Telegraph had sent on to the newspapers. The Senate for several days resounds with abuse directed at Boston for this event. The President and the United States issues his proclamation, calling upon all well-disposed citizens to support the flag of the country, and commanding all officers, civil and military, 'who shall be found at the vicinity of the outrage,' to aid and assist in the quelling, suppressing and other like consequences. And, furthermore, in his Message in reply to Mr. Clay's resolution, he calls upon Congress to pass a law empowering the President to call out the militia, without the previous formality of a proclamation.

Now, what is the natural inference from all this sound and fury and these most extraordinary acts of the Supreme Executive? Would one not suppose that Boston was in as open rebellion as she was when the British troops were sent over to 'pacify' her? That the Mayor and Aldermen were worthy to stand in the places of the stout old Selectmen of the time before the Revolution? That all State street was in arms against the execution of the Acquitted Act? That Coopers and Mayhews still made the pulpit 'the drum ecclesiastic' of rebellion? Is it so? Is there any band of commanding specific diligence on the part of civil and military authorities? And was not the Army and Navy, and the power which the President now has as Commander in Chief of the Militia, sufficient to keep Boston in order? Must she again be placed in a state of siege? One would think so. But is there not power enough in the Civil Arm of Massachusetts to suppress Riots within her jurisdiction? She says so. Does she lack the disposition to put forth the power? If we may believe the City Authorities and the newspapers, she will be but too glad to lend a hand in the suppression of any *Anti-Slavery* riot. Then, how great is the insult implied, or rather expressed and flung in her face, in all these speeches and in all this action! Mr. Hale well said that if he were a citizen of Boston, he should consider it an insult if the government presumed that the laws could not be enforced. But Boston does not feel this. Her public sentiment, if the newspapers are to be received as expounding it, is permeated with nothing but gratitude in view of them. They copy them all with rapturous expressions of delight, and seem to think that they cannot be kicked and spit upon too much. They acknowledge the necessity of all these measures of coercion and kiss the rod that is brandished over them.

But it is not merely the newspapers that are thus transported with joy at the insults poured upon Boston (without any provocation, if they do not lie); but the municipal Fathers themselves present some that sublime spectacle of submission to injuries and of practical non-resistance which they evinced on the memorable occasion of the Faneuil Hall Mob, commonly known as the Bigelow and Tukey Riot. Last week we recorded that the Board of Aldermen, in the swiftness of their pro-slavery zeal, had instructed police officers to do what is absolutely forbidden by the spirit, if not by the letter (as we think it is) of the laws of Massachusetts. This week we record the unanimous passage of Resolutions by the Common Council approving of that action, and 'cordially responding to the recent Proclamation of the President, and pledging to use their utmost efforts to carry out its recommendations!' We had hardly thought such self-stultification and self-degradation possible, even in Westerized Boston. Instead of repelling the Proclamation and its recommendations as insults to Boston, they plump themselves down upon their knees, clap the Firman of the Sultan upon their heads, exclaim 'Great is Fillmore, and Webster is his prophet, we have deserved it all,' and hold up their cheeks, both sides at once, to be smitten and spit upon! With a coward humility, unparalleled, because uncompelled, by the submission of any despised and persecuted Jew, they exclaim—

'You called me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
You that did void your rheum upon my beard
And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
Over your threshold;—
Fair Sir, you spit on me on Wednesday last;
You spurned me such a day; another time
You called me dog; and for these courtesies'

we are more ready than ever to do any dirty work you can find for our hands to do!

Does Boston deserve this, or not? Do these smoking time-servers fitly represent her or do they not? We are afraid they do represent what the Friends might call 'the Weight of the city. That the wealth and pretentious piety of Boston think they cannot be kicked too much, provided it be by the foot of slaveholiness or their tools. But we draw this encouragement from it all, that there must be a strong under-current of wholesome feeling setting in the opposite direction, that makes Washington and Boston feel these demonstrations to be necessary. The more sensible of the Slave Senators evidently place no confidence in all the protestations of Northern men. They know that the public sentiment of the North is against the execution of the Fugitive Bill; and they know, too, that what Mr. Hale said in that debate is confirmed by all history, and by none more than that of the slaveholding States; 'so law, when it has not the moral support of the people, whether in Massachusetts or in Louisiana, can be enforced.' Boston is degraded as low as servile pimps and time-serving functionaries can thrust her; but there may yet be righteous men enough found in her to save her from final and utter Reprobation.—G.

From the Glasgow Sentinel.

DARKIE AT INIQUITY.

BY LUKE THE LABORER.

Benevolence. His Grace the Duke of Hamilton has just seised to be distributed the usual donation, from the palace, of butcher-meat and oat-meal, to upwards of 500 individuals and heads of families in the town of Hamilton.—*Glasgow paper.*

God pity the poor! and preserve the good Duke,
Who sent back the crumbs of the loaves which he took
From hedges and ditchers, those ignoble clods,
Whose sight gives the souls of his loyal stoods.
Our great Exhibition will show to the earth
The genius of labor as well as its worth;
But nothing will stand in that emporium grand,
That rank can say came from its profligate hand!
God pity the poor! who, like skeletons, pine
By the side of his Grace, full of dainties and wine,
All drawn from the toilers upon his estate—
You may reckon him mean, but not certainly hate.
Every flowret, they say, has its own drop of dew,
Of station this precept has never been true:
Every pulse of his heart is sustained in its glow
By invest from the laborer's sorrowful brow!

God pity the poor! let the poor thank the Peer,
Whose *out-meal advertisement* reads rather queer;
The poor folk are feasted on what is their own,
And the Duke claims the praise for the charity done.
Admiration in bushels may fall on his head,
When he gives the down-trodden a holiday feed;
How few take the trouble to hunt to inquire
Why workmen want dinnery, or clothing, or fire!

Industrious poor! What a puzzle to me
To make those two jarring fag-ends well agree!
Industrious poor! If they waste what they gain,
They are not industrious, my doctrine is plain.
Industrious poor! But they really are poor—
Then some Swindlehurst brought the cone to the door;
The provident man, if no knave interfere,
Will near want freedom, nor comfort, nor cheer.

Benevolence! smell is the Bedlamite's sense,
Who wants us to swallow that stark insolence;
Benevolence! stealing your leg, if we must,
And giving the owner the precious saw-dust!
Benevolence! nothing on earth can surpass
This Hamilton kindness for baseness and brass;
The weakest must feel it a glaring misdeed
To pilfer their acres, and pay them with bread!

Benevolence! Well, it is much, to be sure,
To see his Grace drawing so close to the poor;
What a lesson for thousands in times that are by,
Had Dukes kept their fingers more out of the pie!
Position is something, like Joseph's can sheaf,
All else must bend down to the dust in their grief;
Swallow up! swallow up! it proclaims night and
day—
Swallow up! swallow every thing comes in the
way!

The patches of ground that for ages have stood,
To do the poor peasants a world of good,
By the rim of the river, a few paces square,
With modern improvements, no longer are there.
Every acre M'Adam has left to bear fruit
Belongs to his palace, or abbey, no doubt;
And millions that Heaven ordained for the soil,
Have and on inch left for existence the while!

Down, down with the rabble—yes, farther down
still—
Drive them from woodland, and valley, and
hill;
Shut, shut them all out from the summer and spring,
They must not smell flowers, nor hear warblers sing.
The sunshine is sweet, and the blossoms are fair,
But rank must possess these delights every where;
Give poor people cellars, where light will not come,
To show them the horrors that tenant their home!
Not a loaf of meal, no, nor thousands of loaves,
Shall bribe me to puff up a custom I loathe;
If the gift has been pilfered, I'll spit on the bread,
And call the vile donor a villanous loan!
Give back our inheritance—give us our land—
And elbow-room fit for the bee-hive to stand;
Then Labor will rise on its pinions of power,
And wither'd stems bloom like a jessamine flower.

Petitions for bread let us strongly despise,
A mendicant's well is not Scottish nor wise;
Let us seek independence in trouble and strife—
That peril of manhood—that jewel of life.
As a mate for our Thistle—our Thistle so grand—
This virtue must bloom in our dear father-land!
Till every lone nook shall partake of its cheer,
And penpor relief, like a curse, disappear!

From the Commonwealth.

GREAT ANTI-FUGITIVE MEETING IN LYNN.

One of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings of the citizens of Lynn ever held in that place, assembled at Lyceum Hall on Saturday evening. The meeting was organized by the choice of the following officers:—

President—Hon. George Hood, Mayor.
Vice Presidents—Jonathan Buffum, Jesse Hutchinson, Addison Davis, Capt. Wm. Phillips, James P. Oliver.
Secretaries—James N. Buffum, Dr. Edward Newhall.

Mayor Hood, on taking the chair, was enthusiastically received. He said that he was glad to see such a meeting, and that he felt honored by being called to preside. He did not advocate armed resistance to the law. Such a course was impolitic and unnecessary. But he thought the law unconstitutional, and knew it to be unjust, inhuman,—a law not fit to be enacted, and not fit to be obeyed. [Cheers.] The freemen of New England would not submit to become the blood-hounds of the South. [Cries of 'No, no!'] He had before condemned the principles of this bill; but its practical working had made it more detestable and abhorrant to the feelings of Christian men. The whole power of the national government was, at this moment, exerted to reduce Northern citizens into bondage; to sever family ties; to drive fathers and husbands into exile; to bring misery and ruin upon the poorest and weakest of our people.

It is believed that the men and women of Lynn would be true to the dictates of humanity, and to the precepts of Christ; and for one, he pledged himself never to lift a finger in the work of returning a fellow-man to slavery. [Great cheering followed this declaration, which closed an eloquent speech, of which we furnish a mere abstract.]

A committee of five was appointed to prepare and report resolutions; after which,

Thomas Russell, Esq., of Boston, was introduced to the meeting, and made an earnest and able appeal in defence of the Constitution of the United States, and against the Fugitive Slave Law. He was attentively listened to for about one hour, and resumed his seat amid great applause.

Ammon Davis, of Lynn, from the Committee on Resolutions, made the following report:—

1. Resolved, That we regard the Fugitive Slave Law as unconstitutional—an utter violation of the fundamental principles of our institutions, and a flagrant denial of the holiest dictates of our nature and the law of God.

2. Resolved, That, taking such a view of this law, we hold obedience to it wrong, and while we countenance no rebellion or violent resistance, and will submit, if need be, to its penalties, we will neither directly nor indirectly aid in its execution; and we call for its immediate and unconditional repeal.

3. Resolved, That we hold the men who have passed this law, especially those from the North, as false to their duties to their God, their country, and their race—worthy only of our *utmost* reprobation; and that among these we deem our late Senator, the present Secretary of State, as having had a pre-eminence—dishonoring the State that fostered him, and the country that has exalted him.

4. Resolved, That the citizens of Lynn, being free themselves, will never assist in enslaving others.

5. Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with those of our citizens, who, in fear of this law, have been compelled to flee from their homes, and that we trust they may enjoy, under monarchical institutions, that liberty which is denied them here.

6. Resolved, That the meeting tender to his Honor the Mayor its earnest thanks for his noble declaration that he will never use his official powers to pinion those who come among us to kidnap our fellow-citizens.

Rev. C. C. Shackford, (Unitarian,) of Lynn, was next introduced. He could most heartily support the resolutions offered. They justify themselves to the reason and consciences of all true friends of freedom. The speaker said he had repeatedly heard from the lips and pens of distinguished politicians that there is no higher law than those of the State and the Constitution. He repudiated such so idea. He could not sympathize with the men who advocate such doctrines. He recognized a higher law than those of any human government—the Divine Law of God, enjoining upon us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. If there is no God, but these United States, who (asked the speaker) are those Godmakers that we are thus called upon to reverence? He was glad of the privilege to pledge himself on the side of the oppressed. A speaker before him thought the Fugitive Slave Law would never be enforced. He believed otherwise.

I believe, said Mr. S., that the law will be enforced. The black cloud is gathering thick and fast. We have got to suffer, some of us. For one, I am prepared for the issue. Let it come, and let us meet it like men. [Great cheering.] He believed there was continually growing in this community a fire of public opinion that would finally purify official stations. Traitors will have to fly. It must be our work to keep the fire burning. We must agitate, agitate, agitate, until we have won the glorious victory. [Cheers.] He was ready to take his share of persecution, if there was to be any. He expected it would come, as an inevitable result, sooner or later, and he was willing to meet it. [Great applause.] He rejoiced to see such a mighty assembly, and such genuine good feeling for the oppressed. He also gloried in the strong denunciation which had been so justly administered by the meeting to oppressors every where. His earnest desire was that the same spirit might prevail until Liberty shall triumph. Mr. Shackford sat down amid thunders of applause.

Other addresses were made by James N. Buffum, Addison Davis, Rev. E. G. Brooks, and Nathaniel Holden, of Lynn, Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, and S. P. Hanscom, of Boston.

Mr. Davis said he was ready for treason, according to the new version. He was glad Shadrach escaped, and regretted he was not able to offer him succor and aid. The Mayor's counsel against armed resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law was consistent with the duties of his office. He (the speaker) would not use arms himself. But if he was a black man, and the protection of law should be withheld from him, as it now is from others, he considered that then he should have a right to resort to arms in self-defence.

The Rev. Mr. Brooks made a short but very able speech. He said the Rev. gentleman (Mr. Shackford) had uttered the sentiments of his own feelings. He responded to them a hearty Amen. He was glad to find a man who was willing to stand upon the Bible and its divine teachings, rather than heed the teachings of truckling politicians. The speaker expressed his deep hatred of the Fugitive Slave Law, and his determination, as a minister of the gospel, to hold it up to the public as no law! He had never learned the gospel of commerce and cotton, which, has been so ably preached by other divines of the day. [Great cheering.] He would not counsel armed resistance, but would shield by the doctrines expressed in the resolutions. He cautioned the friends of freedom not to be rash in their opposition to this law. Nothing can be gained by it. He knew that the very thoughts of the execution of the barbarous law was horrid. He pitied the man who could read the Bill and not feel his blood tingle in his veins. Still he hoped that all true workers against the law would beware of rashness; but let their action be constant, deep, profound, and as lasting as the evil opposed. We could only succeed by trusting in that All-Wise Power who never forgets the panting fugitive, or allows right to be overruled by error. [Cheers.]

Our limits will not admit of a further report of the speeches made. The speakers, one and all, entered a solemn protest against the secured 'Bill of abomination.' All legal resistance to it was counselled. As an evidence of the spirit prevailing among the citizens of Lynn, we will record one earnest determination uttered by one of the speakers, which was received with great cheering by the assembly. The speaker said:—'I have a little domicile in the city where I live, and should say man (no matter what his color) whom I think to be a worthy and honest person, apply there for aid and comfort, I will give it him. If he wants bread, or a pillow to lay his head upon, he shall have them, if I chance to have them to share with him. If, under such circumstances, any rollian dare enter that dwelling with the intention of claiming that unfortunate as a piece of merchandise, though he come with the written oath of George Lunt, or the signature of that lesser light, Daniel Webster, he shall either lie at my feet a corpse or gain his prize over my own dead body!'

We wish that dark-eyed fugitive knew all that is honorable could have been within hearing when the citizens of Lynn, assembled as they were in thousands, sent up their simultaneous shout of approbation of the speaker's intended course. If was the shout of liberty.

One of the speakers, in the course of his remarks, mentioned the name of Elisur Wright, one of the alleged rescuers of Shadrach. The audience instantly rose, and gave three hearty cheers for that gentleman.

At about half-past ten o'clock, the meeting adjourned to Thursday evening, March 6th, when addresses will be made by distinguished advocates of Freedom.

THE GOVERNMENT AT WORK!

The following important communications have been transmitted from the Secretaries of War and Navy to the commanding army and naval officers at this port:

War Department,
Washington, Feb. 17, 1851.

Sir:—Information has just been communicated to the President that a number of persons, principally of African descent and of color, in the vicinity of Boston, have, on several days since, combine to prevent the execution of the law providing for the arrest of fugitive slaves, and did forcibly rescue a slave who had been arrested from the custody of the officers of Justice. It is possible that the city authorities may find it necessary to call in the military force to aid in the execution of the law. If such should be the case, and the marshal or any of his deputies shall submit to you the certificate of the district or district judge of the United States in the State of Massachusetts, stating that, in his opinion, the aid of a military force is necessary to insure the execution of the laws, and shall require your aid, and that of the troops under your command, as a posse of the *posse comitatus*, you will place under the direction and control of the marshal, yourself, such portion of your command as may be deemed adequate to the purpose. If neither the circuit nor district judge should be in the city of Boston, when the exigency above referred to shall come, the written certificate of the marshal alone will be deemed sufficient for you to afford the requisite aid.

Very respectfully, your o'bt servant,
C. M. CONRAD,
Secretary of War.

Brevet Major George A. Thomas, a commanding officer, Fort Independence, Boston Harbor Massachusetts.

Navy Department,
February 17, 1851.

Sir: The department has received information that a prisoner arrested as a fugitive slave in Boston, was forcibly rescued from the deputy of the marshal of that district, on Saturday last, by lawless violence, in the very seat of justice in that city. When we had just advices to have the call for possible force becomes necessary to take immediate measures for the execution of the law in this and all similar cases, and which is to be hereafter provided for, or overcome by the civil authority, you will promptly order the marines, of any other force under your command, to accompany and aid the marshal in making arrests, or preventing rescues, or in recapturing any person who may have escaped or been rescued by virtue of any process in his hands. If, however, neither the circuit nor district judge shall be present in the city of Boston, at the time when the call for possible force shall be made, you will then act upon the like certificate from the marshal or deputy, and render the aid required.

To avoid any excess of authority, you will in all cases direct the officer in command of the force herein described, to receive, while on this service, the orders of the marshal or deputy, and act only in strict obedience thereto.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obed't servant,
WILL. A. GRAHAM.

Commodore John Downes, Commander U. S. Navy Yard, Boston, Mass.

Fugitive Slave Case in Pottsville.—The first manifestation of excitement on this subject in Pottsville, occurred on Wednesday of last week, among the colored portion of the population, on the appearance of two officers from Baltimore, in search of an alleged fugitive slave, the wife of a man named Bryant. She eluded pursuit, however, and escaped to Port Carbon. On Thursday morning, the officers followed, when a number of colored men collected in and around the house to which she had been conveyed, and prevented the officers from entering. She shortly after effected her escape, in company with several other persons.

The Impartial Citizen.

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[Abridged from the Boston Commonwealth.]

FRIDAY, April 4.

ANOTHER FUGITIVE ARRESTED!

Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel, committed for assaulting a Watchman in the discharge of his duty. The Court-House again converted into a Jail. The Counsel for the Fugitive arrested at the order of Patrick Riley, and sent to the Watch-House.

Our city was disturbed and disgraced last night by kidnappers and bacchanalians.

First, a colored person, named Thomas Sims, was arrested as a fugitive in Cobbet street. He made a stout resistance, and somewhat injured Officer Butman, who was forward in arresting him. He was at last overcome by a large posse of *Watchmen*, (!) who were in readiness near by, and incarcerated in the Court-House about 9 o'clock.

Sims is claimed by Mr. James Potter, of Chatham, in Georgia. He had just left the company of several colored persons at the time of his arrest. A crowd of persons followed the carriage in which he was placed for the purpose of being conveyed to the Court-House, and police officer Bigelow sustained a slight wound in the groin in attempting to keep the spectators back. Notwithstanding this, the black was quietly conveyed to the Court-House, where he passed the night in the grand jury-room, guarded by Marshal Devens, supported by several of his deputies.

Sims was not made acquainted with the exact nature of the charge upon which he was arrested until he reached Court Square. When the officers were taking him from the carriage for the purpose of carrying him to the Court-House, he uttered a broken sentence, such as "I am in the hands of the kidnappers;" but his transfer was performed too speedily to afford him an opportunity to make much of a speech. He will probably be examined this morning before a U. S. Commissioner.

About half past 10 o'clock, as U. S. Deputy Marshal Riley was passing through Court Square, he was accosted by Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., Rev. Theodore Parker, Elisur Wright, and two others. Mr. Sewall addressed Mr. Riley, and demanded to be informed whether the alleged fugitive was to be examined last night. With this, Messrs. Wright and Parker, and others, surrounded Mr. Riley, and Mr. Sewall again addressed him thus: "Mr. Riley, I demand that you answer me. Is the prisoner to be examined to-night? Tell me at your peril," and with this he laid his hand upon Mr. Riley. Whereupon, the latter called upon a couple of watchmen who were at hand, and Mr. Sewall was arrested and taken to the watch-house. He was soon after released by the captain of the Watch. This proceeding appears to us pretty high-handed; but perhaps it is the sort of government we are henceforth to live under. It may be a high crime to question a U. S. official while engaged in kidnapping.

This affair was scarcely over, before an alarm of fire occurred; and while watchman Easterbrooks was ringing the Stone Chapel bell, Fletcher Webster, Esq., assaulted him in the most insulting manner, tore his clothes, and beat him badly. He was evidently under the influence of "Constitution-wine," and "Southern, if not a higher law, than that of Sinai." Easterbrook at last succeeded in getting him to the watch-house, where he was knocked down by him. The ex-*pounder* was then committed to Leverett-street jail, to answer for his doings this morning.

Sims came to this city on the 7th of March last, not quite four weeks since. During this time, he has been stopping at a colored seaman's boarding-house kept by James Akin, Nos. 153 and 155 Ann street. He is 23 years old, has a wife and several children in Savannah, and is said to be a very bright and intelligent-looking negro—one who, from his general appearance, would not be taken for a slave.

The greatest excitement prevails at the present time in the city. Court Square presents one of the most disgraceful scenes ever witnessed in this city.—At an early hour chains were placed around the Court House, and the entire regular Police force, and a large number of Special Police, drawn from the Watch Department, were stationed on the outside and inside of the building, and for the purpose of prohibiting all citizens of the Commonwealth, save members of the Bar and the Press, from entering the Court House.

About nine o'clock Sims, the alleged fugitive, was taken from the prison room in the Court House to the place of trial—the U. S. Court Room—in the same building. At twenty minutes past nine o'clock, Commissioner George T. Curtis came in and took his seat.

Counsel.

Seth J. Thomas, counsel for claimant.

Hon. Robert Rantoul, Jr., Chas. G. Loring, Esq., and Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., for defendant.

Mr. Thomas for the claimant rose and without any preparatory remarks proceeded to state in substance what appears in the following order upon which the alleged fugitive was arrested. We give it *verbatim*.

U. S. America,

Massachusetts District, ss.

To the Marshal of our District of Massachusetts, or other of her Deputies:

GREETING:—

In the name of the President of the United States of America, you are hereby commanded forthwith to apprehend Thomas Sims, now alleged to be in your District, a colored person, charged with being a fugitive from service in the State of Georgia, (if he may be found in your precinct,) and have him forthwith before me, one of the Commissioners of the Circuit Court of the United States for said District, at the Court House in Boston, in said District, then and there to answer to the complaint of John H. Bacon, of the city of Savannah, in the State of Georgia, agent and attorney of aforesaid, alleging, under oath, that the said Thomas Sims owes service or labor to the said Potter in the State of Georgia, and while held to service there under the laws of the State of Georgia, escaped into the State of Massachusetts aforesaid, the proving for the restoration of the said Thomas Sims to the said Potter, and then and there before me to be, and thereof answering to law.

Hereof fail not, and make due return of this writ, with your doings thereon before me.

Witness my hand and seal at Boston aforesaid, this third day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

GEORGE T. CURTIS,
Commissioner of the Circuit Court of the United States for Massachusetts District.

United States of America,
Massachusetts District, ss.
Boston, April 3, 1851.

Pursuant hereto, I have arrested the within named Thomas Sims, and have him before the Commissioner within named, for examination.

FREDERICK D. BYRNES,
U. S. Deputy Marshal.

A true copy.
Attest, Frederick D. Byrnes,
United States Deputy Marshal.

Mr. Thomas said Mr. Bacon was here to seek the restoration of Sims; he is here as the agent of Potter, to identify Sims.

Mr. Thomas also stated that he held in his hand the record proceedings of a court in the State of Georgia, showing that the defendant does owe service.

Mr. Sewall, for defence, asked for a delay of examination, on account of the inability of counsel to prepare a defence on so short a notice. The defendant declared that he was a free man, and counsel believed, if time was allowed, that he could not only be proved a free man under the laws of Massachusetts, but under the laws of Georgia also.

Mr. Thomas then proposed to put in the documents to which he previously referred.

This was objected to on the part of the defence. Mr. Rantoul said that the person claimed is presumed to be a free man under the laws of Massachusetts. Counsel should, therefore, have an opportunity to show whether he is or whether he is not a free man. Neither himself nor Mr. Loring knew anything of the case until a few minutes before entering the Court-House; they had not conversed with the prisoner, and were both entirely ignorant of the facts in the case.

The Commissioner said, he did not sit under the laws of Massachusetts, but those of the United States. He then notified Mr. Thomas that he could proceed to put in documents, which were put in, but not admitted as evidence by counsel. Witnesses for Government were then called.

Edmund Barrett called and sworn.

Thomas—Do you know the prisoner?

W. That is the prisoner, (pointing.) Have known him for the last ten months—known his name to be Sims; knew him in Savannah, Ga.; I worked on the same scaffold with him last August, also in September; I was employed in bricklaying; I asked him if he was a slave or free; he told me he was a slave; he said he belonged to James Potter, rice planter; Potter lived ten or twelve miles from Savannah in Chatham county; I knew Sims' mother and sister; they told me they were slaves.

Mr. Loring objected to this testimony.

Mr. Thomas. We wish to show by this witness, that the alleged fugitive paid money to his mother.

Loring. How could this boy know that the woman was his mother?

Thomas. It is not essential that she was the mother. She was the agent; that is all we wish to prove.

Loring. The agent himself is the only competent witness in regard to that fact.

Witness. In conversation with a person supposed to be his mother.

Loring. I object to that.

Witness. I talked with the prisoner. He said he was a slave. He said he had to pay wages. Did not see him pay. It was somewhere about $10 per month. I was in Savannah one week ago to-day—saw the prisoner there about three months ago—have had no conversation with him in this city. Knows Mr. Potter—don't know his signature—never saw him write. Mr. Loring wished to defer the cross-examination—which was allowed.

John B. Bacon. Knows the prisoner as the property of James Potter; knew him so in Savannah; saw him last on the 21st of February. Have seen his mother; saw her pay his wages. He (prisoner) was not present when his master last paid wages. Have known him for ten years. He has lived the larger part of his time with his mother. I saw him in Savannah within sixty or seventy yards of where he lives. Saw him from two to six times a day, passing and repassing. May have had conversation with him. Cannot tell how often. Have seen Mr. Potter receive the money of his wages. He left Savannah on the 22d of February. Saw him on that morning (as he now recollects); do not know how he left—whether—(Counsel; Not what you suppose.) Have no knowledge of him further. Was said to have gone off in a wagon, but did not see him. (Claimant's power of attorney was here shown to witness.) That is his hand writing. I refer to the owner of the boy. I am the attorney named in that paper—his wages passed through the hands of his master—have seen his mother go after his wages often. Have not a shadow of doubt as to the identity of the prisoner as Potter's slave. I mean the Thomas Sims mentioned in the power of attorney. I was present when there was an accounting between the claimant and the fugitive in writing—it was some time about six months ago.

Mr. Thomas. I should rest here to-day, and this would be my whole case, if there were not to be a continuance—at the next meeting, if there should be one, I may wish to bring up another witness.

Mr. Sewall. We have been called entirely without preparation to this case, may it please your honor; we have not had time to say a word to the prisoner; but we understand that he claims to have been free in Georgia. We wish time to ascertain from there what may be the fact. We also wish time to examine the papers and the law. We therefore move that the hearing be postponed till next Tuesday.

Mr. Thomas. I object to a delay till Tuesday. This is purely a question of property. We have proved the property by competent witnesses, and established the identity, and I see no reason why there should be so long a delay. This delay must subject the claimant to great expense. The counsel on the other side are numerous and very learned in the law; in this point of view, they have greatly the advantage of myself.

Mr. Rantoul. May it please your honor, even granting what the learned counsel says, that this is a mere matter of property, it seems to me that we should have more time to examine into the case, and prepare for a defence. But for anything we know, on examination, it may turn out that this case is free, and then it comes to be a much more serious question—the liberty of a free man. I trust your honor will not be precipitate in a question even of property, which has such relations. Besides, this is a new law, and this mode of proceeding is somewhat novel.

We are called without experience, but having had five minutes to prepare. Very grave questions of law are to be looked into before we can possibly be prepared to argue the case, or even decide on our line of defence. It is less than three working days we ask, for I do not suppose your honor will think of our working on Sunday.

Court. It appears to me that the counsel in this case do not need so much time to discover whether they have any defence. I think twenty-four hours must be sufficient for that purpose.

C. G. Loring. I beg to say one word. The learned counsel has complimented us for our experience, but I claim no experience that reaches to such a law as this. It is altogether out of our province to certain in so short a time what our defence may be, whether in law or fact. It is not customary to deal even with the most trivial cases of insurance, trespass, or nuisance, at so short a notice. Mr. Loring very calmly and eloquently set forth the grounds for delay at some length.

Court. I shall adjourn the case till to-morrow at 10 o'clock, when, if there appears to be cause, it can be further adjourned.

Outside of the Court House there was much excitement. The humiliation of Boston and of the authorities was extreme. Around the Court House iron chains had been hung, and friends of the prisoner suspected to be opposed to the infamous law were arbitrarily excluded. The judges had to dodge under these chains when they entered the "hall of justice." A large pack of police hounds was stationed about the building.

Saturday, April 5.

The Court House is still surrounded with chains, as it was yesterday, and Chief Justice Shaw and his Associates were compelled to pass under the Caudine Forks.

The policemen and "watchmen of Boston, armed with police and Dutch courage, have been guarding it all night, for fear the wicked abolitionists should carry it off, fugitive and all.

The gathering of people around the Court House has been large all the morning.

Finding that the three kidnappers were in the office of Seth J. Thomas, Esq., a large number of the citizens proceeded thither, and quietly filled up the stairway leading to Mr. Thomas's office, and the sidewalk in front. There seemed to be no desire manifested on the part of any one to commit acts of violence. The mass appeared to be impelled by a curiosity to look at the three kidnappers—three *republicans* from the South—three *democrats*.

Mr. Commissioner Curtis was also in the building. All of these distinguished personages—the kidnappers and the Commissioner—found it impossible to get out of the building, until Marshal Tukey, with a posse of some twenty of his men, appeared on the spot. The citizens remained quiet until the Georgians—Messrs. Burnett, Bacon and De Lyons—appeared in sight, when a storm of hisses and groans greeted them. Under a strong guard, they were conducted to the court room, amid the hooting of the multitude.

This morning, Deputy Sheriff Joseph Willard received instructions from Chief Justice Wells to order the chains around the Court House removed immediately. The orders of the Chief Justice were not obeyed.

As we passed through the crowd, one feeling was visible on almost every countenance, commiseration, humiliation; commiseration for the poor victim, humiliation at the degradation of Massachusetts. No man talked, no man thought of violence. Because the Fugitive Law is not abhorred? Why? Because it is acquiesced in? No! No!! Because it is approved? A thousand times NO! but because government is pleased to enforce the law, and resistance is hopeless—madness.

The parade of military last night is an insult to Boston. Why did not the Mayor order out the military, when a furious crowd thronged Faneuil Hall to mob George Thompson? Marshal Tukey had orders then not to interfere without an *express order of violence*. Has any been committed in this case? No! Shame on such servility to the Slave Power!

Sims is safe in the Court House. If he is delivered over to the claimant, the Marshal is bound to furnish Uncle Sam's *express*, if needed, to get not Massachusetts volunteers to catch slaves.

The Commissioner's Court opened at 12 minutes past 10 o'clock.

A few minutes after a posse of police officers of this city, *labelled as such*, and taken from their ordinary official duties, as protectors of our city against thieves, robbers, murderers, and incendiaries, by order of Mayor Bigelow, entered the court room, escorting Deputy U. S. Marshal Sawin and the alleged fugitive slave. Sims was thus conducted to the dock.

Further evidence was introduced as to the identity of the prisoner. The state of the vessel in which poor Simms came North, *Captain I. Amen*—the spirit of a hyena in the form of a man—was sworn, and testified to his finding Sims in the hold of the vessel, and wringing the poor creature's nose.

Capt. Kimball Eldridge—sworn. I made my last voyage in the Gilmore. I saw the prisoner first when we were inside Boston light. Mate brought him in from the forecastle, and said he had found a prize. Next day I put him in the cabin, and the night following he escaped. He said he was not exactly a slave.

I asked him who his master was—he said he was not exactly a slave. He said he came on board the day before we sailed.

Mr. S. Pat. Know Robert M. Carlton, Notary Public of Savannah. I came to Boston at the request of Mr. Bacon; he was *not one* a few days before I left; cou's say what compensation I was to have? I was promised pay for my trouble; I am a policeman of the county where I live; I not only pursue runaway blacks, but white slaves.

[Here a question arose as to the credibility of a negro-catcher.]

The Commissioner ruled that out.

I received $350 from Mr. Potter, a legal attorney, to pay general expenses, and had a letter of credit of an indefinite amount upon Mr. John H. Pierson.

Mr. Sewall read a certificate from the Clerk of the Police Court of Boston, stating that the prisoner was under bonds to appear as a witness in a criminal process in one of the Courts of this Commonwealth.

Mr. Sewall then read the following affidavit:

Thomas Sims, alias Joseph Santimo, on oath declares that he was born in St. Augustine, in Florida; that he has been free as long as he can remember; that his free papers were left by him, many years ago, with Morris Potter, of Savannah, who now, probably, has them. That these papers were obtained in St. Augustine by his father, a Spaniard. He further says, that he never knew or heard of such a person as James Potter, who now claims him as his slave, till this morning.

his
THOMAS M SIMS.
mark.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Suffolk, Mass. Subscribed and sworn to by said Sims, before me,

SAMUEL E. SEWALL,
Justice of the Peace.

April 4, 1851.

Mr. Rantoul stated the following as the points which the defence would argue, and urged for the time necessary to prepare to do them justice:—

1. That the power which the Commissioner is called upon in this procedure to exercise, is a judicial power, and one that, if otherwise lawful, could only be exercised by a justice of the United States, duly appointed, and that the Commissioner is not such judge.

2. That this procedure is a suit between the claimant and the fugitive, involving an alleged right of property on the one hand, and the right of personal liberty on the other, and that either party, therefore, is entitled to a trial by jury; and that the law which purports to authorize the delivery of the fugitive to the claimant denying him the privilege of such trial, and which, he here claims under judicial process, is unconstitutional and void.

3. That the transcript of testimony taken before the magistrates of a State Court in Georgia, and of the judgment thereupon by such magistrate, is incompetent evidence, Congress having no power to confer upon State Courts or magistrates judicial authority to determine conclusively or otherwise upon the effect of evidence to be used in a suit pending, or to be tried in another State, or before another tribunal.

4. That the transcripts of testimony taken before the magistrates of a State Court in Georgia, and of the judgment thereupon by such magistrate, is incompetent evidence, Congress having no power to confer upon State Courts or magistrates judicial authority to determine conclusively or otherwise upon the effect of evidence to be used in a suit pending, or to be tried in another State, or before another tribunal.

5. That the transcripts of testimony taken before the magistrates of a State Court in Georgia, and of the judgment thereupon by such magistrate, is incompetent evidence, Congress having no power to confer upon State Courts or magistrates judicial authority to determine conclusively or otherwise upon the effect of evidence to be used in a suit pending, or to be tried in another State, or before another tribunal.

6. That the transcripts of testimony taken before the magistrates of a State Court in Georgia, and of the judgment thereupon by such magistrate, is incompetent evidence, Congress having no power to confer upon State Courts or magistrates judicial authority to determine conclusively or otherwise upon the effect of evidence to be used in a suit pending, or to be tried in another State, or before another tribunal.

7. That the transcripts of testimony taken before the magistrates of a State Court in Georgia, and of the judgment thereupon by such magistrate, is incompetent evidence, Congress having no power to confer upon State Courts or magistrates judicial authority to determine conclusively or otherwise upon the effect of evidence to be used in a suit pending, or to be tried in another State, or before another tribunal.

8. That such evidence is also incompetent, because the captive was not represented at the taking thereof, and had no opportunity for cross examination.

9. That the statute under which this process is instituted is unconstitutional and void, as not within the powers given to Congress by the Constitution, and because it is opposed to the express provisions thereof.

Mr. Thomas endeavored to persuade the Commissioner that his own incompetence as a court was not argueable before him. The point went to prove him a trespasser in sitting there.

The Commissioner decided that he was bound to hear an argument on the unconstitutionality of the law, if the counsel for the defence saw fit to insist upon it.

The counsel for the defence urged that they should have till Tuesday NEXT to prepare. But the Commissioner decided that on account of the great expense to the city in keeping under pay 100 men to protect these proceedings, he could not allow longer than till Monday, and the hearing was accordingly adjourned to 12 o'clock on Monday.

Monday, April 7.

At 12 o'clock, the Commissioner came in, but adjourned till 1 o'clock, on account of Mr. Rantoul being engaged before the Supreme Court, on the petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*. At that hour, the Commissioner again came in, and Mr. Rantoul opened the argument against the constitutionality of the law. The learned gentleman proceeded, at considerable length, and with great power and eloquence, to enforce his position, sustaining his points with an array of legal authorities of great weight in questions of constitutional law. Before he concluded, the Court adjourned until Wednesday morning, at 8 1-2 o'clock.

Tuesday, April 8.

The Commissioner came in at the hour appointed, and Mr. Rantoul concluded his argument. He was followed by Charles G. Loring, Esq., in a most masterly and brilliant argument on other points involving the unconstitutionality of the notorious Bill. At the conclusion of the argument, the Commissioner adjourned the Court till Friday, at 9 o'clock, when his decision will be rendered. Let Massachusetts come and hear it!

From the Liberator.

MASS MEETING ON THE COMMON.

On Saturday, (at an hour too late to be generally known,) a call was issued for a public meeting on the Common, at 4 o'clock, P. M., on that day, with reference to the arrest of Thomas Sims. Brief as the notice was, a large number of highly respectable citizens assembled at the time and place designated. The meeting was called to order, and its object explained, by Rev. Nathaniel Colver. On motion, Dr. S. G. Howe was appointed President, Ephraim B. Allen, Vice President, Charles List and S. P. Hanscom Secretaries. In the absence of Dr. Howe, Capt. Allen presided on the occasion.

Wendell Phillips was the first regular speaker. On ascending the stage, he was greeted with three hearty cheers. His remarks—worthy of James Otis, of revolutionary renown—have been most grossly perverted by the pro-slavery presses of the city—of course. What he did say, was substantially as follows:—

We are met in the open air, because Faneuil Hall is refused us; not here on Boston Common, because the State refuses us the State House yard behind us. In our effort, at this crisis, to arouse Massachusetts to the danger about to be inflicted on her, to the outrage about to be perpetrated against her laws, in this effort, the State and the city officials have betrayed us and joined the enemy. About to be perpetrated, did I say?—already consummated, would be a better statement. Have we not seen our own State courts stifled behind chains? Have we not been told that the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth crept into his own Court Room like a felon, under a chain?

What shall we do? Sir, I think this meeting is rather to plan action, than discuss opinions. To plan what? To devise all possible means of preventing the return of a fugitive slave from the soil of the State—of preventing the full execution of this iniquitous law. If Yankee ingenuity cannot drive a four-wheeled cart load of slaves through any law which drunken legislators can make, let us hide our heads. I should have no doubt of success, if we had State Courts and Sheriffs disposed to use legal remedies in defence of liberty. But this has for effect much from Courts that sit in chains? One thing is certain—Courts obliged to sit guarded by bayonets will not sit long in Massachusetts. We have driven the gallows into the consciousness of four Gibbs—the first step to its abolition. When men do deeds they are afraid or ashamed the common people should see, it is a sign the power by which they act touches its downfall. The Commissioner who grants certificates shielded by armed men will not have many certificates to grant. The Law which in this community can be executed only at the point of the bayonet, cannot stand, cannot not to stand, and will not stand long. I rejoice in all this resistant array of force. It is some consolation, however trivial, in this hour of disgrace, that laws cannot be executed in Boston, except by our own officials stumping of the will of the State, volunteering their illegal services, and by the armed despotism of the Federal Government.

This is the first time hostile attitude have been seen in our streets since the redcoats marched up Long Wharf. May the Government which sends us these earnest the same hatred that the masters of the red coats won! The Italian poet (commended his country-men, that if they must be slaves, let the honor of their race and land, they should take care to be always rebellious slaves!) May Massachusetts heed the advice!

How shall we oppose this law? Every man, one class—the blacks and the whites. For the first, I do not think they need counsel of mine; but this I am ready to say—Should any officer, under this law or any other, attempt to take wife or relative of mine into bondage, I should feel justified, by every law of God and man, in shooting that officer. What I should do myself, I am ready to countenance every other man in doing. Our law in general, and this one in particular, puts the slave out of the pale of society; it utterly disfranchises him, denies him all shadow of protection. He is covered by no civil protection, bound by no civil duty; he is remitted back to his natural rights. In his case, I would fill my pockets with pistols, and then insist upon a trial by a Massachusetts jury. The sympathies of the people would gather round such a man, put on trial for such an offence. The mortal hatred which would cut the bonds of the law thirsty for our blood, all on keenest scent, if we stood charged with legal offences, would not reach him. The instinctive sense of right, from which no people, however base, can wholly free themselves, would be his protection.

With regard to ourselves, I wish Massachusetts men would crowd our streets, and surround that chained Court House in hundreds of thousands; I would that if this title deed to be done, it should be done in the presence of as many indignant witnesses as possible; that they should be obliged, in taking that unhappy man away, to walk over our heads. It will be a damning disgrace to Massachusetts, if a man, standing on free soil, and resisted to the presumption that he is a freeman, is dragged from his limits back to bondage, without any trial, without anything worthy of the name of a trial or of evidence against him. It will be a damning disgrace if such a man can be dragged back without the sails of every rail track being torn up, without every village on the route rising en masse to block the wheels of the engine.

This thing can be done. There every obstacle in our power in the way of the execution of this law. Block the wheels of Government as far as we can. We would not absurdly throw one man's force of manhood against Government in mass. But there are many means of opposition besides visible violence. Let us be heard there all. There is many a slip between cup and lip. Stand ready to take advantage of every chance Providence may open. A wise man sees more opportunities than he finds.

As a man, a bad law is no law to me—I shall always trample it under foot. As a lawyer, I challenge contradiction, when I say that every act done under an unconstitutional act is void; every attempt to interfere with the liberty and property of any man by its authority is a trespass, and may be lawfully resisted. I know the duty of all good citizens is to oppose all unconstitutional laws as will bring up most quickly and properly before the Court the question of their constitutionality. But when courts refuse all means of testing the constitutionality of acts, when the State gives in no Executive willing to serve process, or no methods competent to present the issue whether an unconstitutional law be indeed law; then who has a right to complain that we proceed to discuss what other means are left to keep Government within its assigned limits, and check it when it transgresses on the rights of the people?

I know not what others may do; but for myself I am resolved, if this foul disgrace must come, I have sworn hitherto beloved city, to stem for myself the satisfaction of having need all the means God and nature have put into my hands, in every way my best judgment approves, to preserve her from the stain.

Mr. Phillips was warmly applauded throughout. On motion, the meeting was adjourned to assemble forthwith in the Tremont Temple, which was speedily filled. Earnest speeches were then made by Rev. Colver, Rev. Theodore Parker, and Messrs. List and Clure. It was a stirring occasion.

The Habeas Corpus Business. On Monday morning last, before a full bench of the Supreme Court, R. H. Dana, Jr., Esq., presented the petition of Thomas Sims, praying for the issue of a writ of *habeas corpus*. The application was supported by Mr. Rantoul, in an able and powerful argument, supported by citations from the highest legal authorities. It is matter of deep regret to us that we are unable, for want of space, to present even a synopsis of this argument, pronounced by all parties one of the ablest legal efforts ever pronounced before the Bench.

The Court announced that their decision would be rendered at 9 o'clock. At that hour, Chief Justice Shaw delivered the opinion of the Court, adverse to the prayer of the petitioner. Thus has another of the safeguards of personal freedom been struck down!

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE BOSTON 'MOB' AND SO FORTH.

Never did we read so gross and palpable a tissue of misrepresentations—wilful, malicious and cowardly misrepresentations—as those which have appeared in the pro-slavery papers of our own city, and elsewhere, respecting what has been called, 'the Boston Riot.' In a recent number of the *Citizen*, we published a fair and impartial account of the whole matter, as prepared for the '*Commonwealth*.' There was no violence committed by any black man. Lewis Hayden was arrested for saying, 'We will stand by you to the death.' Robert Morris was arrested, chiefly for appearing as Shadrach's counsel. Mr. Burton was arrested, it would seem, on suspicion. But as for any open or covert physical resistance to the officers, nothing of the kind occurred. Shadrach was in no one's custody when asked to go out. The poor coward, Riley, was then, true to his character, skulking behind the court-room door. As Shadrach went out, Riley assisted in his kidnapping. There was not an officer of the Commonwealth who had the least shadow of right to arrest Shadrach, or to aid in his arrest. Riley arrested him without process, by mere mob force, known to no law but the abominable Kidnapping Law of Fillmore's Administration; while the Federal Constitution, Amendment 5, says, 'No person shall be deprived of liberty, without due process of law.' Pat. Riley, therefore, was the instigator of the mob—the *Fillmore Law Mob*—the only mob that disgraced our good city on the 15th of February. Pat. Riley, also, violated the Constitution which he was sworn to support, and Pat. Riley, the mobocrat, led his brother and eight others into this piece of mobocracy. This is one of the many instances in which the Irish, who fawn upon black men in their own country, become our persecutors, when admitted to the privileges of the land of our birth, and when permitted to share in the liberties for which *black men*, as well as others, fought, bled and died. What Marshal Deane meant by appointing this renegade assistant Marshal, we know not. We most earnestly hope it was not for such purposes as this. Indeed, we freely confess that we do not know whether General D. did appoint the fellow or not. But we do know that it frequently happens that these foreigners come to our shores, poor miserable outcasts—as much as any Fugitive Slave that ever trod the streets of Boston—and it takes them but a very short time to become the tools of slaveocrats and negro-holders. We are very much mistaken if Patrick Riley and his hopeful brother are not of that very sort. Their deeds must very much belie them, if they are not.

Well, the black men of our city, God save them! saw Shadrach in the court-room, and asked him to walk out. He did so; and there is the upshot of the matter. Riley had dared to call upon some one to shoot him, and he had offered to sell him. He had, in calling upon one of his fellow mobocrats to shoot an innocent man, rendered himself abundantly worthy of any other treatment than he got. But the mild, and forbearing, and law-abiding black men, simply invited his victim to accompany them; and, as the Irish sometimes say, '*it was a long step and no return to him.*' Then the pro-slavery, negro-catching papers must raise a hue and cry over all creations, and among the rest of mankind, about 'a negro mob,' 'a negro riot,' &c. Upon which, President Fillmore issues a Proclamation, Henry Clay makes a regular bloodhound speech, John Davis delivers himself of some semi-bloodhound twaddle, and Millard Fillmore sends a special message to the Senate! Irishmen made the riot, black men took in innocent, unoffending citizen out of the hands of the mob, without violence, and then President Fillmore must join in the false clamor against the *law-breaking*, and screen the *law-breaking*, with all the pomp and power of his accidental office. That Daniel Webster, the miserable voluntary tool of the slaveholders, and the fawning of the cotton-crew, should take sides with the Riley mob against the innocent, is not to be wondered at. A man of so little fellow-feeling with the unfortunate—a man who has always been the associate and the protege of the aristocracy—a man capable of so basely bowing before the Slave Power, at Richmond, in 1840, when Secretary in 1842, and when in Charleston in 1844, a man capable of coming up here to Boston, in front of the Revere House, to persuade the people of Massachusetts to 'conquer their prejudices' in behalf of freedom, (after having written one edition of his great Seventh of March speech for the South and another for the North,)—a man who, during his whole official career, has neither dared nor chosen to defend the constitutional rights of Massachusetts seamen, imprisoned in Southern ports,—that a man so perfectly, so hopelessly,

'Gone, gone, sold and gone'

to the slave power, should dictate such a Proclamation, and such a message, that he should do so, menacing the Executive with a threat of resignation, as some say he did, were just nothing more than Daniel-Webster like.

That Henry Clay, the very benevolent President of the Colonization Society, and the Projector General of the Ebony Line of Steamers, and Commentor and Revier General of the Free Black People, should glut in foaming delight over the lying reports of the pro-slavery press of our city, and that he should play the Dictator over the Senate and the Cabinet, in his efforts to promulge and push through his false, though characteristic resolutions, and deliver himself of his bitterly malignant, but weak and ineffectual speech, surprises no one who knows him. Enemy and persecutor of black men as he always has been, abominable slaveocrat (holding, buying, selling, man, women and children, for his own selfish purposes) as he has ever been, unchanged and unchangeable, by what small modicum of Episcopal religion he acquired five years ago, (and may have forgotten since,) nobody would have dreamed that Henry Clay would or *could* have done otherwise, *even had it been with his dying gasp*, than improve one more precious opportunity, upon reports however groundless, of giving utterance to his ancient hatred to the poor unoffending blacks.

But that Millard Fillmore, the affable, amiable, ex-Congressman and ex-Controller should, 'Northern man as he is, and heretofore of somewhat Northern professions, volunteer his official power to traduce, crush and destroy the black men of Boston, the imitators of the gallant Attucas,—black man who violated no law, committed no violence,—that upon representations, the truths of which he acknowledges he knows nothing about, the President should join in the persecution of any portion of the people over whom, as Chief Magistrate, he ought to exercise a paternal care; that he should so wantonly seek their wounding, by threatening them with officers, civil and military, and calling them 'lawless,' when in truth they pay a regard to the Constitution too sacred to look coolly on and see it violated—would that we could say *as much of His Excellency*—is to us as surprising as humiliating. It is evidence of how a *poor boy*, upon becoming a man, being accidentally elevated to power *beyond his fitness*, can play the despot over those *as poorer not more obscure than he was once*; it shows how lowly a Northern man can bow at the bidding of the Slave Power, and how reckless he can become of every Northern and American sentiment; it is a manifestation of the most infamous piece of subserviency, the most daring stretch of despotism, and the most perfect foolishness, ever committed by an American President. Martin Van Buren never menaced the poor black people with military role, our ordered a navy yard to be held as a kidnapper's depot, nor ordered the Government prosecutors to hunt down innocent men, and subject them to cruel, malicious and vexatious suits, wherein the Federal Government was one of the parties, and the prosecuting party, too. Levi Woodbury, John McLean, and Daniel Webster, have each and severally yet to sink to this low depth of subservency. The preachers, even of the Moses Stuart school, are wicked enough to scandalize and damn the whole profession, but they have not been more than negative in their persecution of the already injured. But President Fillmore has not only ordered civil and military officers to be in readiness to drag to prison, or to shoot down like mad dogs, the 1900 black men of Boston, but he has ordered the District Attorneys of the United States to arrest all 'the lawless persons of color,' as he designs to call them, who were participants in the affair! What subserviency, say, what downright servility, to the Slave Power! Especially is this so, when it is remembered that these 'lawless persons of color' did nothing worthy of death or bonds. The President also declares that the fugitives must be re-captured, at all hazards. What a tame sacrificing, not to say prostituting, of the great power of this Federal Government to the mean and despeakably contemptible business of slave-hunting! '*At all hazards*'! It may be, at the peril of no matter how many bodies and souls, Shadrach must be re-captured, 'AT ALL HAZARDS.' Whether this was meant as a hint for some desperado to go to Canada, to kidnap Shadrach, and bring him back, though under the protection of the British Lion, we know not, but we do know that it is the solemnest mockery of the President, that Shadrach shall be '*re-captured, at all hazards.*' Atherton, Dickinson, Sprague, or even Eliot, (save the mark!) never stooped so low.

Well, the arrests have gone so far, that the counsel of poor Shadrach have been arrested. Every man who spoke an encouraging word to this poor, outraged brother, must be arrested. Set upon by a mob, one said to him, 'where were your hands?' he must be arrested. Another said, 'We will stand by you till the death,' and it is alleged that he actually took him, to his house, and procured for him a cab; and he must be arrested too. Another was Shadrach's counsel, and he must receive marks of executive wrath. Good God! what are we coming to? A man must not speak kind words to his neighbor in distress; he must not shelter and feed him; he must not procure a vehicle for him to ride in; he must not appear in court as his counsel! Freedom of speech, the right of legal defence, the right to entertain a stranger, all must bow and succumb, and disappear before the Fillmore Law, at the bidding of the executive. What progress has been made by 'American Despotism!' Robert Emmett, William Smith O'Brien, and their fellows, were tried and condemned by a Monarchical power, but they were never so abused and outraged by a Government professedly free, and under a Constitution professedly and really Republican.

Two facts present this point in a stronger light. One is, Mr. Fillmore knew full well, that *his predecessor had* been the occasion of sending into slavery at least one freeman, and that it had put in jeopardy the liberties of many others. The other fact is, Mr. Fillmore had but just done professing to Austria, that our Government always did and always would '*sympathize with the oppressed in their struggles for freedom!*' In the light of these two facts, the downright despotism of our 'Northern Whig' President is sufficiently glaring, we take it, to justify the strongest words we have used in condemnation of it. Varily, we do believe, that he who shall, as the chronicler of these times, make the most impotent attempts at doing justice to them, will set this down as the Despotic Administration of Millard Fillmore.

But the folly of this action is as plain as any other feature of it. A grave Proclamation, a graver Message, an Executive call for a strong military power to aid in hunting fugitive slaves, and in the punishment, as well as the apprehension, of fugitive slaves, and the suppression of such inalienable rights as feeding and entertaining strangers and seeing as counsel for poor men, set upon by mobs, and apprehended without process, in one of the most foolish of all conceivable plans for the subjugation of the free people of Boston. But when it is remembered, that all this is done in view of no riot, no mob, no outbreak, no violence, no rupture of laws, nothing at all to call for or justify it, the childishness of the whole proceeding is most palpable. The solemnity of the farce might well grace the boards of some laughter-provoking, small theatre, where some very small *comedy of errors* is to be hinted. And we are happy in knowing, that just this is the view which the sober, thinking names take of the matter, the country over. Does President Fillmore know that Boston is the old battle ground of Liberty? Does he recollect that, according to Lossing, in his History of the Anglo-Americans, p. 93, 'One of the chief leaders of the mob was a bualeto of herculean size and strength, named Crispis Attucks?' [speaking of the mob of March 5, 1770.] The same Attucks, p. 94, was killed by Montgomery, one of Captain Preston's soldiers, a part of the British regiment stationed at Boston. The same historian says, p. 111, speaking of the Boston tea party of December 16th, 1773, 'Many of the people followed, and when the disguised party reached the wharf, they were joined by a large number of sailors and *colored men, who still remembered*, with bitter hate, THE SLAVE OF ATTUCKS.' Black men, in Boston, before President Fillmore was born, made themselves memorable for the gallant defiance of and self-sacrifice for the rights of man. Indeed, President Fillmore was born to the inheritance of a freeman, in no small degree, in consequence of the bravery of the black men of Boston, Bunker Hill, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, during and before the Revolution. Now, does His Excellency suppose that black men of Boston, are capable of belying their ancient and honorable name? Are the descendants of the noble blacks of '70 and '75 to be expected to be *proclaimed* into tame submission to a yielding up of their most precious rights? Are they to know any difference between the despotism resisted by their fathers, and the *same sort of, though worse despotism of 1851?* Is it to be thought, for a single moment, that these men are, or *can be*, destitute of the sympathy of their white fellow-citizens? Ah! let the meetings of Lynn, Marshfield, Rochester, Watertown, Beverly and every place where the matter has so much as been referred to, answer that! Let the arrests and prosecutions of the men concerned in conspiring against the liberties of our fellow-citizens answer! Let the deep-toned, determined feeling of the better class of our citizens, in their indignant condemnation of the Proclamation and the Message, be answer abundant to this question! These two State papers shall cost our unfortunate and short-sighted Executive all his reputation as a statesman, a philanthropist, A MAN, in truth. They will prove a mill-stone around the neck of the present administration, that shall weigh it to the lowest depths of public infamy. They will make the Whig Party, in the North, a hissing and a hyword, so long as these papers shall be remembered.

BLACK MEN OF BOSTON! the remaining two years of the Webster Administration will be too short to subdue you. You inherit blood too noble to be disgraced by yielding your liberties of speech, and home, and health and hospitality, at the beck or nod of petty despotism. You are surrounded by many and powerful friends. Remember that

'The freemen's house was his castle called,
In stubborn days of yore,'

and your houses are your castles still. The civil and military officers of the President are no more terror to you than the soldiers of King George were to ATTUCKS and his noble compeers. The Constitution is on your side. The laws of Massachusetts are a sufficient Ægis for your protection. Our glorious old Commonwealth stands by you. The hearts of the people are no you side. The people of other States are looking at you intently. Already do they admire your courage, self-denial, self-sacrifice, and law-abiding. They sympathize with you in the unpeasonable case upon you by the truculent papers, endorsed by the President, Secretary of State, and your relentless, heavy-headed, bitter-hearted baiter, Henry Clay. His late act may be his last act of persecution against you. He may, like the ill-fated Richardson, suddenly be called by God to *give warrants* before the Searcher of Hearts, before he has another occasion of abusing you. Be that as it may, Leave it in the hands of Jehovah. Stand firmly to your trust, 'put you like men, be strong.' Be patient in your endurance of evil. Set a good example to your oppressed and despised race everywhere. Tell the satellites of the Government,

Our homes *shall* hide the bretheren,
When his galling chain is broken,
And the tyrant will of man shall be
As chaff, when the Lord hath spoken.
And may God speed the right! Amen!

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN FAIR IN PHILADELPHIA.

Since our friends in the city of Brotherly Love have been so kind as to put themselves to the pains and trouble of getting up a Fair in aid of our paper, it will not be deemed indelicate we hope, for us to say a word about it. The Fair is to be gotten up to aid us in the publishing and support of this paper. To us this has seemed to be a duty; but like all other parts of the great conflict for human elevation, it is a duty abounding in severe labors, and more severe embarrassments. We started the paper without capital. We did not suppose that it could be made to support itself, for the first two or three years. Our Genesee friends got up a Fair for us, during the first year of its existence, and the one now proposed is the second effort of the kind made for it during its career. Gerrit Smith, in his characteristic kindness, gives us aid to the amount of $300 a year. We have now some 1800 subscribers,—we need to have 2500 subscribers to make the paper a self-supporting one. We have a large and growing family, whom we must feed, clothe, and educate; and we disguise not the fact, that we are in debt to a considerable amount. Available property we have not. It is plain, therefore, that without some such aid as our Philadelphia Benefactresses propose, we must abandon this department of labor, and look to some other profession for a support. Every one, therefore, who regards the paper as worth sustaining, or, who regards the efforts of the Philadelphia friends as deserving encouragement, will confer a favor by aiding us, through the Fair Committee, or otherwise.

We were the loser of a considerable amount, the first year, by a partner. The second year, which is now closing, we lost a good deal through the carelessness of our clerk. Now, we wish to commence and carry through the third volume without irregularity of debt. Shall we be enabled to do it? And while our hand is in, we might as well add, to those who love us, that a little activity, *on their part, in the right direction*, would be a most welcome cooperation with the Ladies of the Philadelphia Fair.

Please send Fancy Articles, &c., for the Fair, to Mrs. E. A. Bliss, 189 South Sixth street, Philadelphia, Pa. Cash due on subscriptions can be sent to us, at 21 Cornhill, Boston.

God willing, we shall be in attendance at the Fair, and we hope to meet there the old and tried friends of our holy cause in the Quaker city. We trust the occasion will not be without service to the cause in that city. Philadelphia gives us more aid than any other city in the Union. New York stands next. And it is pleasing to know, that when we visit the former, we must pass through the latter.

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING.

At a meeting of the colored citizens of Boston, Rev. Mr. Sanford in the chair, R. Simpson, Secretary, holden at the May street Church, March 14th, for the purpose of considering the Colonization Scheme, Mr. Thomas Paul Smith, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following, which were accepted:—

Resolved, That considering this country sufficiently large for our accommodation, its soil sufficiently productive for our sustenance, its climate perfectly agreeable to our constitutions, its citizens our brethren and fellow-countrymen, and, in short, having no particular fault to find with our country, save in respect to some of its customs, institutions and laws, which it is our duty and determination to rectify with speed; therefore we have decided to remain here, and under all circumstances, to cling to the land sanctified by the blood of our fathers; and in this land, upon this soil, beneath the flag of stars and stripes, to contend, in solemn, constant, never-ceasing battle for the freedom from all manner of oppression of these millions of our brethren in Southern slavery; that until they are free, we will not think of leaving, and when they are free, we will stay to enjoy with them the hard their labor and blood have earned, and with them to sing loud the song of jubilee for the victory which God has achieved.

Resolved, That as we understand that a long train of oppressors and dough-faces, with Henry Clay at their head—our inveterate enemies in fact, but by pretence our well-wishers—have organized and are organizing themselves, why hearts filled with hatred, prejudice, lust and robbery, with false banners floating over their ranks, with big lies issuing from their mouths, and true sons of Satan commanding their forces, for the purpose of seducing us to leave the land of our birth; to leave our brethren to suffer in eternal bondage; to learn the philanthropist to battle single-handed and alone, while we are fleeing, at their request and for their amusement, to the land of the crocodile, the burning sun, the fever, and of death, divine Liberia; therefore we hereby inform them, one and all, we stay here and forever, that despite soft words and city logic, we see the base motive, we scorn the deceit and defy the power. That we further inform the National Colonization Society, its branches, elders and abettors, that when the free colored people want their services or advice, we will send them word by telegraph; previous to which time, any interference by them, as societies or individuals, in our affairs, will be regarded by us as undesirable, uncalled for, and extremely officious, and will receive our stern rebuke.

These resolutions were supported by Messrs. T. P. Smith, Lewis Hayden, J. Johnson, and several others. The meeting adjourned to a late hour, to meet at the Bethel Church on the next Friday evening, at which time, a crowded house testified to the interest felt by the people in this matter. Speeches were made by R. Morris, Esq., T. P. Smith, Wm. J. Watkins, and others. All were loudly applauded, and the resolutions were passed, with such enthusiasm; after which, it was voted to publish the same in all friendly papers.

Adjourned. J. JOHNSON, *President.*

REUBEN SIMPSON, *Secretary.*

☞ From every quarter we hear of Democratic victories. This is owing very much to the disgust of the people towards the present Administration. Bitterly and hopelessly pro-slavery as we know the Democratic party to be,—false to every great idea of real Democracy, miserable shams, as they know themselves to be,—graceless hypocrites, as every body knows they are,—we cannot but submit, with a sort of half way patience, to their ascendency for the sake of seeing the Fillmore dynasty rendered politically powerless, by a most mortifying and overwhelming defeat.

☞ The Whigs and the Democrats, in New York, will be in great competition next fall. The whole Legislature is to be elected, and upon the political complexion of that Legislature depends the character of the next U. S. Senate. In this State, the contest will be a curious one. The Whigs cannot elect, because of their having the Webster and Fillmore millstones around their necks. The Democrats cannot elect, for want of votes. The Free Soilers have still fewer votes than the Democrats, and the latter have shown themselves so unworthy of confidence, that no coalition can be made again.

☞ Amos Gerry Beman, of New Haven, Ct., Wm. Still, of Philadelphia, and Joseph R. Johnson, of Syracuse, N. Y., are regular correspondents for our paper. Mrs. L. P. Clemens, of Ohio, and E. Coates, Esq., of Philadelphia, will be occasional correspondents. New York city furnishes us many patrons, and possesses much talent, but we are none the better off for it.

☞ We can say, upon our conscience, that the sole reason of the late irregular issuing of the *Citizen*, is owing alone to the delinquency of our subscribers and the consequent difficulty of raising funds. Neglectful subscribers are among the chief of sinners!

☞ Henry Clay is evidently in his dotage. He seems to lash himself into a foam of fury, because he can neither be President nor send all the free blacks to Liberia. He may himself reach a better place, one of these days.

[Compiled from the Boston papers.]

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CASE OF SIMS.

On Friday morning, G. T. Curtis, Esq., U. S. Commissioner, pronounced his decision in the case of Thomas Sims, overruling the constitutional objections to the Fugitive Slave Law, and to the judicial functions of the Commissioners of the U. S. Courts. The opinion was very elaborate one, and the great point, that the duties imposed on Commissioners by the act of 1850 are *judicial*, and that therefore the act was unconstitutional, was the one most discussed and variously illustrated by Mr. Curtis.

The evidence that Thomas Sims, the slave of James Potter, had escaped, he held to beunfairly proved; and he held it to be further established, by the additional testimony produced, that the party now in custody was that said Thomas Sims; that therefore he should grant the certificate prescribed, by the statute, authorizing the owner or his agent (whose power of attorney, attested by a notary, was complete in all its parts) to take him back to Georgia. The certificate was accordingly granted, and delivered to the Marshal.

On Thursday morning, the counsel of Sims applied to Judge Sprague, of the U. S. Circuit and District Courts, for a writ of habeas corpus on his behalf, because the U. S. Marshal Devens held against him a criminal warrant for an assault on officer Batman, but refused to bring him before a Commissioner for examination. From the statements made by them, the Judge concluded that there was an legal ground for the writ.

In the evening, some of the same counsel appeared before Judge Woodbury, of the Circuit Court, and made an application to him, for a writ of habeas corpus, based upon the affidavit of Sims, as follows:

I, Thomas Sims, of Savannah, in Georgia, now permanent in Boston, on oath do testify and say, that I believe the warrant from Commissioner Hallett, on which I am now arrested, was obtained for the real purpose of having me tried for the fraudulent purpose of assisting the Marshal in sending me to Georgia as a fugitive from service, and preventing me from obtaining a jury trial in regard to the claim which I make to my freedom. I believe the said warrant to be a trick against my freedom.

THOMAS SIMS.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Suffolk ss., April 18th, 1851.

Subscribed and sworn to before me,

S. E. SEWALL, Justice of the Peace.

Charles Sumner, R. H. Dana, Jr., and S. E. Sewall, appeared for Sims.

The writ was issued, and, shortly after, Marshal Devens brought Sims into court, and made a return that he held him under two warrants—first, under a warrant from Commissioner Curtis, of April 4th, as a fugitive; and second, under a warrant from Commissioner Hallett, of April 7th, for an assault, with intent to kill, on A. O. Batman, an officer of the United States.

Messrs. Sumner and R. H. Dana now demanded further time, maintaining that the return of the Marshal was insufficient, and did not embrace answers to all the matters set forth in the writ.

After considerable explanation and conversation, the Judge granted a postponement till 4 o'clock on Friday afternoon, at which time the hearing was had in the U. S. Court-Room, Messrs. Sumner, Rantoul and Sewall appearing for Sims, in support of the writ, and B. R. Curtis, Esq., for Marshal Devens.

The Marshal made a further return upon the writ, that he held Sims upon the petition of the agent, who had received the Commissioner's certificate, the petition setting forth that the agent apprehended a rescue.

Mr. Sumner asserted the belief that the proceedings against Sims were intended for a mere sham, by which he was to be kept in the custody of the U. S. Marshal, against a warrant under the laws of Massachusetts, for an assault on Batman. The right of the State to enforce her criminal laws against a fugitive slave was higher than the right of an owner to recover his slave; the criminal process being in the name of the State, and therefore superior to any civil process, of whatever name or nature. Hence a mere civil process, in the name of the United States, had been resorted to, with the object of retaining Sims, as against the State of Massachusetts, until he should have been carried beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by virtue of the Commissioner's certificate that he was the slave of James Potter, of Georgia. This, he maintained, was a fraudulent use of the criminal process of the United States, and violated it.

Mr. Sumner moved that the Judge should examine Sims on the complaint, or else on him to bail upon it.

Judge Woodbury overruled Mr. Sumner's points. He said it was not for him to interfere with the District Attorney in relation to the complaint for the assault. The law vested in that officer a large discretion in relation to prosecutions, and it was not for him to direct that officer to abandon the prosecution against Sims, or to proceed with it. In conclusion, his honor said he saw no legal cause for ordering the prisoner to be discharged from the criminal warrant, and he therefore ordered him to be remanded to the custody of the Marshal, to be kept by him in the same manner and for the same purposes that he had held him before the issuing of the writ of habeas corpus.

The Marshal now took Sims back to the room in the Court House which he had occupied ever since his arrest.

Before the commencement of this hearing, Mr. Sewall made another attempt to take out a writ of personal replevin, and requested Judge Woodbury to appoint an officer to serve it upon Marshal Devens, but the Judge refused to entertain the motion.

[Compiled from the Boston papers.]

The following is the writ of habeas corpus, issued by Judge Woodbury in the case of Sims:

United States of America—District of Massachusetts, ss.

To Charles Devens, Jr., Marshal of said District—We command you that the body of Thomas Sims, commorant in Boston in said district, labourer, imprisoned by you in the Court House in said Boston, as it is said, by a certain warrant, a copy of which is annexed, together with the day and the cause of your taking and detaining him by any such warrant, and by whatsoever name the said Thomas shall be called or charged therein, you have before me, Levi Woodbury, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, at the Court House in said Boston, immediately after the receipt of this writ, to do, and receive what I shall then and there consider of concerning the said Thomas in this behalf, and have there this writ.

Witness my hand and seal, at Boston, 19th day of April, 1851.

(Signed) LEVI WOODBURY,

Associate Justice of Supreme Court of U. S.

On Friday afternoon, the fugitive Sims was according to adjournment, brought before Judge Woodbury, in chamber, and the prayer of the petitioner supported by arguments from Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sewall. The arguments were presented on the same ground as taken before his Honor on Thursday morning, and in

the conclusion, Judge Woodbury proceeded with the following decision, refusing to give a discharge.

His Honor said there were two kinds of warrants—of arrests and of commitment—included in the cases cited by counsel for the prisoner. Warrants of arrest on mesne process and warrants of nonmittment on final process; also some cases of search warrants which are entirely distinct things.

The Constitution only requires that warrants of arrest should be founded on complaints made under oath. They should set out some reference, but the reasons are to be found in the complaint. The complaint is similar to the declaration of the king's bench practised in England, and is a distinct paper from the warrant of arrest. The warrant in this case not only recites that an offence has been committed, but it refers to the complaint also. Here is enough to justify the Marshal; but in making his return on the writ of *habeas corpus*, he also brings in a copy of the complaint itself. After giving a most critical investigation to this complaint, there appeared cause enough to give jurisdiction to the Commissioner, and that the warrant was duly issued.

This complaint sets out an offence of the most heinous and aggravated character. The offence was the resisting of an officer, and the United States must sustain their officers in the issue of proper process, or cease to exist as a government. The general government cannot move on and protect the people, unless they enforce this law. The prisoner had resisted even so far as to attempt to kill, and, to the vagrants of the times, he had perhaps been instigated to do this. He ought to have sympathy for this, but must be punished.

His Honor admitted and insisted that on process of law was to be issued for oppression. Even if the officer became connivable for improper delay, the warrant by no means becomes void. But the prisoner was at this time held by other warrants as well as this. He had issued the writ of *habeas corpus*, that he might legally show if the Marshal had another precept in existence. This delay had not caused this man's imprisonment a single hour.

There was a great consideration at the bottom of all these cases quoted by opposite counsel. In all but one, the party was held on a single precept, and there was no public cause for not going before a magistrate. This man had been constantly on trial in another important case.

His Honor was now asked to go into a hearing on the assault and battery—and this at his chambers also. He should be willing to do it if no magistrate could be found.

He had no right to grant bail before the return of the officer to the Commissioner who grants the warrant. He would give caution to all interested—prudent as they have shown themselves.

His Honor, after further comment on the pole in present in the case, declared that he should have to remand the prisoner to the custody of the Marshal, as he had not found sufficient reason to discharge him. The prisoner was therefore taken to his place of confinement.

☞ The result of this protracted and painful trial is graphically stated in the following sketch of a scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it, which we copy from the Commonwealth of Saturday. Such a week Boston has never passed through in her history—certainly not since the revolutionary struggle—so humiliating so disgraceful, so appalling. But, though the victim has been dragged back to bondage, it will prove a disastrous triumph to the Slave Power, and mightily serve to augment and extend that popular agitation, which alone is needed to effect the utter overthrow of the slave system. We may be defeated, but our principles never.

THE MOTTO HAS BEEN SACRIFICED!

Thomas Sims was taken from his prison room in the Court House a few minutes before five o'clock this morning, under the direction of Marshal Tukey, and marched through Court square, Court and Stole streets, to the head of Long Wharf, *in the centre of a hollow square*, AND PLACED ON BOARD THE BRIG ACORN, Capt. HENRY COOMBS, of Sarnstable, Master, and is now on his way to Georgia and the accursed block of slavery! MAYOR HIGELOW COMPOSED A PART OF THE ESCORT! As early as 1-2 past 2 o'clock, Marshal Tukey began to muster the men who were to aid him in disgracing Massachusetts, and degrading a young man—a free citizen of Massachusetts—into slavery.

The instant Sims touched the deck of the vessel, the flying jib was hoisted, and the paddles of the tug steamboat Hercules, which had been fastened to the brig, in waiting, with steam up, for two hours, began to move, and at just one minute past 5 o'clock, the man-stealing craft was gliding down the stream with her victim, amid groans and shouts of indignation and shame, from the few lovers of Liberty on the wharf. The whole proceeding was too nearly to be undertaken under the pale beams of the moon, and so the leader of the work waited until her silver light dodged behind the western hills, and then marched, with stealthy steps, his shameful band over the sacred ground consecrated to liberty, and sealed by the blood of our Revolutionary Fathers. Some twenty of Marshal Tukey's posse accompanied the alleged fugitive down the harbor, probably to return in the steamer. The Police were armed with U. S. sabres. The only persons who witnessed this crowning disgrace to the soil of Massachusetts, with a few exceptions, were about one hundred of the true and tried members of the Vigilance Committee.

The slave-guard was drilled for an hour and a half before the final move to the vessel. Sims was brought out of the eastern main entrance of the Prison Court House, under the escort of some fifteen men, headed by Marshal Tukey, and marched to the centre of the square mass.

As he descended the steps of the Boston bastardom, his sable cheeks were bathed in tears, and although he evinced the deepest grief and sorrow, he marched with a firm and manly step, like a martyr, and a hero, to his fate. The only demonstration made by the spectators, as the procession passed, were groans, cries of 'Shame!' 'Shame!' and questions of 'Where is Liberty?' 'Is this Massachusetts and Boston?' 'Is that Chatham and Bunker Hill?'

Sims was not ironed, but was within the close embrace of two officers.

Just as Sims reached the deck of the vessel, a man standing upon the wharf cried out, 'Sims! preach liberty to the slaves.' The unfortunate youth was immediately conveyed below, where CEPHAS G. AMES, the free negro, will be able to execute his fiendish wish, expressed to us on board of that same vessel, one week since.

As the Acorn left the wharf, the vigilant lovers of freedom, who had watched during the night, gathered together, and listened in solemn silence to the following prayer, by the Rev. David Foster, an Orthodox clergyman of Concord:—

'ALMIGHTY GOD! Then seest this poor man, one of thy children, borne away by oppression. Thou art the friend of all who suffer wrong, and we have now no hope but in Thee. Thine hope is still unshaken. Thy promises endure forever. And now we beseech Thee to show Thy power and love in blessing this dear brother, who is carried by force to the land of whips and chains. O God, seize him a missionary of power to awaken a love of justice and liberty, that shall end in the speedy overthrow of the accursed system, which now causes millions of bleeding hearts.

'In mercy, heavenly Father, do Thou destroy the wicked power which rules us. Give us righteous men to administer just laws. Forgive the wickedness of our rulers, and lead them to true and lasting repentance. Pity the wretched man who now gods in fetters over the waves. Pity and bless his brethren in chains. Hasten the day when all men shall be free. And thine shall be the glory, Amen!'

The friends of Sims then sang, with solemn effect:

'O! there'll be mourning, at the judgment seat of Christ!'

The scene of this mournful scene was given with a cheerful spirit by Dr. Bowditch. The Missionary Hymn,—

'From Greenland's icy mountains,'—

was then sung, after which the assembly moved up the wharf and street, singing as they went,

'Be thou, O God, exalted high!'

Pausing on the spot in State street where Attucks fell, the members of the Vigilance Committee received to meet at once at the Anti-Slavery Office. Here arrangements were made for various meetings; an impressive prayer was made; the well known verse was read,—

'God is the refuge of his saints,
When storms of sharp distress invade;
Ere we can utter our complaints,
Behold him present with his aid.'

The words, 'Repeal, repeal, repeal,' were then sung to the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne.' It was recommended that these be repeated at every Fugitive Meeting until the bill is repealed, or becomes a dead letter.

TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Committee of Vigilance of Boston, at a meeting at half-past 5 this morning, passed a resolution, respectfully asking the people of Massachusetts to toll the bells in the several towns, as the intelligence reaches them of the return of a fugitive slave from this Commonwealth.

FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE FREE ACORN.—At about eleven o'clock on Saturday night, the wind, which had been before from the East, changed to the North West, when the brig Acorn weighed anchor and proceeded to see from Nantasket Roads. She was accompanied a few miles by the pilot boat Friend, having the U. S. Marshal on board, he having been induced to go down again by intimations that a rescue might be attempted. He returned at three o'clock on Sunday morning. In the afternoon of Saturday, Constable Lawton went down to a sail boat for the purpose of re-arresting Cephas G. Ames, the mate of the brig M. & F. C. Gilmore, for an assault upon Sims when discovered on board that vessel, but returned, not having been able to find the Acorn. The Post says:

'When Capt. Coombs, of the Acorn, was informed that an attempt might be made to take Sims out of his vessel, he made the necessary dispositions for defence, and addressed the crew, who unanimously responded that they would stand by him.

The U. S. Marshal's force which has gone to Savannah with Sims, consists of John H. Riley, Deputy Marshal, Frederick D. Bryce, James Sawin, Simpson Clark, George J. Coolidge, all of this city, and W. O. Russell of New Bedford, employed under the section of the law which authorizes the Marshal to furnish assistance to the claimant of an adjudged slave in case there is apprehension of a rescue.'

From the Liberator.

☞ What! Daniel Webster, the 'godlike,' the 'defender of the Constitution,' the savior of our glorious Union, excluded from Faneuil Hall, as a dangerous disturber of the peace! So it appears by the following pregnant article from the Courier of Wednesday morning:—

RECEPTION OF MR. WEBSTER IN BOSTON.

The citizens of Boston have been for some days in expectation of witnessing a public reception of Mr. Webster, by the people of this city, in Faneuil Hall. On Monday evening the Mayor and Aldermen went into *secret session*, for the purpose of acting on the following petition:—

To the Honorable Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Boston:

The undersigned respectfully ask the use of Faneuil Hall, on the 17th day of April, 1851, for the purpose of a public reception of the Honorable Daniel Webster, and to consult on the public good.

Signed by George O. Smith, and over 100 other substantial citizens, of both political parties.

After some proceedings had taken place in private, the doors were opened, and the following action on the foregoing petition was reported:—

Upon the petition of George G. Smith and others, for the use of Faneuil Hall for a public meeting on the 17th instant:

Resolved, That in view of the recent action of this Board upon other similar applications, and of the present excited state of the public mind, it is inexpedient to grant the use of the Hall for the purposes asked for.

The vote on the adoption of the resolution stood as follows: Yeas—Aldermen Briggs, Clark, Grant, Kimball and Munroe. Nays—Aldermen Holbrook, Rogers and Smith. It was not necessary for the Mayor to vote, for it is understood that he declared himself strongly against the resolution.

Yesterday afternoon, in consequence of the general excitement occasioned by this, the Mayor and Aldermen met again in secret session, and a proposal was made to rescind the order. The discussion which arose upon it was very animated; but it resulted in a refusal of the Board to reconsider their vote. After two hours debate, the question was taken, and it appeared that there were for rescinding the Resolve—The Mayor, Aldermen Holbrook, Rogers and Smith—4. Against re-considering—Aldermen Briggs, Clark, Grant and Munroe—4. The vote being a tie, the original resolution stands. Mr. Moses Kimball was present, but would not vote. We do not learn that he assigned any reason.

The public are entirely at a loss to understand this most extraordinary behavior of the four Aldermen who have thus disappointed the general expectation, and placed themselves in opposition to the wishes of a vast majority of the citizens of Boston. We leave the matter without any further comment.

The Great Apostate may well exclaim, 'Call you this backing your friend?' and in his perplexity again ask, 'Where shall I go?' Moved to pity in view of his exclusion, some of the anti-slavery fraternity magnanimously sent to the Mayor and Aldermen the following petition:—

To the Hon. the Mayor and the Board of Aldermen of Boston:

Gentlemen—The undersigned, while they censure the recent action of your Board in refusing the use of Faneuil Hall, for a public meeting, to the Free Soil citizens of this city and Commonwealth, would respectfully petition that the resolution refusing the use of said building upon the petition of George G. Smith et als, for a public meeting of the citizens, passed yesterday by your honorable body, may be rescinded; and they beg leave to suggest that they do not desire that the recent action of your Board upon other similar applications should be made a precedent; and that if there is any danger that the proposed meeting will be disturbed by reason of the present excited state of the public mind, the undersigned would be happy to assist the officers of the law in securing the utmost freedom of speech, and the quiet and good order of the city.

W. Jewett,	L. A. Grines,
Edward Winslow,	O. A. Goodnow,
K. W. Jackson,	Darius Sigelow,
John Kent,	Theodore Parker,
Joseph K. Hayes,	R. K. Potter,
S. F. Hanscom,	Bela Marsh,
Charles Lief,	Amariah Storrs.
Robt. F. Wallcut,	

In addition to this, the following generous offer appeared in the Commonwealth on Wednesday. Mr. Hayes, it will be recollected, is one of those who was arrested on the charge of having aided in the rescue of Shadrach:—

A CARD.

TO THE FRIENDS OF MR. WEBSTER.

Gentlemen—As the city fathers have seen fit to exclude you from the *Old Cradle of Liberty*, from fear of your foes, permit me to say, that there is a *Temple of Liberty*, at your service, at a reasonable charge; and not only so, but you may rest assured that *order shall be preserved in it*, and neither higher law men, Free Soilers, Free Democrats, or Scott Whigs shall be allowed to interrupt your proceedings, or mob your orator.

JOSEPH K. HAYES,
Superintendent of Tremont Temple.

STATE CONVENTION IN TREMONT TEMPLE.

A very large audience assembled in Tremont Temple, on the 8th instant, to attend the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, which it was announced would be convened at that place. The Hall was crowded almost to suffocation; many were unable to obtain seats, and quite a number were forced to go away for want of admittance. The galleries were occupied mostly by ladies.

At twenty minutes past 10 o'clock, the Convention was called to order by Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Boston.

Hon. John O. Palfrey was then nominated as temporary Chairman, who came forward and took his seat amid the most rapturous applause. Previous to organizing the Convention, Mr. P. remarked, that as the occasion was so important and serious one, it was necessary that we should first look for Divine guidance in prayer.

Prayer was therefore offered by Rev. Mr. Dexter of this city.

On motion of Mr. Spooner, a committee of six was appointed to report a list of permanent officers, who presented, through their chairman, (Mr. Spooner,) the following list. The organization of the meeting, therefore, was as follows:—

For President—Hon. HORACE MANN.

Vice Presidents—Sidney Homer, Frederick Robinson, J. W. Graves, Samuel Hoar, E. P. Bigelow, Brastus Hopkins, Charles Sedgwick, G. R. Russell, Rev. Caleb Stetson, Rodney French.

Secretaries—S. Webb, Thomas Russell, G. M. Ellis.

During the day, speeches of the most stirring character were made by Horace Mann, John O. Palfrey, Stephen C. Phillips, Rev. John Pierpont, Anson Burlingame, John C. Park, Rodney French, G. E. Ellis, Amasa Walker, Henry Wilson, Charles L. Remond, Thomas W. Higginson, and others, which were responded to in a most enthusiastic manner. The scene throughout was in the highest degree impressive. A series of resolutions, presented by Mr. S. C. Phillips, was adopted, by acclamation, and at half past 5, the Convention was dissolved.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the people of the United States are entitled to all the 'rights and liberties' which, by *Magna Charta*, the *habeas corpus* act, the *Declaration of Rights*, and the *Common Law* of England, belonged before the Revolution to the free subjects of the British Crown; that it was not designed, in effecting the political Independence of the Colonies, to subvert or endanger, but, on the contrary, to maintain, secure, and perpetuate the rights and liberties of the people; that all statutes, the effect of which may be to change a free man into a slave, without the '*verdict of his Peers*,' and without judicial proceedings according to 'the law of the land,' are in violation of these rights of English freemen, which the wise men of the Revolution were not to part with, but to retain; which the Constitution was formed to protect, and not to destroy; and which we can never disown, desert, betray or compromise, so long as we remain worthy to be known as citizens of New England.

Resolved, That the existing enactments of Congress upon the recapture of persons claimed to have escaped from service, are an alarming usurpation of power, not granted by the people nor the States, are subversive of the ancient rights and duties of freemen, of the express provisions and reservations of the American Constitution, and of the fundamental maxims of a free government.

Resolved, That no person in any State of this Union can constitutionally be deprived of his liberty, without 'due process of law,' which process in the case of an alleged fugitive from service is a suit at common law, in which the person claimed is entitled to a trial of all the facts involved in the issue between him and his claimant, before a court of competent jurisdiction, by a jury of the vicinity where he is found; to be heard fully in his defence, to be confronted, and to cross-examine the witnesses against him; and to have the benefit of the rules of evidence as they are accustomed to be administered in the courts of common law; and that in the determination of such an issue, all presumptions of law and fact are, and ought to be, in favor of liberty.

Resolved, That it is the paramount duty of the law making power to maintain and secure the 'liberties' of the people; and that any enactment which discriminates against the 'liberties' of the people, in favor of property, is unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust; and that a law which discriminates against liberty in favor of one specific kind of property, thus giving to one class of capitalists (and those, slaveholders) privileges which are inconsistent with the personal safety of freemen, and out shared by any other holders of property, can stand only upon the assumption, that there are no States in the Union but slave States, no people but slaveholders, and no property to the nation but slaves.

Resolved, That it is impossible to aid, by word or deed, in remanding a fugitive slave to bondage, without adding to rob him of an inalienable right, without participating to the act of holding him in slavery, and thus without sinning against Christian light, and against God.

Resolved, That the Act of Congress providing for the recapture and return of persons claimed as slaves, ought to be immediately and forever repealed.

In the evening, the spacious Temple was filled with citizens, assembled *impromptu*, who were addressed by the Rev. Mr. Colver, Mr. List, Mr. Remond, W. H. Channing, Eliza Wright, and Wendell Phillips. The speech of Mr. Phillips was perfectly electrifying.

THE KNELL OF LIBERTY. The bells of the Orthodox, Methodist, and Universalist Churches at Waltham were tolled on Saturday, when the news of the man-stealing was received. The bell on the Unitarian Church, being clogged with cotton, would not sound.

In Newton Upper Falls the church bells were tolled on Saturday for the removal of Sims.

The town bell of Plymouth was also tolled on receipt of the humiliating news.

☞ Rev. Dr. Jarvis, formerly of St. Paul's Church in Boston, died at his residence in Middletown, Ct., on the 29th ult.

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ James Cromwell Garnet, eldest son of Rev. H. H. Garnet, died at Geneva on the 1st of March, aged five years. The bereavement of Mr. Garnet must be the more severe, from his absence from his family.

☞ Do they who talk so much about obedience to the slave laws, especially the Kidnapping Fillmore Law, show a great deal of regard for Excise Laws, and Usury Laws, and Revenue Laws?

☞ The new postage law goes into effect on the first of July next. On newspapers it demands higher postage, *in some instances*, than the present law.

☞ We beg leave to say to our subscribers in Delaware Co., N. Y., that the evils of which they complain shall exist no longer. We will allow for last time.

☞ Daniel Webster's own town goes against the Fugitive Law by a large majority. 'Prejudices un-conquered.'

☞ The people of Lynn are sorely troubled with 'un-conquered prejudices,' and the people of Salem won't turn bloodhounds of the genus Daniel. Pity, ain't it? Beverly is on better. Ah!

☞ The Geneva Celebration of the 8th of August next must be a splendid affair. Geneva against the world to get up a Celebration!

☞ Jenny Lind and Frederika Bremer have both shown, that it is as easy for Northern Europeans as for Northern Americans to play the doughface for Southern patronage. George Thompson does not belong to that school.

☞ Our baby grows.

☞ A. M. Walpole, once a Son of Temperance, in McLean, N. Y., has purchased the Eagle Tavern, the most fashionable establishment for genteel drinking and broadcloth dissipation in Cortland Village, New York.

☞ Cortland, (N. Y.) Presbytery have passed resolutions against the Fugitive Slave Law, declaring it to be contrary to the Law of God, and declaring their intention to disobey it, and rebuking those divines who have preached in its favor. Oswego (N. Y.) Presbytery has done likewise. Honor to those two bands of faithful men. May they be an example in regard to all reforms!

☞ Thomas Paul Smith, who was arrested by President Fillmore's minions upon the charge of having violated the Kidnapping Law, is a grandson of the late Elder Thomas Paul, whose name he bears.

☞ Mrs. Hetty H. Garnet will sail for Europe in June next.

☞ A protracted meeting has been in progress in Homer, and another in Cortland Village, N. Y., in the Methodist Episcopal Churches. Several conversions are professed.

☞ If every Post Master in the country is as perfect a friend to the Bloodhound Act of the Kidnapping Administration, as the Presbyterian Post Master of Cortland Village, N. Y., Col. Taylor, we should have reason to pray God for their removal to a more congenial clime. Col. T. is a personal friend of ours, but a most hopeless slaveocrat, a most thorough and devoted friend of Whig negro-catching—a most perfect echo of Fillmoreism.

☞ The Fillmore Administration is more abominably pro-slavery than any that ever preceded it. God grant we may never have such another. Let us have done hearing about Northern Whigs. How glad we are that we had some small share in the defeating of Henry Clay. Had we ever dreamed of doing the smallest possible thing towards promoting his election, we never should have been able to stone for it. But his administration could have been no worse than Millard Fillmore's is.

☞ The Hair Tonic, manufactured by our old friend, J. W. Quincy, of Plainfield, is unsurpassed by any now in the market. It should be sold in Boston, and all the large towns in the State.

☞ The California fever seems to be abating. One or two sights of the elephant seem to be enough for most men.

☞ Commodore Stockton is returned to the United States Senate by the New Jersey Legislature.

☞ The Cortlandville Academy continues to flourish, under the very able care of Mr. Samuel S. Pomeroy, its Preceptor.

The Indiana Black-Laws, adopted by the State Convention to frame a new Constitution, provide as follows:—

The first section, providing that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State after the adoption of the Constitution, passed, 94 to 40.

The second section, making all contracts with them void, and fining all persons employing them not less than ten or more than five hundred dollars, passed, 78 to 54.

The third section, appropriating the fines collected under this article to the colonization of the negroes now in the State, passed, 106 to 33.

The fifth section, providing that the Legislature shall pass laws necessary to carry out this negro article, passed, without the ayes and noes.

The sixth section, requiring the separate submission of this article to the people—proclaimers and colonisation of negroes and mulattoes—aye or no—passed, 82 to 54.

Baltimore, April 1d.—At the meeting of the Maryland Reformers, at Annapolis, the committee on the colored population reported articles giving power to the Legislature to pass laws for the removal of free negroes, and for their registration; that the population be made incapable of holding real estate by title acquired after adopting this constitution, and all deeds purporting to convey to them real estate to be null and void, only allowing them to lease an estate for by term of one year; an slave to be manumitted unless on condition of leaving the State within thirty days; and no free negro allowed to come into the State to reside.

Rhode Island Election.—There is bad news for the Whigs from the Rhode Island election on Monday. The Democrats swept the State, on local issues. Allen, the Democratic candidate for Governor, had 536 majority over all others. In the Western Congressional District, R. B. Thurston, Free Democrat, is chosen to Congress by 953 majority over all others. Mr. Thurston was formerly elected to Congress by a coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats, and voted right on all the great questions. In the Eastern District, King, the Whig candidate, was chosen by 160 majority. The Democrats have the Senate and the Whigs the House. The figures are—Senate, Democrats 17, Whigs 18, no choice 5. House, Democrats 53, Whigs 35, no choice 4.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

FAIR FOR THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

The Ladies of the Impartial Association of Philadelphia respectfully inform the public that their First Annual Fair to aid the Impartial Citizen will be held in Arch Street Hall, Arch street, between Fifth and Sixth streets, commencing on Monday, April 21st, and continuing several days and evenings.

Refreshments, Fancy Articles, &c., will be offered for sale, and the Association indulge the hope that a liberal patronage will be bestowed by a generous public.

Mr. S. R. Ward, editor of the Impartial Citizen, with other speakers, will be present during the Fair, and deliver addresses appropriate to the occasion.

ELIZA ANN BIAS, *President.*
LUCRETIA T. BOWERS, *V. President.*
CATHARINE S. EVANS, *Secretary.*
Philadelphia, April, 1851.

DASTARDLY OUTRAGE.

The writer of the following letter is the same victim, who, a few days after it was written, was again seized by certain ruffians, and ten times thrown successively into a pond, and otherwise brutally outraged, in Kentucky:—

WHITEHALL, Feb. 17, 1851.

MR. EDITOR:

Will you permit one who is a stranger to you to present to the public, through the columns of the Chronicle, an account of the doings of the mob in your village last evening? I ask to be heard, because I was its victim, and because it forms a part of the history of the village.

I am a citizen of the United States. I have violated no law of Kentucky; *that* is not my object. I have simply exercised my constitutional rights. I am a Baptist minister, regularly appointed by the Am. Bap. Free Mission Society, a Society sustained by numerous Baptist churches. From a constitutional principle, it disfellowships slavery; and in its practical operations, in connection with all its other duties, it advocates emancipation, with a view to the employment of the colored population as hired laborers in our country.

Missionary bodies have been accustomed to send missionaries to every State in the Union, and to every nation in the world. They claim the right to do so, from the divine command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' Mark xvi. 15. In common with others, our Society acts on this principle. Hence, I have been laboring in Virginia, and am now laboring in Kentucky.

In Lewis and Bracken counties, I have lectured to patient and attentive audiences. I lecture where the people are willing to hear me. I know of no way of learning whether the people will hear me or not, but that of making the inquiry.

As over 800 votes in favor of emancipation were polled in Madison county, I concluded to visit it, and lecture, if practicable. I visited Richmond, and requested of the denominations, respectively, the privilege of lecturing 'on the moral and religious condition of the slave population.' I met with a refusal in each case. I stated to some of the citizens that I should like to see the order of the colored population in their worship, and should attend worship with them. At the appointed time, I repaired to the house of worship, and was invited by the colored minister, a Baptist, to preach. This invitation I accepted, and preached from Phil. iv. 6—'In every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God.'

Before the closing prayer was offered, I was informed that a number of white people surrounded the door of the house. There were two white men beside myself within the house during the exercises. On learning the statement relative to those assembled outside, I immediately went out. A number of men surrounded me. The faces of some were nearly concealed by handkerchiefs, and some were armed with large sticks. They immediately asked, 'What is your business in this community?' I replied, 'I am the missionary of a Baptist Emancipating Missionary Society.' They inquired again, 'Are you an abolitionist?' I replied, 'If, by that term, you mean one in favor of the slaves rising and resisting their masters, I am not. But, if you mean one in favor of using the same means to abolish slavery that we are using to abolish intemperance, then I am one.'

They requested me to show them the papers in my pocket, if they were not private ones. I immediately handed them the tract written by Henry Ward Beecher, a Presbyterian minister, published by our Society, on 'Slavery a Rightful Topic of Public Discourse.' On examining it in the light of the moon, one of the mob pronounced it a regular abolition tract. They now stated that I must take my choice, either to leave in fifteen minutes, or be tarred and feathered. I stated that I was a stranger, and that it was now late. I would like to stay till morning. But they resolved that I should leave the village, if not the county. I proceeded to the tavern. As I moved on, an egg was thrown at me. Some water was also poured upon me. Some shouted, 'Kentucky hospitality.' One said my throat ought to be cut. Others used profane language. Arrived at the tavern, the 'Webster House,' one proposed that I should be allowed to remain till the morning. This was opposed. Having paid my bill, I inquired if they would promise not to injure me, if I accompanied them. They declared I should not be injured, and decided that I should take the Lexington pike. At the tavern, the mob drank liquor.

As we moved on, one of the company remarked, 'If you had said one word about abolition this evening, we should have taken you out of the pulpit.' We came near a pond, and I was informed by one of the company that it was intended to put me in that pond. He urged me to run. One man ran forward, and as I ran along near the pond, grabbed my coat, but I succeeded in getting away. As I hurried forward, a pistol was discharged some five or six times,—not, I suppose, with the intention of hurting any one.

Such are the facts. The mob have disgraced themselves—not me. I will not now moralize on the disregard exhibited to the authorities in Richmond, or on the tendency of such conduct to defeat its own object. In view of this state of things, have the ministers and churches no duty to do?

Yours, for God and humanity,
EDWARD MATHEWS.

P. S. I herewith forward you a copy of our Annual Report, and the tract of Mr. Beecher. E. M.

OPINIONS OF SENATOR WADE.

The following report of a speech delivered by the Senator elect from Ohio, is taken from the Ravenna Star of last November:—

SPEECH OF B. F. WADE ON THE FUGITIVE LAW, DELIVERED AT RAVENNA LAST NOVEMBER.

Judge Wade fairly electrified the audience by the earnestness and energy with which he denounced the Fugitive Law, and all who bore a part in inflicting it upon us. He said he had always been a Whig, was still a Whig, but here were considerations which rose above party and party influences, and he, for one, was prepared to unite with any men, or any party, in opposition to this law. He condemned in strong terms Whigs and Democrats who aided in the passage of the law by their votes, or by dodging; rebuked with energy and spirit Fillmore and Crittenden, and visited Daniel Webster with the most withering and biting sarcastic denunciation. He said the law, bristling like a porcupine with pains and penalties, was the most infamous enactment known to the statute books of this country, and such as even the corrupt governments of the old world could not pass without driving their people to revolution. For himself, regardless of fines and imprisonment, if called upon, he would grant to a fugitive slave the writ of *habeas corpus*; nay, more, would give him his liberty under it. He would not counsel the people *to* forcible and armed resistance against the execution of the law; but he would say that, in his judgement, should they imitate the example set by the old fathers in regard to the Stamp Act and the Tea Act, *they would not err much*.

He said we were appealed to by our love of the Union to sustain this law. He paid a glowing tribute to the Union, and said it was glorious so long as it was restricted to the appropriate and legitimate purposes of its creation, namely, the securing of the universal liberty and happiness of all the people—but if it was turned into an engine of cruelty and oppression,—used as an instrument of crushing tyranny—warped round to the exclusive benefit of slaveholders—its power and its vengeance invoked to debar free citizens from the exercise of the most common acts of humanity, and itself converted into a grand slave-catcher, *the sooner we are rid of it, the better*.

At the same meeting, the following resolutions were passed, and in the proceedings of which meeting, and the adoption of said resolutions, Mr. Wade participated:—

Resolved, That the acceptance of the office of Commissioner or Marshal under this Bill, [Fugitive Slave Bill,] by any citizen of Ohio, knowing the duties devolving upon him, will prove him to be a man utterly heartless and devoid of humanity, and a fit associate for Haynau. Nor can we expect to escape the vengeance of Heaven, if we do not *trample the law in the dust, and indignantly frown upon its executors*.

Resolved, That those members of Congress from free States who voted for the measure, *deserve to be buried in the grave of infamy so deep that the hand of political resurrection can never reach them*. And those members who intentionally absented themselves when the question was taken, are less to be respected than those who boldly recorded their names in the affirmative,—as they but added cowardice to their perfidy.

At Canfield, Ohio, Judge Wade also participated in the adoption of the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That *we will not, under any political necessity whatever, vote for any man, for any office of trust, honor or profit*, who voted for or aided, directly or indirectly, in the passage of the act, or *approves of its infamous provisions*, OR AIDS IN ITS EXECUTION.

Resolved, That come fine or come imprisonment, come fine, come death, we will neither aid nor assist in the return of any fugitive slave, but, on the contrary, *we will harbor and secrete*, and by all just means PROTECT and DEFEND him, and thus give him a practical God-speed to liberty.

Our contemporaries claim Mr. Wade as a Whig. Are these Whig doctrines? If they are, we take it Mr. Fillmore is not a Whig.

We profess to know nothing of what Mr. Wade will do as Senator. We take none of the responsibility of his election. But if he acts up to these professions, he can only be a violent and uncompromising opponent of the administration, by whatever party designation he may be known.

From the N. H. Independent Democrat.

LUCIFER! HOW ART THOU FALLEN!

A few years since, Daniel Webster uttered the following eloquent sentiment and pledge:—

'Living, I shall assert the right of *Free Discussion*; dying, I shall assert it; and, should I leave no other inheritance to my children, by the blessing of God I will leave them the inheritance of *Free Principles*, and the example of a manly and independent defence of them.'

Last week, a man bearing the same name, went down to address the slaveholders of Maryland at Annapolis. After complimenting, in terms of the highest panegyric, a series of ultra resolutions on slavery and slave-catching, and *one* in particular, making the maintenance and execution of the present Fugitive Slave Act the *sole* bond of the Union, this Daniel Webster said:—

'Gentlemen—I concur in the sentiments expressed by you all—and I thank God that they were expressed by you all—in the resolutions passed here on the 10th of December. And allow me to say, that any State, North or South, which departs, *one iota*, from the sentiment of that resolution, is disloyal to this Union.

'Further—so far as any act of this sort has been committed, SUCH A STATE HAS NO PORTION OF MY REGARD. *I do not sympathize with it.* I rebuke it wherever I speak, and on all occasions where it is proper for me to express my sentiments. If there are States,—and I am afraid there are,—which have sought, by ingenious contrivances of State legislation, to thwart the fair exercise and fulfilment of the laws of Congress passed to carry into effect the compacts of the Constitution, THAT STATE, SO FAR, IS ENTITLED TO NO REGARD FROM ME. AT THE NORTH THERE HAVE BEEN CERTAINLY SOME INDICATIONS, IN CERTAIN STATES, OF SUCH A POLICY.

'I hope, that while we maintain, as the State of Maryland has maintained, fixed and determined sentiments in favor of the Constitution, we will hold no parley with any body who would impeach it in the slightest degree. While we maintain the necessity of *establishing and sustaining these laws of adjustment* which were passed by the last Congress, to settle the country, while we hold on to them with firmness and decision, I hope, nevertheless, we shall take a course not to provoke or taunt those who feel any difference of sentiments. ☞ I hold the importance of maintaining these measures to be of the highest character and nature, every one of them, out and out, and through and through. I have no confidence in anybody who seeks the repeal, in anybody who wishes to alter or modify, these constitutional provisions. ☞ There they are! Many of these great measures are irrepealable. The settlement with Texas is as irrepealable as the admission of California. Other important objects of legislation, if not in themselves in the nature of grants, and therefore not so irrepealable, are just as important, and *we are to hear no parleying upon it. We are to listen to no modification or qualification.* They were passed in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution; and *they must be performed and abided by*, IN WHATEVER EVENT, AND AT WHATEVER COST.'

When we consider this man's relation to the country, and to Massachusetts, one of the States referred to here, it is difficult to entertain for the author of such language any sentiment but of supreme pity and contempt. Just as though Massachusetts, or Vermont, or New Hampshire, cared for the 'regard' of one who has shown no regard for freedom, and none for all the words and deeds of his own past life! All of these States and many others are 'guilty' of not assisting in the hunting down of slaves. All of them have passed laws refusing their jails to the hunters of men. All of them prohibit their citizens from being bloodhounds, either on the requisition of Daniel Webster or any one else. All of them, therefore, are under the ban. The State of his birth, and the State of his adoption, have alike forfeited his 'regard' forever! And who is this Daniel Webster, who tells the sovereign States of this Union that *he* does 'not regard' them? *What* is he, who thus abjures the place of his birth, and anathematizes the mother that bore him? Can he be the same man who has acted as a Senator of Massachusetts during some twenty years, and, half of that time, while the very legislation of which he complains was upon her statutes? Can it be the 'great expounder,' who has offered to defend that very legislation in his seat in the U. S. Senate? Let those believe it who can. We do not, and will not. Never. The Daniel Webster who uttered the above sickening incense to the slaveholders of Maryland cannot be the same who claimed the 'Wilmot Proviso' as 'his thunder.' It cannot be *the* Daniel Webster of 1820, 1837, and 1848.

From the New York Tribune.

THE OLD AND THE NEW WEBSTER.

Ten or twelve years ago, when the annexation of Texas had not yet been seriously meditated by any portion of our people, Daniel Webster made a set speech in our city, wherein he volunteered a declaration, that resistance to the extension of slavery and the Slave Power under our Government was with him a matter of conscientious principle and patriotic duty, which could not be waived nor compromised, but must be lifted up at all hazard and at all cost.

Seven years ago, he spoke at intervals through the struggle of 1844, making resistance to slavery extension the great, controlling issue, and thereupon calling Northern freemen to rally to the Whig standard. Well do we remember the bitterness he felt and expressed on the receipt of Mr. Clay's first Alabama letter, which seemed to take the true ground from under our feet.

Three years ago, Mr. Webster came into the support of Gen. Taylor with unfeigned reluctance, in view of the pro-slavery influence which, to a great extent, secured his nomination. 'The North,' said Mr. W., in one of his first speeches of that campaign, 'there is no North! . . . but I think I see indications that hereafter there *will be a North!*' &c. &c.

In that campaign, Mr. Webster ridiculed the claim of the Van Burens and their Buffalo drove to be distinguished as Free Soilers, claimed the Wilmot Proviso as not Davy's at all, but *his* thunder, and insisted that he and his Whig brethren had been upholding the Free Soil banner for years before the Wilmots and Van Burens ever thought of such a thing—that the Whig party was the true party of resistance to the encroachments of the Slave Power, and the Buffaloes were Bogus.

In 1849, Mr. Webster fought a noble battle in the Senate against the efforts of the Extensionists and their allies to organize California, &c., without the Wilmot Proviso, and maintained the struggle down to the last hours of the session.

In 1850—not yet one year ago—Mr. Webster, even after making his great plunge, declared in the Senate that any Fugitive Slave Bill to be passed ought to guarantee to the person claimed as fugitive a trial by jury, and, in this connection, took from his drawer a bill, which he said he had drawn long before, expressly securing this right.

—Another Mr. Webster—diverse in spirit, though identical in body—has just been making a speech to the assembled slave-breeders of Maryland—a speech very full of Union and very empty of Liberty. This speech speaks of the Federal Constitution as a compact between slave States on the one hand, and free States on the other, when, in truth, the whole, substantially, were slave States—nearly all holding men in bondage, and no one of them having then thoughtfully considered the ethical and social bearings of slavery. This speech talks as if hostility, or even a disposition to ask modifications, of the present Fugitive Slave Law, which utterly denies and subverts that right of trial by jury which the other Mr. Webster insisted should be inviolate—were synonymous with disloyalty to the Union—with moral treason!

—Both these men make able and plausible speeches, but—in spite of our progressive tendencies, our fondness for novelty—we can't help liking the old Webster better than the new one.

☞ The following are the feelings and sentiments of a woman—Mrs. Swisshelm—respecting slave-hunters and their abettors:—

From the Pittsburgh Family Visiter.

THE FUGITIVE GARDINER.

We have not heard that any great progress has been made in collecting funds for the purchase of Gardiner. We fear he will not be released. We know men who would have risked all the penalties of the law to have rescued him, had they known of the transaction at the time, and who would not give one dollar to purchase his freedom, believing it would be a premium on slave-catching. He never could have been taken from this place, had it not been done in a corner and in a hurry; and we are assured by a friend in New Brighton, there would have been few of the 'hard-fisted left' in that place, had the arrest been known in time for interference. Captain Haslep, of Beaver, is greatly blamed by those acquainted with the circumstances. He is said to have been a professed friend of Gardiner, and to have deliberately betrayed him. He will have his reward, and we do hope his neighbors will attend to it, and if he did as Mrs. Gardiner says, see that he gets scorn enough to answer for 'morning bitters,' and a dose after dinner.

The *Enterprize* thinks our remarks of last week are severe. We thought we were as mild as new milk. Our being a woman debars every thing that wants to be called 'a gentleman' from the usual redress of wounded honor, and we always keep this in mind, and try not to presume upon our immunities. We do not say one half that we feel we should say if we were a man. If we were, and any fellow who had acted hound and aided in capturing a fugitive should offer us any of the courtesies of life proper between man and man, we would spit upon him. As it is, if one should enter the room we were in, it would require a strong muscular effort on our part to prevent 'Get out, dog! get out!' from escaping our lips. To us they appear like dogs, and nothing else. Their faces and forms assume the outline and expression of a dog. Their whiskers look like 'smellers' or 'feelers.' We would not rank amongst our list of friends the man who needlessly sets foot upon a worm! and one who, for a ten or twenty dollar fee, would aid to tear a man from the bosom of his family, and consign him to the condition of a brute, ought to be held without the range of all human sympathy. We would not let any such biped sleep in our barn, or take a drink at our pump. We would not take his name as a subscriber, and could not write editorials for a slave-catcher to read; and if there were a hundred people of our mind in Pittsburg, it would be hard for a Commissioner to live in it. We would hire little boys to halloo at him on the streets, and chambermaids to throw dirty water on him out of upstair windows; and like the Yankee boy's companions, we would 'keep a pinchin' and a poundin'' of him all the while, until he would be obliged to leave or repent. 'Get out, dog! get out!' should meet him at every door which shelters family ties. Every husband and father who values his right to live with his wife and children, should spit upon or thrust such an animal from his path—every wife and mother who feels the value of a husband's love should spurn him from her door, and every child who loves its father should taunt and mock him when he shows his face.

Talk about the compromises of the Constitution! Does it compromise away any man's right to refuse to hold any office which would compel him to be a dog? If our forefathers promised, on our behalf, that we should permit Southerners to come and take their slaves, do not make that an excuse for your decorating your neck with a brass collar, and yelping and bow-wowing on the track of their game! Call it severe to liken a volunteer slave-catcher to a dog? Pigs do no such work! Wolves catch no prey but what they want to eat! No animal except a dog can be hissed on to catch game for another! This is our classification, but if any naturalist can give us a better one, we will accept it, and stand reproved.

'HAIL! COLUMBIA, HAPPY LAND!'

Amongst the various institutions whose names adorn the pages of our country's history, there is none which stands out in such bold relief at the present moment as that styled by McDuffie 'the corner-stone of our republic.' Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore, Lewis Cass, Henry Clay, Hangman Foote, and their base minions, while sacrificing all the finer feelings of humanity to the cupidity of Southern slaveholders and the selfish designs of Northern demagogues and dough-faces, are uniting their efforts to perpetuate such scenes as were just witnessed in Philadelphia, when a poor, helpless woman was arraigned before a commissioner's court, for no greater crime than having breathed the free air of heaven without the permission of her lordly master. After a protracted trial of many days, in which it would seem her vile oppressor ransacked not only earth, but also hell, if we may be permitted to judge from the witnesses in the case, to prove his claim to a piece of human flesh, well did the darkness of that midnight hour in which she was consigned to cruel, relentless bondage for life, and to the scourge of the slave-driver's whip, comport with the dark and damning deed which would mantle the cheek of any one not steeped in demon guilt. Well might a Hogarth find employment for his pencil in portraying the scenes that graced, or rather disgraced, the City of Brotherly Love, in this 'home of the brave and land of the free,' while more than sixty officers of State and city, conducted a poor helpless fugitive woman to the cars, which were to convey her away forever from the sweet endearment of home and friends, to linger out the little remnant of her earthly existence under the lash of a cruel tyrant and task-master. Nothing in the history of nations, since the Spanish *auto da fe*, exhibits such a commingling of hellish design, and elements of human degradation, as are brought into exercise in carrying out the impious, disgraceful and cowardly Fugitive Slave Law.

From the Independent Democrat.

A PRECIOUS COUPLE OF PATRIOTS.

The following letter, which has recently come to light, will enable Northern men to peep a little 'behind the scenes,' and learn what a precious set of patriots are enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. The letter was found in the possession of the scoundrel to whom it was written at the time of his arrest and conviction in Pennsylvania for passing counterfeit money. We presume these two patriotic 'friends of the Compromise' were carrying on the two occupations of kidnapping and counterfeiting at the same time. And such are the men for whom Congress spent almost the whole of last year, enacting the whole people of the free States into bloodhounds.—The *Kephart* mentioned here is probably the same man who claimed 'Shadrach' in Boston the other day, it being the same, with a slight difference of spelling.

PORTSVILLE, Montgomery Co., Md.

DEAR SIR: I arrived home in safety with Louisa, John having been rescued from me out of a two story window at twelve o'clock at night. I offered a reward of fifty dollars, and have him here safe in jail. I wish you to write to no person in this State but myself. Kephart and myself are determined to go the whole hog for any negro you can find, and you give me the earliest information, as soon as you find any. Enclosed you will receive a handbill, and can make a good bargain, if you can find them. I will in all cases, as soon as a negro runs off, send you a handbill immediately, so that you can be on the look out. Please tell the constable to go on with the sale of John's property; and when the money is made, I will send on an order to you for it. Please to attend to this *for me*; likewise write to me and *inform me of any negro you think has run away—no matter where you think he has come from, nor how far—and I will try to find his master. Let me know where you think he is from, with all particular marks, and if I don't find his master, Joe's dead!*

Write me about the crooked fingered negro, and let me know which hand and which finger, color, &c. Likewise any mark the fellow has who says he got away from the negro buyer, with his height and color, or any other you think has run off.

Give my respects to your partner, and be sure to write to no person but myself. If any person writes to you, you can inform me of it, and I will try to buy from them. I think we can make money, if we do business together, *for I have plenty of money, if you can find plenty of negroes.* Let me know if Daniel is still where he was, and if you have heard of Francis since I left you.

Accept for yourself my regard and esteem,
REUBEN B. CARLLEY.
JOHN C. LAUNDERS.

From the Worcester Spy.

WEBSTER'S LAST.

The great Expounder tickled the slaveholders hugely at the public dinner recently given him, without distinction of party, at Annapolis, Md. We have read his remarks as reported by the Hunker newspapers, but find in them nothing more than a rehash of the Secretary's everlasting drizzle, which he sprinkles into every thing he writes, from a vote of thanks for a present of a new carriage, to a letter of condolence with the relatives of Isaac Hill,—about the memory of Washington,—the compromise measures,—'our glorious Union,' &c. The speech was quite lengthy, and, of course, the Secretary became exceeding dry before he got through; and that which pleases us the most in the whole of it, is the adroitness displayed by the 'Godlike' in managing to take a drink before he had finished. The New York Express says:—

'After dwelling at some length upon the character and services of Washington, Mr. Webster said he hoped he would be pardoned for interrupting the thread of his discourse at this moment, by proposing, from the fullness of his heart, the following toast:

"*The glorious and immortal Washington.*"

This was drank in silence, standing, and Mr. Webster then resumed his remarks.'

Of course he did; and it is astonishing to note the effect of that one drink upon Mr. Webster's rhetoric. There was considerable limping and halting in the sentences until then, but a long pull at the brandy to the memory of Washington seemed to warm up the ideality of the modern Judas, and he went through the rest of his performance in the farce of cementing the Union, 'like a steam engine in breeches,' as the Englishman said of him at the agricultural dinner in England.

PITHY.

Recently, an Anti-Fugitive Slave Law meeting was held in Lewis county, Kentucky. The Maysville Eagle publishes the following resolutions which were adopted by this meeting:

'Whereas, In the letter of Ex-Governor Metcalf to Mr. Foote, the former, in speaking of the Fugitive Slave Bill, assumes that Kentucky, with unbounded unanimity, will regard its repeal by the General Government as a dissolution of the Union:

Resolved, That the opinion of a slaveholder, as is Gov. Metcalf, or of the 31,000 slaveholders of Kentucky, can in no fair sense be regarded as the opinion of the 600,000 non-slaveholders of our State.

Resolved, That we shall be happy to be furnished with the evidence by which the Ex-Governor learned the views of the non-slaveholders in advance of their having expressed them.

Resolved, That so far as we are informed, intelligent and influential non-slaveholders regard the Fugitive Slave Bill as unconstitutional and anti-Christian.

Resolved, That, the admiration which we feel for free institutions leads us to believe that the North will remain firm in its purpose of repealing this law in a legal manner, and that it will be as much opposed at the South as at the North, when the light shines as abundantly here as it does there.'

ANOTHER PROCLAMATION.

Webster, Fillmore & Co's Proclamation has now a twin brother from Austria, and from a similar source, viz. Baron Haynau. Read and compare:—

Gentlemen—I have summoned you here to tell you I have been commissioned by his Royal Highness to crush under foot that pernicious gang that threatens the welfare of the State. Sirs, the question is, who is to rule, this God-abandoned, godless, pernicious gang, or the government which God has set up? We shall soon decide this question in Cassel, and all thrones in Europe look here and upon us, upon this little army. I ask not if you will obey—'tis not for that I have called you together—you must obey; for he who obeys not shall have his soldier coat pulled off his back, and have a blouse put on him. It is nothing to you whether the orders given you, sirs, are constitutional or not. His Royal Highness has sworn to the Constitution, and I have full powers from him. I am the Constitution for you, sirs—if any one of you prefers the smile of that gang, or the brand of traitors to the favor of the prince whom God has set up, I will pull the coat off his back, and put a blouse on him. Gentlemen, your servant.

The Impartial Citizen.

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COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In Senate, March 24, 1851.

The Joint Special Committee, to which was referred so much of the Governor's Address as relates to the subject of Slavery, and to which were also referred numerous petitions from the inhabitants of the State, praying the Legislature to instruct their Senators and to request the Representatives in Congress to use their endeavors to procure a repeal of the 'Fugitive Slave Law;' and also numerous other petitions praying the Legislature to provide further safeguards to protect the citizens in the enjoyment of their natural rights, submit the following.

REPORT.

In his inaugural address, the Governor remarks that, 'in ordinary times,' we should 'omit the discussion of topics which are national in their character; but the excitement which has sprung from the institution of slavery, and the vituperation of questions connected with it, seem to justify more than a deviation from this general policy.' After alluding to the fact, that where slavery 'exists, it is regarded as a benefit, where it does not exist, it is regarded as an evil;' that 'one portion of the country has a pecuniary interest in the existence, equal to many hundred millions of dollars,' and that 'the other regards it as a moral, political, social and industrial evil, which dishonors labor and degrades the laborer within the sphere of its influence,' his Excellency proceeds to say, 'I may not then be inappropriate to consider how far the institution of slavery is a general subject of legislation, and therefore of general political interest, and how far its existence and responsibility are local, and the subjects of local legislation only.'

Again, his Excellency remarks, 'A remedy for its injustice or inexpediency must be sought in the legislative department of the government.' And yet again: 'The provisions of the Constitution on which the law [the act of September 16, 1850,] is based, can never be properly construed, either by Congress or the courts, to endanger the liberties of free citizens.' The committee are not quite sure that they understand the full import of the sentence last quoted, but taken in connection with a declination on the same page, to wit, 'I cannot advise the passage of any measure calculated to increase the excitement which unhappily exists, even though that excitement have no just foundation,' we are led to the conclusion that his Excellency does not participate in any fear that the acts of Congress involve any consequences dangerous to the freedom of this people.

But the committee have no desire to go into a critical examination of the proper course, inferences or suggestions, contained in that part of the address committed to them for consideration. They prefer to confine the subject of slavery in the abstract, and make such application of their conclusions as they deem pertinent and undeniable. They have endeavored to embody their views in as small a compass as seemed to be consistent with the magnitude of a subject which agitates the whole Commonwealth; and though they must indulge an expectation that all their remarks and suggestions will meet an unanimous response from the Legislature, they yet feel a cheerful confidence in the belief that they shall receive credit for uprightness of purpose, and an honest intention to perform, to the best of their ability, a duty, the execution of which they would willingly have declined.

All men owe a double allegiance to the law of God, which, in its nature, is a universal rule of conduct for mankind, laid down by Him: It belongs to the nature of man and the nature of God, and derives its sanction and validity therefrom. It is, accordingly, the higher law, and so the standard of all other laws. Its design is to promote the welfare of all mankind in general, and of each man in particular.

Human law is, in its nature, a special rule of conduct for the people by whom it is enacted, and derives its origin and acquires its sanction solely from the consent of that people who are to be governed thereby. The just design of human law is, in general, to promote the welfare of the nation for which it is made, the welfare of all and also of each. Its design, therefore, is, in special, two fold, namely, its first and primary design is to protect the person in all his natural rights, with all that pertains to those rights; the next and secondary design is, to protect his property, with all that rightly pertains thereto. These two objects comprise all the functions of human law; for the protection of the substance of manhood and the attributes thereof, of person and property, necessarily involves the protection of the right to develop both.

In regard to the law of God, things may be distributed into three classes, namely:—first, such as are absolutely right; second, such as are absolutely wrong; and third, such as are neither absolutely right nor absolutely wrong, but morally indifferent. It is moral to do the first, immoral to do the second; to do the third is neither directly moral nor immoral, but only expedient or inexpedient.

It is plain that human law cannot alter the natural relations of things, nor make right wrong, or wrong right, as things indifferent either right or wrong. Laws, therefore, are only declaratory of the intentions of the law makers, who therein lay down a practical rule of conduct, but can no more alter right and wrong than the mariner can alter the position of the stars by which he steers his Vessel. Of course, then, as it is the natural duty of man to do the right and avoid the wrong, it is plain that human law is, morally and obligatory only so far as it declares the right to be the rule of conduct, and is, morally, invalid and, of no obligation, just so far as it declares the wrong to be the rule of conduct. Otherwise, allegiance to the State would transcend allegiance to God, and the laws of men be superior to the eternal law of the infinite God,—a proposition, which is absurd in its substance, and impious in its form. But if the human statute represents the right, then it is so far identical with the natural law of God, and is, accordingly, valid and obligatory. Thus human laws derive all their moral validity and obligation from their conformity to the natural law of God; as natural right or justice is, and ought to be, the ultimate standard-measure of all human laws in general, and to that standard all human laws are amenable.

The Constitution of the United States is, in its nature, a particular rule of conduct, to be observed in the governing of the people by their officers, legislative, judiciary and executive; accordingly, it is a conventional and secondary standard-measure of the laws made by the people. Accordingly, as it is a moral duty that all human laws be made conformable to the right,—else they are morally invalid and void by nature,—so it is a constitutional obligation to make the laws of the United States conformable to the Constitution, otherwise they are constitutionally invalid by agreement. Laws of the United States are therefore amenable to the Constitution.

The design of the Constitution is thus declared by the people of the United States in the preamble to that document, namely: 'To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'

These words, which thus state the design, seem to be the constitutional standard-measure of all other provisions of the Constitution itself; for the end aimed at is one thing, the means to obtain that end another. Thus design is identical with that of the law of God and of all just human law, only some of the particulars which belong to human welfare are distinctly specified in the preamble.

The Constitution then proceeds to lay down certain particular rules of conduct for the nation in organizing its ideas into institutions, and for administering those institutions. Some of these provisions are particular rules conform to the law of God, and to the general design of human laws and of the special design of the Constitution. Some are inconsistent with all these. Your committee respectfully set forth that they are decided in their convictions, that the institution of slavery, as it existed in the confederated colonies at the adoption of the Constitution, and has ever since unhappily continued to survive, is utterly inconsistent with the natural law of God, with the general design of all just human laws, and with the special design of the Constitution as set forth in the preamble thereto, as it is notorious that this institution is, and has ever been, inconsistent with the express words of the Declaration of Independence, that 'we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' Your committee deem it important to recall to the memory of the Legislature, some of the resolves that have been passed by our predecessors.

On the 8th of April, 1839, the Legislature passed a resolve, declaring 'that it is a paramount duty of Massachusetts to protect her citizens in the enjoyment and exercise of all the right to which, by virtue of their citizenship, they are entitled.'

On the 23d of March, 1840, a preamble, setting forth the moral and social as well as the political and national evils of slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the slave-trade between the several States, and the following resolutions, were adopted:

Resolved, That Congress ought to exercise its acknowledged power in the immediate suppression of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. And whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and between the several States of the Union; and whereas, a domestic slave-trade, as unjustifiable in principle as the African slave-trade, and scarcely less cruel and inhuman in practice, is now carried on between the several States,—therefore,

Resolved, That the domestic slave trade between the several States ought to be abolished by Congress, without delay.

Resolved, That no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, whose Constitution shall tolerate domestic slavery.

February 27, 1847. Resolved, unanimously, That the Legislature of Massachusetts views the existence of human slavery within the United States as a great moral, and, in its immediate moral and political evil, which ought to be abolished as speedily and can be properly and constitutionally attained, and that no pretension should be uniformly and earnestly opposed to all good and patriotic men throughout the Union.

February 27, 1849. That slavery ought not to exist in the District of Columbia, and that it is the duty of Congress to devise the most just, practicable and expeditious mode of abolishing the same.

On the 1st day of May, 1850, it was

Resolved, We hold it to be the duty of that body (Congress) to pass such laws in regard thereto [*the disowning up of fugitive slaves*] as will be sustained by the public sentiment of the Free States where such laws are to be enforced, and which shall especially secure to all persons whose surrender may be claimed as having escaped from labor and service in other States, the right of having the validity of such claim determined by a jury, in the State where such claim is made.

Resolved, That the people of Massachusetts, in the maintenance of these their well-known and invariable principles, expect that their officers and representatives will adhere to them at all times, on all occasions, and under all circumstances.

The committee have made careful inquiries as to what remedies for the present evils are in the power of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and what means we have for protecting the rights of our citizens against invasion, by persons acting under the so-called 'Act of the Fugitive Slave Law. In 1842, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the 'Prigg case,' declared that 'Every State is perfectly competent, and has the exclusive right, to prescribe the remedies in its own judicial tribunals, to limit the time as well as the mode of redress, and to deny jurisdiction over cases, which it *can properly and in sure satisfactions either* PROHIBIT OR DISCONTENANCE.' And again, the court, in the same case, say: 'The States cannot be compelled to enforce them [the provisions for the surrender of fugitives from labor;] and it might well be deemed an unconstitutional exercise of the power of interpretation, to insist that the States are bound to provide means to carry into effect the duties of the national government nowhere delegated or intrusted to them by the Constitution.' And again, the court says, alleding to the provisions of act of 1793, conferred upon State magistrates,—'As to the authority conferred upon State magistrates, we have already expressed our opinion that it may exist still, on the point in question, whether State magistrates are bound to act under it; now is entertained by this court, that State magistrates may, if they choose, exercise that authority, UNLESS PROHIBITED BY STATE LEGISLATION. (Prigg, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 16 Peters, R. 614, 615, 622.)

This decision not only frees the individual States from all action in the matter; but expressly recognizes the power of the States to prohibit all action by its officers under the acts of Congress. Accordingly, Massachusetts, soon after, in 1843, enacted the statute well known as the 'Latimer law,' and made it penal for any of her officers to aid in the capture or detention of any person claimed as a fugitive slave. The use of our jails for the detention of such fugitives was also forbidden, under severe penalties. But as that statute requires some slight modification, and as further legislation seems also desirable to meet the present emergency; and as the institution of slavery is resommed to be inappropriate subject for the consideration of the Legislature, by His Excellency the Governor, the committee recommend the enactment of the accompanying Bill, and the passage of the subjoined Preamble, and Resolves. For, the Committee,

JOS. T. BUCKINGHAM, *Chairman.*

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred & Fifty-One.

Resolves concerning Slavery.

Resolved, That Massachusetts affirms anew her hostility to slavery, and her devotion to the Union; that, inspired by these cherished sentiments, she longs for harmony among the different parts of our common country; but she cannot conceal the conviction, that the Union can be firmly and permanently secured only by the overthrow of slavery, so far as it is same can be constitutionally done, everywhere within the jurisdiction of the national government; that the Free States can be relieved from all responsibility therefor, so that freedom, instead of slavery, shall become national, and slavery, instead of freedom, become sectional.

Resolved, That Massachusetts protests against the Fugitive Slave Law as alien to the spirit of the Constitution, destructive of rights secured by the instrument, hostile to the sentiments of Christianity, and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of this Commonwealth; that such a law will naturally fail to secure that support to the best and conscience of the community, without which, any law must sooner or later become a dead letter.

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of these resolves to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to be by them laid before their respective houses.

☞ Accompanying this Report and these Resolves was 'An Act in addition to an Act further to protect Personal Liberty,' which we have already published. It provides—among other things—for a trial by jury in every instance in which a person is arrested in the Commonwealth as a fugitive from slavery—and makes it the duty of the district attorneys, whenever any such arrest is made, to use all lawful means to protect, defend, and procure to be discharged, every such person so arrested or claimed—&c. &c.

From the Liberator.

LINES

On the occasion of the Hon. Daniel Webster's Visit to New England.

Thou beaming star, how hast thou set in darkness!
Thy light departed, and thy glory gone!
Shorn of thy rays, disrobed of all thy brightness,
Hid in the clouds thou hast around thee drawn!

Is this the man whose title was 'The Godlike'?
The foe of tyrants?—he whose voice went forth,
Booming in thunder-tones amid the nation?
Is this the glorious statesman of the North?

Is this the man who saw that Slave uprising
From Bunker's battle-ground, and pointed to heaven,
And, standing there, extolled this god of battles,
Who had to trampled freemen freedom given.

Weep, weep! Alas! how hath the mighty fallen!
The precious gold is lustreless and dim;
Mighty thou wast, like the bright Son of Morning!
Fearful thy fall, for thou hast fallen like him—

To rise no more. The fabled bird of story
Up from its ashes soars again to light;
But thou has blighted all thy fame and glory—
Thy sun's last rays have sat in endless night.

Thou seekest now thy home; Oh! haste thou hither,
To look upon the ruin thou has wrought;
See where in dust all thy proud laurels wither—
Weep tears of blood that thou with gold wast bought.

Lo! yonder shameful sight that waits before thee!
Behold the *chain around you Temple* thrown,
While that proud pile where Liberty was cradled
Is dumb; and this fell work is all thine own!

Come hither, thou who once was Freedom's glory;
Come hither, thou, one Liberty's fair son;
To forget greatness, say, what can restore thee?
Ah! not that blood-stained gold which thou hast won.

Come hither, thou whose name, once proudly spoken,
Now brings a blush to every freeman's face,
From Justice's Temple bid those chains be broken,
And bear them with thee to that sacred place

Where thou didst stand, and bless the God of heaven
For men whose blood had dyed the oppressor's steel,
And with thy hand, before the indignant nation,
Bind them around the oft on Bunker's hill:

Then tear from that false brow the withered fame-wreath
That first was thine, and cast it far from thee,
And kneel, thou recreant, on your hall of battle,
In shame, where sleep the glorious and the free.

Weep, fallen man! on those green graves where sleepeth
Beneath thy feet, the mighty and the brave,
And angel voices then shall say be repeated,
And God in mercy even *thee* cause save.

Lucy Cecilia Hamilton.

JUDGE NELSON ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

New York, Monday evening. Judge Nelson, of the U. S. District Court, in the charge to the Grand Jury, laid the following opinion in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law:—The act of 1848 supplementary to that of 1793, gives no new power to magistrates, or to the agent or attorney of the owner of the slave. The only additional power it confers are those to the Marshal, enabling him to execute the law. The law of 1793 empowered the Judges of the United States Courts and State Magistrates to do just what the act of 1848 authorizes the Judges of U. S. Court and Commissioners appointed by the Court to do; it merely changes, in the latter respect, the officers authorized to enforce the law by substituting Commissioners for State Magistrates. This alteration in the law was necessary, as several of the States passed ex-statutes prohibiting their Magistrates from acting on the law. In regard to the writ of Habeas Corpus, although the State magistrates have a right to issue it, yet the return that the case is before the U. S. Court or Commissioner will be a full answer to it. The Marshal having the custody of the alleged fugitive is bound to retain him in his possession. Were not this the case, special laws might be passed in the States to defeat the law of Congress. This Habeas Corpus is in full force as regards the U. S. Courts. The Judge considered that the perpetuity of the Union depends upon the good faith with which this law is carried into effect. Any attempt to impose the law, or hinder or obstruct the officers in its execution, the Judge states, subjects the partire to severe criminal punishment, besides a civil action for damages.

☞ Commenting on the pro-slavery Charge of Judge Nelson, the N. Y. Evening Post says—

So far as we can learn, the general opinion condemns the conduct of Judge Nelson, in which we took occasion to animadvert the other day. The fear is unanimous that it was wrong in him to prejudge the question of the constitutionality of the fugitive slave law in the manner; and that to seize upon such an opportunity as the making of a charge to the Grand Jury in which the question of its validity was no proper topic of diagnisition, to make a formal argument in its favor, was a most unseemly proceeding.

Not a little remarkable is the circumstance, that no attempt is made in the journals to apologize for this indecency. Even those who agree with the views laid down in the charge, venture upon no reply to the reason bestowed upon the Judge for exposing onesidis of the question, before the opinion was required in the due course of legal proceedings, and before he had heard what arguments could be adduced on the other. The behavior of Judge Nelson seems to be, by pretty universal consent, abandoned to the disapprobation it so well deserves.

Feels Bad.—The piece Traveller feels bad at the prospect of the passage of the bill exempting the people of this State, as far as possible, from the guilt of slave-catching. It says:

'The passage of such a law as this, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, would place this ancient Commonwealth on a par with South Carolina. It would make her the seat of that monster of which South Carolina is the head—Nullification.'

If the Traveller editor is anxious to engage in slave-retching, perhaps he can get appointed Deputy U. S. Marshal. The bill does not interfere with that class.

SPEECH OF THE HON. HORACE MANN,

On taking the chair, at the Grand Mass Convention of the Opponents of the Fugitive Slave Bill, held in the Tremont Temple, Boston, on the 9th inst., as reported in the 'Commonwealth.'

Gentlemen—I thank you cordially for the honor of being called to this place; though I could have wished that your choice had fallen upon some one of the many meritorious men whom I see all around me.

Gentlemen—I have come here to-day to add my feeble voice to the thunder-tones of execration, against the Fugitive Slave Law, with which every free State in this Union, and every free community upon the earth, are now re-echoing.

Sir, I do not propose to occupy your attention long. Where so many things are to be said, and so many persons far better qualified than I am are present to say them, I shall consult at once your advantage and my duty, by being brief.

We have come together with especial reference to the Fugitive Slave Law; but that execrable statute connects itself so directly with almost every other prominent measure of the Government, and with the leading acts of our public men, during the past year, that it opens the whole subject of human liberty and our duty in regard to human rights. Especially does it behoove us to inquire, by what means, by whose instrumentality, the country has been instigated to this treason against the rights of men, and when we may expect their machinations will be brought to an end.

Some of our official dignitaries are giving us law lectures upon the subject of high treason against the Government. I hope they will not object, if we reciprocate the favor, by giving them a lecture on the higher treason against God and Humanity of which they are guilty.

Gentlemen, it is with unspeakable humiliation and regret, that I look back and see where Massachusetts stood twelve or thirteen months ago, and where so many of her citizens stand now. Up to that ever-accursed day, the 7th of March, 1850, there was not a Massachusetts man in the counsels of the State or nation,—nay, so far as I know, there was not a single Massachusetts man any where, of any standing or respectability, who did not assert and proclaim his hostility to the extension of slavery—his purpose to maintain, at all times, the principle of the ordinance of 1787, and his 'resolute and fixed determination' (to use Mr. Webster's language) 'to make no further concessions to slavery and the slave power.' The public men of the State, the press of the State, the Legislature of the State, avowed these sentiments; and the political conventions of the State now rang with them from side to side.

But on that memorable day, a Senator of the United States from Massachusetts saw fit to trample under foot every thing that he had ever said in behalf of human freedom, and against human bondage. He saw fit to curl his lip and intonate his voice in scorn of the principle of the ordinance of 1787, and to dishonor the memory of Nathan Dane, whom, a few years before his apostacy, on the same floor, he had eulogized. He saw fit to contemn what he knew to be the honest sentiment of Massachusetts. He went far, far out of his way to fortify and extend the institution of slavery. He offered to add new States to its power, and to take two hundred millions of dollars from the treasury of the United States, to be expended for its extra-constitutional security and defence.

As soon as the stunning effect of that blow upon all the moral and religious sensibilities of the State, and upon its traditional and inwrought love of liberty, had begun to subside, a systematic effort was made to debauch the patriotism and humanity of the people, by an appeal to their cupidity. Our manufacturing and commercial interests were suffering. A majority of the slave States were the antagonists of these interests. Political ambition and cupidity associated these facts together, and the diabolical idea was engendered that by surrendering our Liberty we might have a Tariff. The poison of this idea was first openly and directly infused into the public mind by Mr. Webster, in his speech at the Revere House, April 29, when he said—'Until something can be done to allay the feeling now separating different men and different sections, there can be NO USEFUL AND SATISFACTORY legislation in the two Houses of Congress.'

Of this declaration there can be but one interpretation. It was perfectly understood by those to whom it was addressed. It says, without enigma or riddle, surrender the Territories to the incursions of the slave States, pacify the Slave Power, give up blood-bought rights for this life, and Savior-bought hopes for another, and you can have your pay in a cent a yard on calico, and a cent a pound on iron. I say it requires no seer to interpret this handwriting. It is as plain as it could be, if one were writing to a Sub-Treasurer, and should say—'No one but a rich man can be Secretary, unless he be a bachelor; I am neither the one nor the other; if, therefore, you wish to improve this *golden* opportunity, and make me Secretary of State, remit the bills.'

From that time until the close of that session of Congress, in every form in which so intrinsically wicked an idea could be set forth, without shocking not only all principle but all decency, this idea was inculcated upon the public mind of the North, especially upon the cities. In unofficial speeches and letters, Mr. Webster urged this seduction more and more pointedly and earnestly, until, on the 17th of July, 1850, in the last speech which he ever made in Congress, he appeals to the Senators of the North, and to the people of the North, in language as explicit as he could make it, to adopt the compromise measures, to take even the abhorred Fugitive Slave Bill itself, for the sake of the money to be made out of them. Throughout that speech, he held out the apple of temptation before their eyes, he jingled the thirty pieces of silver in their ears, to seduce them into the surrender of liberty for pelf.

I appeal to the common knowledge of the citizens of Boston, if it was not an expression as familiar to their lips as the salutations of the day, that they had Mr. Webster's authority for saying, that if they would surrender the great questions involved in the compromise, they could have a tariff?

Now, on this state of facts, I have two observations to make,

1st. That a proposition to barter or jeopard the liberty of our fellow-beings, for any amount of money, however great, was intrinsically inhuman and wicked.

2d. That every new concession we made to the South on the subject of slavery, for the sake of getting protection for our manufactures and other industrial interests, only impaired and postponed our chance of getting that protection.

For the correctness of the first of these propositions, I appeal to every man who has a conscience, or even any elementary ideas of right or wrong, which are not smothered by his interests or his passions. And for the second, I appeal to the case of Texas, which defeated the tariff of '42, and to the fact that, though we did consent to all the detestable provisions of the compromise,—slave territories, slave States, ten millions of Texas, Fugitive Slave Bill and all, yet we got no tariff, and have no rational prospect of one.

That the surrender of all our glorious patrimony of free principles should help some Northern man President I can readily understand. That is intelligible. Before the 7th of March speech, it was announced, from high Southern sources, that they would take the Northern man for the next Presidential term, who would do the most for slavery, and since that time the same declaration has been reiterated. [See, among others, Mr. Toombs' speech before the Georgia Union meeting.] But I state it as a fact within my own personal knowledge, that there was not an intelligent man in Congress, who was not implicated on the one side in the manufacture of goods, or on the other, in the manufacture of Presidents, who did not then foresee and predict that every forward step we took towards the compromise, was a step backwards from protection. And we have now this stubborn fact to shew for the soundness of that opinion—the event has ratified it. They have not got the tariff they were promised, though they have given for it the price of blood.

Now I wish to ask the manufacturers and commercial men of the North, whether, if they had seen, as it was seen by every unbiased man at the seat of Government, that upholding the Compromise would put down protection, they would have consented to the Compromise. And a further question which I wish to put to all Massachusetts and all New England, is—if, during the last year, we had had the tariff of 1842 in full operation, and if the current of prosperity had filled the deepest channels that enterprise and industry had cut for it, whether then, Massachusetts citizens would have retracted and unsaid all the noble things they have been saying in favor of liberty for the last ten years; whether, then, the Massachusetts press, or so large a portion of it, would be found openly advocating doctrines which they have always heretofore professed to hold in utter detestation and abhorrence. No man will pretend it. If we had had the tariff of 42, last year, the Compromise measures never could have passed, and it would have been impossible for any presidential aspirant, or all of them together, to have subdued the Northern mind to their acceptance.

The commercial and manufacturing interests of the North, then, have been deceived, grossly deceived and imposed upon. When their real interests were all on the side of freedom, they have been made to believe that it would promote those interests to unsay all they had ever said, and undo all they had ever done adverse to slavery. Their chance for a tariff lay in standing for their principles like men, and not in abandoning them like traitors. President-making has been the agency, and cotton has been the instrument of this deception. It has been said that the Press is the fourth estate in the realm; but I say Cotton is the fourth estate, for Cotton subdues the Press. The eyes and ears and nose and mouth of a portion of our people have been so filled with cotton, that they have come to believe that cotton is not only their daily bread, but their bread of life.

Gentlemen, whatever convictions or doubts there may be on the subject of Animal Magnetism, I am a firm believer in the doctrine of Cotton Magnetism. The Southern planter seems to possess some wizard art, unknown to the demonology of former times, by which he impregnates his bales of cotton with a spirit of inhumanity, with a contempt for all the dearest, tenderest, holiest ties that bind man to man and heart to heart; he fills them with this spirit as an electrician fills a Leyden jar, and then he sends them here; and if the man who comes within the circle of their influence is not himself filled with the strong, counteracting, disinfecting magnetism of duty and truth, of love to God and love to man, he is overcome and subdued by the infernal spell, he is brought into communication with the Southern sorcerer, and into subjection to his will; and then he seems bereft of reason and conscience, he belies his Pilgrim parentage, talks gibberish about the dissolution of the Union, kneels, lies down and eats dirt, and says to his Southern master, as Balaam's beast said to him, 'Am I not thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine?'

Still worse is it, when this cotton, so diabolically impregnated, gets beneath the rich velvet seats and embossed cushions of the pulpit; unless, indeed, a double measure of the spirit of the Lord shall descend upon the preacher, and exorcise both hire and it. When the soul of the clergyman is struck with this cotton magnetism, he grows delirious over his Bible, ignores the new dispensation and goes back to the old, discards Jesus Christ as his example, and the precepts of Jesus Christ as the law of his ministrations, and proves himself a pagan, discoursing paganism in a Christian pulpit.

God grant that this kind of cotton may never stuff the cushions of our judges! I fear we are not wholly out of danger of so unspeakable a calamity. Give us the old English woolsack for them, within whose magic presence the chains of the slave drop from his limbs, and he is gloriously transfigured into a man.

Compare the newspapers of our city now with what they were only one short twelve-month ago, and see what demoralization cotton can work when it gets into the editorial chair.

As for these slave-catching Commissioners, who assume to exercise the functions of judges, and to abolish human liberty, and to find property in the bodies and souls of men, but are no more judges than an image 'cut out of cheese-paring after supper' is a man;—as for them, I say, they seem to have the virus in the natural way, and if all moral diagnosis does not fail, it would be found, on an anatomical dissection of their hearts, that their right and left auricle, and their right and left ventricle, were only four cotton balls.

But I believe that the reign of Cotton is to be short lived. Improvements in the arts give confident promise that some new textile substance will soon be discovered which will supersede this slave-making material. Even should this hope fail, every body sees what an unnatural attitude of power and strength the cotton-producing States now occupy. Extending over only a small area of territory which you can cover on the map with your hand, they raise a staple which clothes, more or less, a great part of the world; while there are Brazil, Egypt, India and regions of unknown vastness in Africa, to all which, or nearly all which, the plant is indigenous. Either, then, by the progress of the arts, or by an extension of cultivation, the majesty of Cotton will soon be dethroned; and then, *then*, how will those men appear, historically, who are willing to trample upon human rights, and to send men, women and children, into all the horrors of Southern bondage, for the temporary profits which cotton can bestow?

I rejoice that this reference to the demoralizing power of interest gives me an opportunity to bestow well deserved honor and praise upon a class of men who have withstood its temptations. Not every man engaged in manufactures or in commerce has yielded to the seductions of this tempter. There are many noble exceptions. I have in my mind one of my own constituents, largely interested in the fabric, who told me last summer that half its spindles were lying idle, and property that should have yielded income was incurring cost; 'but,' said he, 'do you see them *all stop*, and the mills decay and go down stream, before you vote for that Compromise.' Another of my constituents told me he was largely interested in three ships, then at sea, and avowed that he would see them all sink to its bottom, before he would disgrace the country by passing the Fugitive Slave Bill. These are but samples of that noble spirit which was expressed with such Spartan terseness and vigor by Bowen and McNamee, of New York, when the foul panders to Southern slavery threatened them with a loss of custom; said they, 'We sell silks, and not principles.'

How these declarations contrast with what a manufacturer in a neighboring county is reported to have said, that if he could run his mills any cheaper with slave labor than with free, he would employ slaves! Or what, as I am credibly informed, another has said—'The South wants slaves to raise cotton to sell, we want slaves to raise cotton to manufacture; therefore, we must unite with the South to uphold slavery.' Now, I believe these things to have been *said*; but it is of no consequence whether they were said or not; we know they have been *acted*. Every man who upholds this Fugitive Slave Law *acts* them, whatever his language may be.

The Compromise was forced through, partly by governmental interference, and partly by the delusive hope of a tariff. An appeal is now made in behalf of the Fugitive Slave Law, to the same mercenary motives. It is said, if opposition be made to this law, however legal or constitutional such opposition may be, we shall lose Southern custom. Base and infamous appeal! Such men are made of the stuff of the Tories of the Revolution. Even if this appeal were true, it would be one that no honorable man could hear without indignation. But it is not true. The South must have their goods from somewhere, and our industrious artizans will make them, whoever the go-betweens may be. Will the South go bare-headed and unkilted because they cannot have a law to catch freemen and slaves promiscuously? But, it is said, the South will abandon their slothful habits, be industrious, manufacture for themselves. I wish they would. It would be most fortunate for us. They would then have the means of buying more from the North, and paying us better for what they do buy. Instead of spending only the money which the slaves earn, they would then have money to spend earned by the whites, and would become better customers for those ever new forms of commodities which our industry and inventive skill will always supply.

Now I have gone into these considerations for the purpose of ascertaining the efficacy and the extent of the motives brought by our opponents to bear against us. You see they are mercenary, almost exclusively so. As for that bug-bear of a dissolution of the Union, I say without fear of contradiction, that no practical man has ever believed in it for a day. United States stocks at a hundred and sixteen, on the eve of a dissolution of the Union! The whole South Carolina and Mississippi and Texas delegations in Congress contending for every local advantage, for the establishment of new United States Courts, for the increase of salaries, for appointments at home and abroad, as though the Union had been just insured for a thousand years! Shew me one intelligent man in this whole country, who sold his stocks or his farm, or changed his residence or altered his course of life in any respect, through fear that the Union was about to be dissolved! Why, what would the English National Debt be worth under any well founded apprehension that the British monarchy was crumbling to pieces? There would not be a pound of it that could not be bought for a penny. Confidence in the stability of our Union has not only pervaded this country, but other countries. The great bankers abroad who deal in our stocks, have never changed their terms one mill in a million dollars, through any such idle fear. They are the men whose barometers presage political storms. With such facts before us, to say that the Union has been in danger is as absurd as to say that a whirlwind is raging, when the leaf of the aspen is pendulous and cannot be seen to move. If the South wishes to dissolve the Union, let them do it, and at the end of thirty years there will not be found a slave in all their borders. They will make a new Jamaica or a new St. Domingo, as the masters shall behave themselves. No, this is nothing but a trick of the politicians; and if any one of them could be nominated for the Presidency, we should hear nothing more from him about the deluge that threatens to submerge the Union. They profess peculiar love for the Union. Their clamorous notes bring to mind what Dr. Franklin remarked of self-righteous people. He said they always reminded him of a scarcity of provisions—those who had enough said nothing about it; it was the destitute who made all the clamor.

I say, then, the only remaining motive with which our adversaries can work, is the loss of Southern trade. This interests but *few* of our people. The farmers are not interested in it. The mechanics and artisans are not. The operatives in our mills are not. All the substantial, industrious classes are above this temptation, and would spurn it if they were not above it. The Fugitive Slave Law champions can make no more converts among them. Let us then continue to oppose this law in all constitutional modes. Let us explain its religious and moral bearings to the Christian. Let us tell the patriot of the disgrace which it brings upon our country. Let us show to the working man that those who are ready to make slaves of his fellow beings for lucre, will be equally ready to make a slave of him whenever interest shall supply the temptation.

It has been asked why we are assembled here, and not in the Hall consecrated to Liberty. It is because the doors of that Hall have been now closed to Liberty knocking for admission. But there is a melancholy propriety in this. When the Court House is in chains, Faneuil Hall may well be dumb. Those chains which girt the courts of justice are but typical of the chains which tyrannous men are striving to put upon our lips. This is not the first Temple that has been unrighteously invaded and taken possession of by money-changers and those who sold doves! Doves! *doves!!* no, not doves, but men, women and children. But I trust the day is not far distant when a better spirit shall enter them, and shall scourge out their invaders with cords, smaller or larger as the exigencies of the case may require.

From the Dedham Gazette.

THEODORE PARKER'S FAST-DAY SERMON.

In the midst of the excitement attendant upon the trial and return of Sims, the Fugitive Slave, this Sermon was preached at the Melodeon, in Boston. The occasion and the preacher naturally led us to expect an outpouring of indignant and seathing eloquence, refreshing to those whose spirits had been mortified and saddened by the deeds of inhuman depravity and unutterable baseness, which have secured to Boston, and a portion of the creatures which pollute its soil, an immortality of scorn and infamy. But the effort of Mr. Parker surpassed even the highest expectations. He has carved with instruments of keener edge and harder metal, and painted with bloodier and more terrible colors than ever before. George T. Curtis, the minion and tool of the slaveholders, set up at mid-day in the blazing sun, with his naked flesh stuck full of poisoned arrows, and his vile blood oozing from every wound, writhing amid the jeers and taunts of an outraged populace, ready and eager to tear him limb from limb, would not present a picture more terribly real and abhorrent to the senses, than he does as he appears in the following destroying and consuming sentences which we extract from this discourse. Could he exchange the sensations and heart of the kidnapper for the more civilized and humanized affections and dispositions of the hyena, he would gaze but a moment in the mirror which is thus held up to him, and then take himself forever from the sight and execration of mankind. The whole sermon is published in the weekly Commonwealth, and it contains matter and argument enough to convert everybody worth converting, in the Commonwealth. The following portrait will answer both for Hallet and Curtis. The memories of these miscreants will be preserved as long as the sentiments of detestation and scorn shall occupy a place in the human breast.

'Last Thanksgiving day, I said it would be difficult to find a magistrate in Boston to take the odium of sending a fugitive back to slavery. I believed, after all, men had some conscience, although they talked about its being a duty to deliver up a man to bondage. Pardon me, my country, that I rated you too high! Pardon me, town of Boston, that I thought your citizens all men! Pardon me, lawyers, that I thought you had all been born of mothers! Pardon me, ruffians, who kill for hire! I thought you had some animal mercy left, even in your bosoms! Pardon me, United States Commissioners, Marshals, and the like, I thought you all had some shame! Pardon me, my hearers, for such mistakes. One Commissioner was found to furnish the warrant! Pardon me, I did not know that he was a Commissioner; if I had, I never should have said it!

Spirits of Tyrants, I look down to you! Shade of Cain, thou great first murderer, forgive me that I forgot your power, and did not remember that you were parent of so long a line! And you, my brethren, if hereafter I tell you that there is any limit of meanness or wickedness which a Yankee will not jump over, distrust me, and remind me of this day, and I will take it back!

Let us look at the public conduct of any Commissioner who will send an innocent man from Boston into slavery. I would speak of all men charitably, for I know how easy it is to err, yes to sin. I can look charitably on thieves, prowling about in darkness—on rumsellers, whom poverty compels to crime—on harlots, who do the deed of shame that holy woman's soul abhors and revolts; I can pity the pirate, who scours the seas doing his fiendish crimes—he is tempted, made desperate, by a gradual training in wickedness. The man born at the South owning slaves, who goes to Africa, and sells adulterated rum in exchange for men to sell at Cuba—I cannot understand the consciousness of such a man; yet I can admit that by birth and by breeding he has become imbruted, he knows no better. Nay, even that he may perhaps justify his conduct to himself—I say I think his sin is not so dreadful as that of a Commissioner in Boston, who sends a man into slavery. A man commits a murder, inflamed by jealousy, goaded by desire of great gain, excited by fear, stung by malice, or poisoned by revenge, and 'tis a horrid thing. But to send a man into slavery is worse than to murder him. I would rather be slain than enslaved. To do this, inflamed by no jealousy, goaded by no desire of great gain—only ten dollars!—excited by no fear, stung by no special malice, poisoned by no revenge—I cannot comprehend that in any man, not even in a hyena; beasts that rave for blood do not kill for killing's sake, but to feed their flesh. Forgive me, oh! ye wolves and hyenas, that I bring you into such company. I can only understand it in a *devil!*

When a man bred in Massachusetts, whose Constitution declares that 'all men are born free and equal;' within sight of Faneuil Hall, with all its sacred memories; within two hours of Plymouth Rock; within a single hour of Concord and Lexington; in sight of Bunker Hill—when he will do such a deed, it seems to me that there is no life of crime long enough to prepare a man for such a pitch of depravity; I should think he must have been 'begotten in sin, and conceived in iniquity, and been born with a dog's head on his shoulders,' that the concentration of the villany of a whole generation of scoundrels would hardly be enough to fit a man for a deed like this!

You know the story of Sims. He crept on board a Boston vessel at Savannah. Perhaps he had heard of Boston, nay, even of Faneuil Hall, of the old Cradle of Liberty, and thought this was a Christian town, at least human, and hoped here to enjoy the liberty of a man. When the ship arrived here, his first words were—'Are we up there?' He was seized by a man who at the Court House boasted of his cruelty towards him, who held him by the hair, and kept him down, seeking to kidnap and carry him back into slavery. He escaped!

But a few weeks pass by, the man-stealers are here; the Commissioner issues his warrant; the Marshal served it in the night. Last Thursday night—when odious beasts of prey, that dare not face the light of Heaven, prowl through the woods—these ruffians of the law seized on their brother man. They lie to the bystanders, and seize him on a false pretence. There is their victim—they hold him fast.—Can you understand his feelings? Let us pass by that. His 'trial'! Shall I speak of that? He has been five days on trial for more than life, and has not seen a judge! A jury? No. Only a Commissioner! Oh justice! Oh Republican America! Is this the liberty of Massachusetts?

Where shall I find a parallel with men who will do such a deed; do it in Boston? I will open the graves and bring up the most hideous tyrants from the dead! Come, brood of monsters! let me bring you from the deep damnation of the graves wherein your hated memories continue for all time their never ending rot. Come, birds of evil omen, come, ravens, vultures, carrion crows, and see the spectacle: come see the meeting of congenial souls! I will disturb, disquiet, and bring up the greatest monsters of the human race! Tremble not, women; tremble not, children; tremble not, men! They are all dead; they cannot harm you now!

Come hither, Herod the wicked. Thou that didst seek after that young child's life, and destroyedst the Innocents! Let me look on thy face! No; go! Thou wert a Heathen! Go lie with the innocents thou hast massacred. Thou art too good for this company!

Come, Nero! Thou awful Roman Emperor!—No—thou wast drunk with power; schooled in Roman depravity. Thou hadst, besides, the example of thy fancied gods. Go and wait another day, I will seek a worse man.

Come hither, St. Dominic! come Torquemada!—fathers of the Inquisition! Merciless monsters, seek your equal here! No; pass by! You are no companions for such men as these! You were the servants of atheistic Popes and cruel Kings. Go to, and get you gone. Another time I may have work for you—not now; lie there and persevere to rot. You are not yet quite wicked enough for this comparison. Go, get ye gone, lest the sun turn back at the sight of ye.

Come up, thou heap of wickedness—George Jeffries!—thy hands deep purple with the blood of thy murdered fellow-men! Ah, I know thee, awful and accursed shade! Two hundred years after thy death men hate thee still, and not without cause! Let me look upon thee! I know thy history. Pause, and be still, while I tell it to these men.

Brothers, George Jeffries 'began in the sedition line.' 'There was no act, however bad, that he would not resort to, to get on.' 'He was of bold aspect, and cared not for the countenance of any man.' 'He became the avowed and unblushing slave of the court, and the bitter persecutor and unappeasable enemy of the principles he had before supported.' 'He was universally insolent and overbearing.' 'As a Judge, he did not consider the decencies of his post, nor did he so much as affect to be impartial as became a Judge.' He was a Commissioner in 1685. You know of those 'bloody assizes' which he held, and how he sent to execution three hundred and twenty persons in a single circuit. 'The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of his victims.' Yet a man wrote that 'a little more *hemp* might have been usefully employed.' He was the worst of the English Judges. 'There was no measure, however illegal, to the execution of which he did not devotedly and recklessly abandon himself.' 'During the Stuart reigns, England was cursed by a succession of ruffians in ermine, who, for the sake of Court favor, wrested the principles of law, the precepts of religion, and the duties of humanity, but they were all greatly outstripped by Jeffries.'

Such is his history.

Come, shade of a judicial butcher! Two hundred years thy name has been pilloried in the face of the world, and thy memory is gibbetted before mankind! Let us see how thou wilt compare with those who kidnap men in Boston. Go, seek companionship with them! Go, claim thy kindred, if such they be! Go, tell them that the memory of the wicked shall rot—that there is a God; an Eternity, aye! and a judgment too! where the slave may appeal for judgment against him that made him a slave, to Him that made him a man. What! dost thou shudder? Thou turn back? These not thy kindred? Why dost thou turn pale—as when the crowd clutched at thy life, in London street? 'Tis true, George Jeffries, and these are not thy kin. Forgive me that I should send thee on such an errand, or bid thee seek companionship with such—with hunters of the slave! Thou wert not base enough! It was a great bribe that tempted thee!—Again I say, pardon me for sending thee to keep company with such men! Thou only smote at men accused of crime; not at men accused only of their birth! Thou wouldst not send men into bondage for two pounds! I will not rank thee with men who in Boston, for ten dollars, would enslave a negro now!

Rest still, Herod! Be quiet, Nero! Sleep, St. Dominic, and sleep, Torquemada, in your fiery jail! Sleep, Jeffries, beneath 'the altar of the church,' which seeks, with Christian charity, to hide your hated bones!'

CORRESPONDENCE.

Boston, April 11, 1851.

Hon. Daniel Webster:

Dear Sir—There is a general desire among your fellow-citizens of Boston and its vicinity, irrespective of party attachments, or party considerations, to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded, by your visit among them, to manifest to you their high respect for your public services; and particularly it is their wish to give expression to their deep feeling of obligation for the power, ability, and patriotic devotion which you have brought to the defence of the union of these States, when that union has been so assailed by misguided and reckless men in different sections of the country, as to excite the most painful apprehensions for its continued blessings, and even for its very existence.

For the purpose of gratifying this general desire, the undersigned respectfully invite you to meet your fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall, at such time before your return to Washington, as may best comport with your convenience.

We are, with great consideration,
Your fellow-citizens,
[Signed by] George G. Smith, Asa Swallow, Henry Crocker, Rufus Choate, and others.

☞ Faneuil Hall having been closed against Mr. Webster and his friends by the Board of Aldermen, Mr. W. wrote the following reply to the invitation:

Marshfield, April 15, 1851.

To Messrs. George C. Smith, Caleb Eddy, Asa Swallow, Uriel Crocker, and others:

Gentlemen—I duly received your letter of the 11th of this month, and had fully made up my mind to comply with your invitation; for, although I have entertained no purpose of discussing further, at present, the political questions which have so much agitated the country, yet I could not deny myself the pleasure of meeting you and your fellow-citizens for mutual congratulation upon an escape, so far, from dangers which, one year ago, so seriously threatened the very existence of our national institutions; and upon the prospect of an early return, in all parts of the country, of feelings of good will and reciprocal regard.

But the newspapers of this afternoon inform me that the Board of Aldermen have refused your request for the use of Faneuil Hall. I care nothing for this personally, except that it deprives me of the gratification of seeing you; although, if I supposed the general voice of the people of Boston approved this proceeding, it would, I confess, cause me the deepest regret. The resolution denying you the Hall has been adopted, if I mistake not, by the same Board which has practically refused to join with the other branch of the City Government in offering the hospitalities of the city to President Fillmore.

Gentlemen, for nearly thirty years I have been in the service of the country, by the choice of the people of Boston and the Legislature of Massachusetts. My public conduct, through the whole of that long period, is not unknown, and I cheerfully leave it to the judgment of the country, now and hereafter.

Since the commencement of March of last year, I have done something, and hazarded much, to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and to maintain interests of the most vital importance to the citizens of Boston. And I shall do more, and hazard more, whenever, in my judgment, it becomes necessary that more be done or more be hazarded. I shall perform, with unflinching perseverance, and to the end, MY DUTY TO MY WHOLE COUNTRY; nor do I, in the slightest degree, fear the result. Folly and fanaticism may have their hour. They may not only affect the minds of individuals, but they may also seize on public bodies, of greater or less dignity. But their reign is destined to be short, even where, for the moment, it seems most triumphant. We, of Massachusetts, are not doomed to a course of political conduct, such as would reproach our ancestors, destroy our own prosperity, and expose us to the derision of the civilized world. No such future is before us. Far otherwise. Patriotism, the union of all good men, fidelity to the Constitution in all its provisions, and that intelligence which has hitherto enabled the people of this State to discern and to appreciate their own political blessings, as well as what is due to their own history and character, will bring them back to their accustomed feelings of love of country, and of respect and veneration for its institutions.

I am, gentlemen, with the most sincere regard, your obliged friend, and very obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

The Hon. Edward Everett was invited to preside at the meeting, but was obliged, on account of his health, to decline that invitation. The Hon. Rufus Choate was then requested to preside, and, had the meeting taken place, he would have addressed Mr. Webster in the name of the assembly.

We are authorized to publish the following letter from Mr. Everett:—

Cambridge, 16th April, 1851.

Dear Sir—I deeply regret that it is not in my power to attend the meeting proposed to be held tomorrow, in honor of Mr. Webster. Long as the citizens of Boston have been in the habit of testifying their respect to him, there never was a time, in my opinion, when he was better entitled to the cordial assurance of their confidence and gratitude, whether we consider the importance of the services rendered by him during the past year, or the weight of the responsibility assumed by him in their performance. On former occasions, when he has most efficiently contributed to the preservation of the Union in times of impending danger, he acted with the unanimous approbation of his immediate constituents; a comparatively easy task. On the present occasion, he has performed the same patriotic duty, in a crisis far more dangerous, and amidst the most deplorable divisions of opinion at home, on subjects directly involving the stability of the government and the peace of the country. Called by the President of the United States, at this momentous juncture, to the post of the chiefest responsibility, he has not hesitated to throw himself into the breach, and to sacrifice a portion of his hardly-earned and well-deserved popularity, to the public good.

I have had occasion carefully to observe the political course of Mr. Webster, as long as I have had any knowledge of affairs. For ten years we were together in Congress, and at all other times I have had great personal opportunities to be well acquainted with his views and principles on all public questions, and with his ends and objects as a public man. I have not, in every instance, agreed with him as to individual opinions and measures, but I have never differed from him without some distrust of my own judgment. This, however, I will say, that from the Declaration of Independence to the present day, the country has never been served,—no, not in its best days and by its best men,—with greater ability, with truer fidelity, or with purer patriotism, than by Mr. Webster.

It requires but little ingenuity, in difficult times, and in reference to a subject on which the requisitions of the Constitution are at variance with public sentiment, to urge objections against any practicable line of policy. That the measures of the last Congress, in reference to the subject which is shaking the Union to its foundation, were not in all points what Mr. Webster desired to have them, is well known. That it was his duty, as it is that of all good citizens, to acquiesce in those measures after they became, and while they continue, the law of the land, I need not say. And it is my firm opinion, that it is in no small degree owing to the manner in which Mr. Webster has performed his duty, in the responsible position and the arduous circum-

stanass in which he has been placed, that the friends of the Union at the South have been able to stand their ground against those who seek its dissolution, and that blood has not flowed at the North, in forcible resistance to the law of the land.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that persons holding extreme opinions, at the South and at the North, are streaing toward a dissolution of the Union. The number of persons desiring this object at the South, I suppose to be small, and not very large at the South, except in one State,—but there is a very considerable number, I fear, in both sections of the country, who reason upon the same general principles as the extremists, and are tending,—perhaps unconsciously,—to the same result. Where the same measure is pursued by different persons for directly opposite reasons, we commonly say that the view of one or the other are sure to be realized.

In the present case, I deem it certain that the expectations of both parties will, in the event of a separation of the States, be wofully disappointed. Nothing will be gained by the South, in the way of security from anti-slavery agitation; it will gether new violence and strength. Nothing will be gained at the North, in reference to the existence and extension of slavery; it will be guarded with greater vigilance, and will seek to spread itself in the direction of Cuba and Mexico, with an energy of purpose not yet displayed. All the restraining and softening influences on both sides, which flow from the kindly union of North and South in one body politic, and which have insured to sixty years of almost uninterrupted prosperity, will be at once blasted. Every existing grievance, complained of at the South and at the North, will be immeasurably augmented and embittered, and superadded to all will be the horrors, crimes and sufferings of civil war. Regarding these as the sure results of a dissolution of the Union, I know no language too warm to express the gratitude we owe to Mr. Webster, and the patriotic men of both parties who have acted with him, for their recent strenuous efforts to avert this calamity.

I remain, dear sir, with great respect,

Your friend and servant,

EDWARD EVERETT.

To Hon. Nathan Hale, Boston.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL H. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PROVIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS.

ALBERTI, the kidnapper of Adam Gibson, has been found guilty of kidnapping a child, and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

RICHARDSON, the Attorney General of Maryland, died suddenly at Barnum's hotel, on the 10th of February.

So God, in His all wise providence, seems to be taking the men who trample upon His poor, into His own hands. This is striking at all stratum. It was so with the abductors of William Morgan, the whippers of Amos Draper, and the murderers of Lovejoy. It is so in all parts of slavedom. In Maryland, Delaware and Virginia, lands are withering and dying beneath the blasting touch of slavery. Families have become impoverished and dissipated, and some are literally becoming extinct. In the far South, rum, gambling, licentiousness, street-encounters and duels are depopulating the Hotspurs, and making one vast Aceldama for those who survive. Life, property and virtue are there holden by a tenure which the slightest broil may destroy.

Look, too, at the fact that one of the men who came here after William and Elias Craft has been killed in a street fight,—one of the men for whose appearance at court our valorous, humane and patriotic Assistant Marshal Riley is under $1000 bonds.

It surely is no pleasure to us to see the judgments of Almighty God descend upon, even these worst of men; but the facts should be referred to, one and then, to warn the guilty and to encourage the righteous. Reformers are sometimes tempted to discouragement, in view of the power arrayed against them. But let them remember, that He who once said, For the sighing of the poor and the crying of the needy, now will I arise and set him in safety against him that puffeth at him, saith as still. Let any one watch the remaining lives and the dreadful scenes of the men who preach in favor of man-catching, and engage in it, and he will see some remarkable evidences of the fact recorded in the inspired Volume,—'Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.' Not that men receive, to this life, their due reward for their sins, but that a retribution follows wicked deeds, even here, that ought to appal the call doer.

How sad is the thought, in view of the above facts, that most of the men who wield power in behalf of oppression are old men, upon the very brink of life! In a few short days, they must stand as ancient spirits before the bar of the Eternal, where the consideations which now control them will be altogether unveiling. How many of them can lay their hands on their hearts, and declare they are acting in view of the ordeal of that day, in a question between themselves and their God. What a pity it is that such considerations as these are of so little influence in our public counsels! How strange that a clear conscience has so light and trifling a value in the eyes of so many of the public men of our day!

The pro-slavery Doctors of a very depraved Divinity, who have preached Bloodhound Atheism in the name of Christianity, are receiving what they so richly merit at the hands of the honest masses—the most undisguised contempt. A great many clergymen about the country,—in the rural districts,—as the slavocrat of the *Albany Argus* calls them,—have preached the truth on these subjects, and gone on quietly about their appropriate work, without sending their sermons to Webster, or having them endorsed by any particular 'Committee of Union and Safety.' The Cortland Presbytery embraces more men of real strength, upright motives, staunch integrity, practical intelligence, and Christian character, than all the slave-catching metropolitan pulpit actors on the opposite preaching, in the whole land. The same is true of Oswego Presbytery.

But in the cities, there is now and then a whole, true, living man, who can, without the fear of his *Journal of Commerce*, and other cotton papers, speak what God and nature demand. Beecher, Spear, Holmes, and such men, will live in the hearts of their fellow-men, when the names of Sharp, Rogers, Spring, Lord, Peck, Bemus, Krebs, Hawks, Tyng, Cox, Spencer, Stuart and Lathrop, shall have rotted.

A COMMENDABLE MOVEMENT.

☞ We owe an apology to our esteemed friend and correspondent, 'Observer,' for the late appearance of the following communication; it was accidentally mislaid. We publish it now, however, in the hope that others may be stimulated to follow the good example set before them. Such organizations must be productive of great good to our people every where.

BROOKLYN, L. I., 1851.

MR. EDITOR:—

Immediately after your visit to this place, in the early part of the winter, after learning the views you advocated, a number of the citizens of this place considered that duty and interest demanded that they should blend their efforts with yours—the desires and objects of both being the same. They commenced operations by the organization of the 'Impartial Citizens' Association of Inquiry.' Having now been in operation a few months, they feel called upon to make known their objects and designs, not only to you, but to the world. This, however, they will do officially at no distant day; but as an observer, I am at liberty to notice passing events as matters of news.

As soon as the organization was completed, the Society commenced a rigid examination of the most important subjects now harrassing the public mind. The Society meets one evening in each week. The first hour is occupied in reporting to the house 'public intelligence' relating to the interest of the colored people. This intelligence is brought to by any member of the Society. Such explanations are given, or action taken upon it, as the members think best. I suppose that more information has in this way been collected and disseminated relative to our people, within the last few months, than has ever been done in any two years previous to this. The people now begin to see the necessity of legislating and learning things for themselves.

The following questions have been debated:—*Is it in the power of the colored people of this country to elevate themselves in the social scale to an equality with the whites, independent of political enfranchisement?* Is the Fugitive Slave Law Coestitutional? Is it the duty of every colored voter to vote at every election?—That is, must he, to the absence of such men as he would wish, choose the best of those proposed? A number of other questions have been examined under resolutions relative to the Fugitive Slave Law. It is true, that there is a great deal of ignorance and irregularity exhibited. But I candidly believe, that nothing would contribute more to the elevation of our people, than the organization of such institutions throughout the country, and the adoption of some paper as their organ. Then, whatever is done, or to be done, or to be neglected, in the community in which the society is, let it be reported. Those reports would render a newspaper more interesting and more sought for than any thing else.

It is surprising to see the interest manifested by a class never before actuated by matters of their own or their people's interest. Members are pressing for discussion relative to business, politics, law and religion. A resolution will be brought up at the next meeting, proposing to enter into an arrangement with the editor of the *Impartial Citizen* for the publication of their reports in his paper. Resolutions, accompanied with reports relative to various nuisances, extravagances and dissipations existing among our people in large cities, have been presented. Among the subjects considered have been policy playing, public suppers, gambling, etc. Many questions spoe which the members desire information are presented to the Society for discussion. Oce brings in a resolution to enter into a correspondence with the Republic of Liberia. Another says he has a resolution 'to inquire into the propriety and ability of our people to establish *a trade* with Liberia.' A third member says,—'I have a resolution, Mr. President, with a report, to inquire into the chances for trade with the East Indies.'

Should the 'Impartial Citizens' Society of Inquiry persue their present course until next winter, Brooklyn and New York will be the most desirable places (among our people) to visit in this country. We would exhibit all the features of a young Congress in a young country. Society would soon be entirely revolutionized, and the objects of young men entirely changed. Young men would soon learn that they can do something besides waiting, boot-blacking, cleaning old clothes, white-washing, or coach-driving.

OBSERVER.

ELECTION OF CHARLES SUMNER TO CONGRESS—HUNKERDOM IN DESPAIR.

In the House of Representatives, on Thursday, on the 26th ballot, CHARLES SUMNER, Esq., was elected to the U. S. Senate, by the following vote:

Whole number of ballots,	384
Necessary to a choice,	193
Charles Sumner had	193
R. C. Winthrop,	166
Scattering,	25

The mortification and rage of the Hunkers and 'Impracticables' is overwhelming. So LIBERTY moves on, conquering and to conquer!

INFORMATION WANTED.

Notice is hereby given that a colored man, named Nathaniel Ellis, has been missing for three or four years. He was formerly at Oberlin College, from whence he went to Columbus, Ohio, where he got into difficulty with regard to his freedom, in 1847, since which time nothing has been heard from him. He is a tall, yellow man, six feet two inches in height, and was commonly called 'Long Nat.' Any information with regard to him will be thankfully received by EZEKIEL WILSON, Harrisburg, Penn.

TROUBLE IN THE CAMP.

We mentioned in our last number, that Faneuil Hall had been closed against Daniel Webster and his supporters, as it had previously been against the opponents of the Fugitive Slave Bill, by the Board of Aldermen. Of course, indignation was kindled, at this act of imperial justice, in the breasts of all Hunkerdom. At a subsequent meeting of the Common Council, composed of the veriest lickspittles of Cottonocracy and Slavery—

The following resolutions were submitted by Mr. Otis Kimball, and adopted by the Council:—

Whereas, Faneuil Hall has been 'consecrated and dedicated to the use of the inhabitants of Boston, upon all suitable occasions;' and whereas, the exclusive custody of the same is exercised by the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of this city; and whereas, this branch of the Government has learned with great surprise that the Mayor and Aldermen have denied the respectful petitions of the citizens of Boston, for the use of said Hall for the reception of ex-Hon. Daniel Webster; and whereas, this Board is unwilling to be compromised by the action of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen in the case, or to be identified therewith; therefore,

Resolved, That the Common Council deeply regret the action of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen in closing Faneuil Hall against the Hon. Daniel Webster, our illustrious fellow-citizen, whose high official position, whose unwavering attachment to, and unwavering defence of, the Constitution, whose long service in the Senate of the United States, and whose untiring efforts in support of the Union, have justly endeared him to the whole people of the United States.

Resolved, That while this Board would not interfere with any rights which the Mayor and Aldermen may have over Faneuil Hall, it cannot but consider their action in the present instance unprecedented and injudicious, calculated to increase, rather than diminish, the public excitement.

Resolved, That it would have given to the Common Council of the city of Boston the highest pleasure to have met our distinguished fellow-citizen in Faneuil Hall, to exchange congratulations with him, and hear him once more address his friends and neighbors in support of Law, Order, the Constitution, and the Union.

The question on the passage of the resolution was taken without debate, and the vote was unanimous. Messrs. Ezra Lincoln, Henry Lincoln, Solomon Cordwell, Samuel D. Crane, and Edward Reed, were absent.

On motion of Mr. Thompson, it was voted, that a certified copy of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to Hon. Daniel Webster.

The following order was adopted, by a unanimous vote, on motion of Col. Thompson:—

Ordered, That Messrs. Thompson, Jewell and Smith, with such as the Board of Mayor and Aldermen may join, be a Committee to tender to the Hon. Daniel Webster, in the name of the City Council of Boston, an invitation to meet and address his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall, at such time as he shall elect.

MEETING OF THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN.

The regular weekly meeting of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen was held on Monday afternoon.—Sundry papers from the Council were disposed of in concurrence, and a large number of petitions were presented and referred. Among the petitions were the following: of Francis Jackson and others for the use of Faneuil Hall, for the purpose of holding anti-slavery meetings on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of May; of Freeman and Jewett, for a license as innholders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, for the use of Faneuil Hall on the 2d of June, for the celebration of their 214th anniversary; of S. Wiggin, to have the grade of certain streets at the south end so altered as to prevent the overflow of the tide.

Alderman Rogers, after some explanatory remarks, submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this Board, in their action on the application of George G. Smith and others, for the use of Faneuil Hall on the 17th instant, were actuated by motives purely arising out of their past action in reference to said Hall, and of the state of the public mind in relation to existing political questions; and by no feeling of hostility or disrespect towards the applicants, or the distinguished individual whom they intended to honor; and however much they may have erred, in judgment on this occasion—and however deeply they may regret the inferences that have been drawn from their action in the case—they feel called upon to assert and maintain the right of this Board to independant action under the city charter, upon all questions properly brought before them; and in a spirit of calmness and self-respect, must protest against any legislative act of censure by one branch of the City Government upon the other, as irregular, and calculated to excite feelings and prejudices that must inevitably interfere with the proper and harmonious action of the two departments of this government, and be productive of consequences injurious to the public interests.

Resolved, That this Board concur with the Common Council in raising a joint committee to tender to the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, in the name of the City Council, an invitation to meet and address his fellow citizens at such time as he may elect; and that the use of Faneuil Hall be granted for the above purpose.

The resolutions were adopted without debate, by a unanimous vote; and Alderman Rogers, Holbrook and Smith were joined to the Council Committee.

Alderman Kimball submitted the following preamble and resolution:—

Whereas, A recent vote of this Board, denying the use of Faneuil Hall to sundry persons, has called forth resolutions of regret by one branch of the City Council; and

Whereas, This Board confidently believed that upon a careful consideration of said vote in connexion with votes previously passed, and the contingencies possibly incident upon the granting of said petition, those who most loudly condemned the vote first referred to, would most strongly commend and acquiesce in it as indispensably necessary to prove the impartiality of this Board; and therefore to avoid all future misapprehension in regard to applications for the use of Faneuil Hall, it is

Resolved, That this Board will invariably grant the use of Faneuil Hall, under the established regulations, to any hundred legal tax-paying citizens of Boston, for any public meeting, except such as, in the opinion of the Mayor and Aldermen, may be for illegal purposes, or inconsistent with good morals; and that at any such meetings, ample police force shall be detailed for the maintenance of strict order at such meetings, provided, however, that the petition, or any number of them, to whom the use of the Hall may be granted, shall give satisfactory security for the payment for all expenses for such police force as the Board may deem necessary.

This paper was read for the information of the Board, and by general consent lies over for action at the next meeting.

Alderman Rogers here submitted the following preamble and resolution in relation to the expected visit of the President of the United States to Boston:

Whereas, It has been publicly intimated that this Board has practically refused to join with the Common Council in offering the hospitalities of the city of President FILLMORE; and whereas, the action of this Board, in laying upon the table an order from the other Board upon this subject, took place ere a time when the members of this Board were unaware of any intimation from any quarter of an intent or wish on the part of the President to visit this part of the country, and had in view subsequent and final action when such intent or wish should be made apparent; that the same, through some inadvertence and the press of other important duties upon the time and attention of the Board, has been accidentally delayed. Therefore—

Resolved, That the Mayor and Aldermen, as a conservative Board of the city government, do not yield to the other branch in feelings of regard and respect for MILLARD FILLMORE, the President of the United States; and from the moment that his disposition to visit New England was made known to them, they have been, and are, willing and desirous to afford him a proof of their respectful consideration, by uniting with the Common Council in inviting him, to the mansion of the citizens, to the city of Boston, at such time as may be most agreeable to him.

Ordered, That this Board unanimously concur in the order of March 6th last, and that the whole Board be joined to the Committee appointed by the Common Council in reference to the same.

These resolutions were also adopted by a unanimous vote, and without discussion.

VIOLATION OF STATE LAWS.

In the Massachusetts Senate, on Tuesday last—

Mr. Robinson—from the special committee appointed to investigate the facts of the late fugitive slave case, to ascertain if any infringement of the laws has been made by officers of this Commonwealth—submitted a report. The report charges the Sheriff, Deputy Sheriff, Mayor, City Marshal, and the officers under his control, with having violated the laws, and recommends the passage of the following bills:—

Bill to punish disobedience of the laws by public officers:

The prohibition of the 2d section of the Act further to protect Personal Liberty, passed March 24, 1843, shall be extended to all persons holding any office created or existing under any statute of this Commonwealth; and every such person transgressing the prohibitions thereof, shall forfeit and pay the sum of $100, with costs of suit—to be recovered by indictment or information, or by action of debt on the part of any person authorised to sue for the same.

An Act concerning calling out the Militia:

During any session of the Legislature, or Executive Council, or whenever the Governor is in the city, the power of the Mayor of said city to call out the militia is suspended, and vested in the Commander-in-Chief.

On motion of Mr. Do Witt, 1000 extra copies of the report were ordered to be printed.

TERRIBLE STORM.

The most severe storm that Boston has known for half a century, at this season of the year, commenced on Tuesday of last week, and continued throughout the week with scarcely any intermission. An immense quantity of rain fell—the tide rose to an unprecedented height, covering many of the wharves and streets—and the power of the wind was tremendous. The damage to property in this city and the towns along the coast was immense.

DESTRUCTION OF MINOT'S LEDGE LIGHT-HOUSE.

The fears which had been entertained concerning the fate of this structure were realized on Thursday, when Mr. Bennett arrived up to Boston with the tidings that it had gone. The last time that the light was seen standing was at about half-past 3 o'clock Wednesday afternoon. The Light was not seen burning Wednesday night. About 4 o'clock Thursday morning, Mr. Bennett was on the beach, and discovered, strewed all around, fragments of the building. Parts of the residence room and of the lantern Reef were seen on the beach, and also portions of the bedding, Mr. Bennett's clothing, &c. One of Bennett's Life Buoys came on shore, having the appearance of having been used by one of the unfortunate men, who were in the Light House. He had lashed it to his back, but the waves probably washed him out of it.—Mr. Bennett's absence was from his having been ordered up to the city by Collector Greeley, to purchase a new boat, and on his return, Tuesday afternoon, found the sea so high that he could not get on board the Light. After being unable to get on board, Mr. Bennett repaired to his house on White Head, opposite the Gledes, from which he and his family were washed out by the high tides. Besides his clothing, &c., Mr. Bennett lost some $50 or $60 in money, which was on board the Light. The beach was strewed with fragments of the wreck—some of which Mr. Bennett brought to the city, and deposited at the Custom House.

Joseph Wilson and Joseph Antonio were the assistant keepers in the Light House, and are thought to be less perished. Wilson was about 20 years of age; Antonio was 25, and formerly kept a boarding house in Cohasset. Both were both true and faithful men.

The underwriters of Boston promptly offered that a Light Ship should be moored as near the site of the Light House as practicable, as a guide to vessels inward bound that may run to make the Minots. On Friday a suitable vessel was to be stationed there, until something more permanent can be devised.

News from Cohasset yesterday mentions that the Light was seen burning as late as 10 *o'clock Wednesday night*, and that the alarm bell was ringing with unusual violence. Yesterday morning the rock upon which the Light House stood was seen. *Not a vestige of the structure remains—not even a pillar is standing to mark the spot where it was located.* It was noticed some months since that the north part of the rock was split, and it is thought that it has now given way. The Hon. Nathan E. Forbes is to cruise off the Ledge till a Light-boat is stationed there.

Another Fatal Shipwreck.—A letter states that a British schooner, supposed from Boston, came on shore at Truro, on Friday, with decks stove, masts gone, the body of a man on board, 7 barrels of flour, a cooking stove, several pieces of calico, a few barrels of tar, and some Boston daily newspapers. This was the schooner Eagle, of and for Yarmouth, N. S. which sailed hence on the 13th inst. John H. Collins, Esq., a highly respectable merchant, of the firm of Kettell, Collins, & Co., India Wharf, was a passenger, and from the violence of the gale, there can be little hope that any one on board was saved. There were two passengers, besides the captain, and six men. The body found dead on board was probably that of Mr. William Barton, a passenger, who was sick, and probably unable to leave the cabin.

Energy of Character.—B. Douglass Taylor, an Alabama slave, has within a few years earned and paid for his own freedom, thirteen hundred dollars, and for the freedom of his wife, three hundred and fifty more. He is a licensed preacher of the Methodist Church, and has a strong letter of recommendation from Bishop Capers, of South Carolina.

A Sign.—At a legal town-meeting of the people of Fall River, Mass., the Representatives of that town in the Legislature were instructed, on the 12th inst., to support Charles Sumner for the U. S. Senate, by a vote of 233 to 34. This, for a strong Whig town, is doing well.

Excited.—Hon. R. B. Rhett, of S. C., has withdrawn his son from Harvard University, on account of the anti-slavery agitation.

☞ A fire in Nevada City a few weeks since destroyed one hundred and fifty houses, involving a loss of $100,000. The fire raged from 1 till 7 o'clock Wednesday morning. The flames were only stayed by having no more material to devour. One life was lost. The fire is supposed to have been the work of an incendiary.

☞ When the news of the recess of Sims reached Marlboro', the parish bell was tolled *seventy-five* times, to indicate that independence had ceased to exist.

Three Experiments of Living.—The Higher law—the Lower law—and the Hyer law. Having rejected the first, Mr. Webster and his son have taken to the two latter.—*Commonwealth.*

☞ The New Haven Register says that P. T. Barnum has bought no estate in Pennsylvania, to which he intends to remove. 'Iranistan,' his splendid dwelling in Connecticut, is for sale at one-third less than cost, and if not sold before the 19th of June, will be sold at public auction.

☞ Booth, a fugitive slave barber in Lowell, and Henry Jenkins, ditto, in Worcester, have recently been bought of their Southern owners by the subscriptions of liberal citizens in the two cities. One cost $700, the other $800.

Another Fugitive Slave Freed.—We learn that on Saturday, free papers for a fugitive slave, who is employed in a mercantile house in this city, were received from his owners in Norfolk, and placed in his possession. He is, therefore, now a freeman.—*Boston Journal.*

A Nuisance.—The Grand Jury of Georgetown District, for the spring term of the Court, present as a nuisance all those transient persons from the non-slaveholding States, who come to the District in the winter for the purpose of trading, shad-fishing and duck-shooting—we believe them to be injurious to all classes of our population, and, therefore, solicit the intervention of the Legislature in the matter.

☞ It is estimated that the damage sustained in this State by the late great storm will amount to at least a million and a half of dollars—of which Boston suffers nearly a million.

☞ Mr. John Dickens, the father of Charles Dickens, died on the 31st of March last.

☞ Mr. Rushton, the eminent police magistrate of Liverpool, is dead.

Arrival of the Pacific.—The U. S. Mail Steamship Pacific, from Liverpool, at 2 P. M., April 9th, reached her dock at Canal street at 10 o'clock Saturday morning, having made the passage in *nine days and twenty hours*; or, allowing five-hours for difference of latitude, in ten days and one hour. This is the quickest trip ever made between the two ports.

Departure of Fugitive Slaves.—The New Bedford Mercury says:—'We are pleased to announce that a very large number of fugitive slaves, sided by a party of our most wealthy and respectable citizens, have left for Canada, and parts unknown, and that many more are in the way of departure. The utmost sympathy and liberality prevails towards this class of our population.'

SELECTIONS.

☞ We commend to all Hunkerdom in Boston, at this juncture, the following very strengthening article from the 'Southern Press,' published at Washington.

THE LITTLE END OF THE COMPROMISE.

The champions of the Compromise seem bent on rendering themselves as ridiculous as possible North and South; and the pretexts which they set up to screen themselves from public contempt are so petty and frivolous as to excite commiseration rather than derision. As though desperately bent on whitling down to the little end of nothing the cause of which they profess to be the champions, they have staked it first on one issue and then upon another, until at last they have suspended its safety of the Union, and the success of the compromise measures, *on the delivery of the runaway negro captured last week at Boston!*

With a most melo-dramatic mournfulness and affecting pathos, the Southern Compromisers, with tears in their eyes, implore their Boston brethren to give Mr. Potter his negro back, or the dissolution of this confederacy will be a fixed fact! While with a firmness and self-devotion surpassing the exemplar of Roman story, the Northern Compromise journals declare that the Union shall be preserved, and the 'renovation' of the Administration be still more exalted—for Marshal Tukey, like a new Napoleon, shall disperse the rabble rout, and do that which Webster, Cass, Clay & Co. failed to do—'give peace to this distracted country.' Talk about one of the friends of the Administration—of the signal services of the new 'holy alliance' that partitioned off the South like another Poland among the Northern powers—the main stay—the prop—the bulwark—the forlorn hope of this Administration now, is Marshal Tukey.

For if the safety of the Administration and the acquiescence of the South in the Compromise depend upon the success of their new case in Boston, who can doubt that Tukey is the man to whom that success will be due?

While that Achilles remained in his tent, Crafts coolly defied the friends of the Administration, and Shadrach was triumphantly torn from the very horns of the altar. Nain were the struggles of the Commissioner—equally impotent the telegraphic messages of the Secretary of State, in the former case—laudiscously futile the effort of his son, the collector, in the latter, whose ill-directed demonstrations in favor of law and order resulted in his own incarceration. The genius and influence of Tukey and his constabulary along could side and rain the storm—his marshal aids alone could stay the 'fierce Democracy' of Ranford, or the frantic 'Whiggery' of Charles Francis Adams—and the pious exhortations of Parson Parker, like a new 'Peter the Hermit' preaching a new crusade.

Honor then where honor is due. If the Union is to be saved by the efforts of Tukey, let the praise be given where it is justly merited—and let it not be monopolized by those who did not take the responsibility, nor front the danger of those 'carving knives, ground and sharpened,' taken from the persons of those desperate dogs, the 'two colored men,' who seemed to constitute the effective force captured by the 'New England Guards.'

The pestle that environ the people of Boston, and the excitement that prevails there, may be judged from the following minutes of the proceedings which we clip from the Boston papers. They are sufficiently terrific to freeze the blood of peaceful citizens, and cause their hoarse hair to stand on end like quills upon the fretful porcupine! List! Oh list!

LARGEST OF ARMED MEN. After the crowd which gathered in Court Square last evening had dispersed, four or five negroes, who had been loitering about the Square throughout the day and evening, continued to remain in the vicinity, and, about two o'clock this morning demanded admission into the armory of the New England Guards, in Franklin Avenue where that corps were quartered for the night. They were told that there was nothing for them to see, and, as they had no business there at that late hour, they had better retire. This the negroes refused to do, and continued to annoy the sentinel and cause no small disturbance that Capt. Bradlee and Lieut. Col. Boyd called upon the watchman, who arrested and committed two of their number, named Charles S. and Isaac H. Snowden, upon whom several persons were found pistols with powder and ball, and a large carving knife, ground sharp on both edges, with an artificial hilt round the blade next to the handle!

Three two colored men were brought before the police court this morning for examination, when Messrs. Phillips, Morris, and others of the Vigilance Committee, appeared for the defendants. The examination had not been concluded at half-past two o'clock, when our paper went to press.

ARMORY. Henry D. Cushing and Daniel J. Orcutt were arrested and taken to the watch-house about half-past 8 o'clock last evening, for refusing to leave Court Square when requested to by Capt. Barry. They were reproved, and afterwards discharged.

The feats of Falstaff with those 'rogues in buckram,' were nothing to these 'arrests of armed men.' They must be desperate dogs, to be sure!

The merchants of Boston are no doubt anxious to 'throw a tub to the whale,' and present a peace offering to the Southern submissionists in the person of a solitary cooro—more especially when adjured to domes by an Administration, of whose 'renovation' and sympathies they have been so well assured.

A want of business tact has never been imputed to the Bostonians—and as the foreign element large by preponderates in that city, the stubborn fanaticism of their Puritan blood is counteracted and controlled by the cosmopolitan instincts of traders. We have never doubted that it was a comparatively easy thing to secure a slave in the city of Boston, and that the opposition there would be less obstinate than in any portion of New England, where the old Puritan leaven still prevailed; hence, we deemed the result of all the previous trials the more disgraceful; and we are confident that the result of the present trial will prove the credulous of our belief. They conspired at the outrages which they were too cowardly openly to countenance, until their pockets began to suffer; then their dormant patriotism awoke—and conclusive evidence is afforded how easy the same line of conduct would have been at the time, had *inclination* only prompted what *interest* now commands.

The proclamations and parade through the papers, are all intended for effect—and display a lamentable want of materials, for effectiveness. It is a new version of the old play, '*Much Ado about Nothing*,'—and the idea, evidently, is to impress upon the minds of the Southern merchants the prodigious pecuniary and immense sacrifices made by the Boston impetuosity in guarding Mr. Potter's negro, and sending him back to servitude and labor—in consideration of which, all past offences are to be forgotten, the trade withdrawn from Boston restored, and the shoes of Lynn put on a proper footing once more. Judging of the future by the past, the expectation is not an unreasonable one—and to such a modest proposal all the Southern submission journals would heartily respond 'amen.' So far is not the case of Boston the case of us all?

Thus it will be seen that, so far as the city of Boston is concerned, the speculation is a good one—the trick is a 'cute' one. But the gratification of the Compromisers in entering into the coalition, rises to the sublime of stupidity, if uncertain as was their footing before on the precarious platform of the Compromise, this leap leaves them dangling in the air, with the rope around their necks. The gentry who have so bitterly denounced the opponents of the spoliation bills as disunionists have actually (unmindful of the Farewell Address) *staked the perpetuity of the glorious Union!* against *a single runaway negro from Savannah!*

Middle Verse of the Old Testament.—Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.

From the Toronto (Canada West) Globe.

THE FLIGHT.

A POEM,

Delivered at a meeting of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society, on Wednesday, April 9.

BY REV. W. PUTNAM.

By flowing stream, through swamp and wood,
The fleeing bondman keep their way,
At midnight, on the travelled road,
In covert creeping through the day;
And fiercely hurrying on their path,
Come hound and hunter in their wrath.

Up through the glade the bondmen come,
Fast up the rough hill-side—
God help them! for they run on foot,
And their pursuers ride!
The heavens are ringing to their cry,
As they struggle on in agony.

And now, along the wintry plain,
They keep their ground ahead;
And see! the footprints which they leave
Upon the ground are red!
Thus with the vintage of the vain
Sealing their hatred of the chain.

Press on! the human bloodhounds now
Are close upon their track!
The Politicians hunting
With the howling Altar pack!
And the poor wretches feel their breath
Around them, like the mists of death.

Bear on! the glancing waters now
Are rolling in their sight;
And Freedom's angel beckons,
While she walks the crests of white,
And points them where the rainbow sign
Marks Slavery's bound, and Freedom's line!

See! on the rocky battlement,
Above the mountain gorge,
Waves the red cross of England,
The banner of St. George!
God hold them up!—one moment more,
Their feet shall tread the Briton's shore!

The Canadian has heard their cry,
And his boat is on the strand;
His cheering shout is on the gale,
As he gives a brother's hand.
Ho! launch away! Ontario's waves
Bear up in pride the rescued slaves!

They're safe!—hurra!—the stream is crossed,
And up the cliff they spring;
And in the teeth of Tyranny
Their broken shackles fling!
And loud upon the winds is heard
The shriek of Freedom's baffled bird!

Crest-fallen Priest! go howling back!
And, by the darkened altar's side,
Tell of the arm which interposed,
And crushed Oppression's pride;
And learn, amid the clank of chains,
Not Satan, but JEHOVAH reigns!

Go, leprous Politician, hence,
With cheek and lip with passion pale;
Tell how the prey escaped your grasp,
When alone upon their trail;
And reap a sure and just reward—
The scorn of man, and curse of God.

Poured out by God for centuries,
From the hollow of his hand,
Mark! how the waters thunder,
Upon the quivering strand!
And earth, amazed, along the height
Reads the vast record of His might.

He piled the rocky barrier
As a rampart for the slave;
Affrighted at His awful voice,
Back rolls Oppression's wave!
The tyrant drops his iron rod
Before the *majesty* of God!

Here shall the panting bondman stand,
Breathe Freedom's vital air, and live!
Take glory, at the Briton's hand,
The boon the Yankee dare not give;
Safe from the Eagle's talons be,
Beneath the Lion's shadow—FREE!

And the Canadian hath sworn
The blue lake's waters ne'er shall feel
The tyrant's chain, or ne'er its breast
Shall sweep the slaver's keel,
Or close beneath his monarch's throne
Shall father clank or bondman groan.

The bostman down St. Lawrence wave,
With Freedom's songs his voyage beguile,
Awaking with her stirring lays
The echoes of a thousand isles!
Help for the bondman! hot the call
Rings from the lakes to Montreal!

And on it passes, echoing still,
Where pine-clad cliffs in darkness frown,
Startling the slumbering city where
The knights of Abraham look down,
And rolls along the rapids deep,
Where, 'midst the foam, the batteaux sweep.

Thu anthem of Niagara
Feels no, o'er mountain, lake and dell;
And Montmorenci's gentler tone,
And voice of Chaudiere answer well,
And Fundy's waters, deep and strong,
To the broad ocean bear the song.

O, God be thanked! that to the slave
There is one place of refuge given,
Ono spot where Freedom's foot may rest,
Before Oppression driven!
And ever may His lightnings clear
Her path along the broad frontier!

SLAVERY IN LIBERIA.

The following extraordinary statement is made in a work recently published in England, entitled 'Dahomey,' by Liest. Forbes, R. N. Can it be true?

'The Liberian people are doubtless held up as an example of the general state of the African, but I prefer not instancing that state further than to prove I have not overlooked it. For in Liberia there is as much, if not more, domestic slavery—that is, the buying and selling of God's image—as in the parent States of America, over which flaunts the flag of Liberty (?) It is difficult to see the necessity or the justice of the negro who escapes from slavery on the one side, crossing the Atlantic to enslave his sable prototype on the other; yet such is the case; and as long as it lasts, not withstanding the attractive reports that emanate from this new republic, it cannot be held as an example of future good, but if possible should be remodelled, even at the expense of internal revolution, or even of total annihilation.' I doubt if many benevolent Christians are aware, that the Model Republic is in reality a new name and form for slavery in enslaved Africa, and until the system be altered, utterly undeserving of the high support and liberal charity it receives from the benevolence of Englishmen.

The system of domestic slavery is by no means confined to the Liberian portion of civilized Africa.—Pawns (as the fashion terms slaves on the Gold Coast) are received and held by Englishmen indirectly, and are to all intents and purposes their slaves. The plan adopted is this. The merchant takes to himself a femme du pays, and she manages his establishment. Nor does he enquire how she hires his servants. Her mode is to accept pawns, i. e., purchase slaves, in payment for receiving man, woman and child, in liquidation of debt; in other words, selling goods to native merchants, who for convenience leave slaves in payment. These pawns are as directly slaves to their masters as any slaves in the United States, but cannot be sold out of the country. I myself am aware of one femme du pays of a British merchant being the owner of forty pawns, who, perform the household and other services of the master, and are, exception pawns, his slaves. His money purchased them, and they are his commands on pain of corporal punishment, and drew him to and fro in his carriage when taking exercise. How far is this removed from actual slavery?'

From the Liberator.

LINES,

ADDRESSED TO THE MAYOR OF LYNN, MASS.,

On occasion of his pronouncing (at a large public meeting) the Fugitive Slave Law to be 'inhuman, unjust, and not fit to be obeyed.'

A law 'inhuman'—bravely spoken,
Mayor of Lynn, that timely word!
Loud it speaks thy fearless purpose,
O'er the broad Atlantic heard.

A law 'unjust,' again thou spoke st
Like a soul of noble mould,
Loving more his country's honor
Than her mines of glittering gold.

Oh! how is that honor tarnished,
By her law 'gainst brothers made!
Thou didst well to scorn and stamp it,
One 'not fit to be obeyed.'

Righteous edict! May its echo
Through the great republic sound,
Till her pitying sons and daughters,
Freedom's altar gathering round,

Shall, in deep-toned thrilling accents,
(Seeking strength from God on high,)
Shout 'Repeal' till guilty Congress
Sees its guilty law must die.

Die—but, oh! its life has kindled
Ten-fold zeal in Freedom's cause,
And its death shall teach the entioes,
'Good men suffer not bad laws.'

Mayor of Lynn! thy honest conscience,
Tampering not with coward fear,
Wins from us a prouder title—
'Man of God,' we hail thee here.

A BRITISH ABOLITIONIST.

And an Abstainer from slave-grown Produce.

London, April 4, 1851.

RIGHTLY ASHAMED OF HIS NAME.

The following scene took place in the Massachusetts House of Representatives on Tuesday last:

Mr. Curtis of W. Brookfield, presented the following petition, which at his request was read, the House granting leave by vote:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled—

The petition of Daniel Webster Gilbert, of West Brookfield, humbly sheweth, that the circumstances of bearing a illustrious name has ever been a source of mortification to him, in that, finding it now added an utter detestation of the course in public life of that man out of respect for whom the parents of your petitioner bestowed upon him the name by which he has heretofore been known.

Your petitioner therefore prayeth that he may be allowed to take the name of De Witt Gilbert, thereby retaining the initials by which he is generally known. D. W. GILBERT.

Boston, April 8th, 1851.

Upon the question of reading the petition, Mr. Gardner of Boston made objection, and asked if the subject was debatable.

Mr. Keith of Roxbury moved that the prayer of the petitioner be granted.

Mr. Kimball of Boston, wished to know if it was in order to debate the question.

The speaker said it was, if the question was confined strictly to the matter of reference.

Mr. Kimball said he should oppose the reference, because there were reasons why the subject should be considered strictly by the House. They were reasons which perhaps would not be known to the Committee. The name of De Witt, which the petitioner proposed to take, is the name of a relative of his, named R. L., who has grown rich in the slave trade. [It was here suggested by several members that the name of the person was Wolfe.] He would thank gentlemen to let him go on in his own way. The person desiring to have his name changed perhaps did not know this fact, and it was proper that the information should be given him, lest he should find he had taken a more objectionable name.

Mr. Bartlett of Boston objected to the reception of petitions, in which persons were allowed to express their opinions of the merits of distinguished individuals in the State, whether they were in the language of degrading or of exalting epithets. He hoped therefore that the petitioner would have leave to withdraw his petition.

The Speaker said the motion might be made, if the motion before the House should be negatived.

Mr. Curtis of W. Brookfield said the petitioner was a respectable and intelligent young man, Whig in politics.

Mr. Fuller of Boston, saw no reason why the prayer of the petitioner should not be granted. He supposed the petitioner knew the appropriateness of the name he wished to assume, (De Witt,) which in Latin signified *without wit.*

Mr. Olesson of Worcester moved the previous question, which was sustained.

The petition was ordered to be referred, by a vote of 137 to 107.

Marriage of Prof. Webster's Daughter.—Miss Harriet W. (daughter of the late Professor Webster) was married at Cambridge, Mass., on the 24 inst., to Mr. S. W. Dabney, of Fayal, the brother of her elder sister's husband. When her father was convicted of the murder of Dr. Parkman, this young lady, who had for some time been betrothed to Mr. D., absolved him from his engagement, which, however, with a manliness One did him honor, he would not accept. They, with Mrs. Webster, are about making a visit to Fayal.

Ample Bail.—Messrs. John H. Pearson, William C. Fay, John H. Tweney, and Henry Howland, were the gentleman who became bail for Messrs. Bacon and De Lyon, who were arrested a few days since on the charge of conspiracy to kidnap Thomas Sims. Several other well known gentlemen offered to sign the bail bond, but the four named were considered amply good for the $20000, the required amount of bail.—*Journal.* [Infinite bettors!]

Valuation of Massachusetts.—The entire property of the Commonwealth, in 1830, was $208,860,401, and the population 610,014. In 1840, the valuation was $290,875,320. In 1850, the entire valuation was $597,936,995.

☞ Poor Vermont! What will she do? Virginia—august, dignified Virginia, the leader of slaves—has voted not to send the Executive of that State a copy of certain resolutions which she has seen fit to submit. Can we wly—the Green Mountain Boys have so aversion to slave-catching, and have dared to say so without asking any body's leave.

Clergymen in Boston!—There are, at the present time, 103 clergymen, of different denominations, who live in the city of Boston.

☞ A colored woman who was a witness before the Court of Common Pleas at Greenfield last week, is supposed to be one hundred and fifteen years of age. She is as smart as a young lady of seventy.

Purchase and Release of Fugitives.—The fugitives recently carried to Brownsville, Pa., have both been sold at liberty, one having been purchased for $300 and the other for $700. The latter paid for himself, and the money for the former was raised by citizens of that place.

☞ The New York Globe, the only Democratic paper in that city, has died for want of support. The Herald says, $23,000 have been sunk on it in eighteen months. It was furiously pro-slavery.

☞ It is estimated that there have been built in the United States, from the year 1824 to the year 1846, 2310 steamboats. The present rate of steamboat building is about 200 per annum.

☞ A lady residing at Strehane has sent to the London Exhibition a knitted linen lace scarf, containing 12 1-2 miles of thread, and 3,476,000 stitches. It is 7 feet 10 inches in length, and 3 feet wide; and it is only 5 3-8 ounces in weight.

Congressional Election.—All the towns in the Second District, except Lyndeboro', give Mr. Upham 4214, Rantoul 3124, Sewall 1772. All others, 289.

☞ Rev. A. D. Wheeler, who was injured while in the cars, has recovered the sum of $5,400 from the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad Company, awarded him by referees.

The Impartial Citizen.

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From the Liberator.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The speech of Mr. Phillips, at the great Anti-Fugitive Slave Law meeting held in the Tremont Temple on the evening of the 5th ult., electrified the assembly. Some portions of it we give below, as chanced at the time, phonographically, by a promising reporter, our young friend J. M. W. Yerrinton:—

Mr. Chairman:—

I know not that I have any thing to say to an audience gathered at this moment in Boston. It is not because there are not many things to be said; and yet I confess I do not know how to speak to citizens of Massachusetts at such a moment as this. Really, there is no Massachusetts. The State has faded like the last Pleiad from the National constellation. Can you have a writ served in the name of Massachusetts? By whom? The Judges of the Commonwealth make their way to their own seats on the Federal tribunals of the State, under chairs erected by officials who scoff at their orders. Never has it been known till now, that even the mere spectators of justice were refused admission to the courts of a free country; but here not a man can enter them, except for specific business, who is not an officer of the Government, or shielded by the character of counsel—a state of things which, I venture to say, has never been paralleled this side the Atlantic north of the Gulf of Mexico.

I ask again, Where is the State of Massachusetts? There is a statute on the Commonwealth law-book, placed there by one of the profoundest lawyers of his age, [Hon. James C. Alvord,] and placed there for the express and avowed purpose, that if ever a slave was arrested and held under the statute of 1793, the courts of this State should, by the process therein marked out, take jurisdiction, in order to test the constitutionality of that act. A writ, under that statute, has been in the hands of the sheriff's deputy for thirty-six hours. He has been requested to serve it. He has been provided with what he has allowed to be sufficient bonds for the discharge of his duty; he has been offered $500 as his fee, to walk into that Court-House and serve that writ, and has refused.

I ask you, Where is the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, when a Commissioner, who is no more a judge, as we have been told under this roof to-day, than one carved out of cheese-parings, (cheers and laughter,) holds as a slave an inhabitant of Massachusetts, entitled to the presumption that he is a freeman until the contrary is proved, and holds him in utter defiance of our State laws. When such means as we see used are necessary to execute a statute, it is time for the citizens to be put in a condition to know whether they are bound to obey this law or not. Our institutions are framed on the idea, that whenever a law is supposed to conflict with the Constitution, speedy and simple methods shall be provided to bring that question before competent tribunals, and have it adjudicated. The Government of the United States refuses to the citizens of the Commonwealth every means of deciding whether this law be constitutional or not; and it, when the cup of their submission is full, thirts he arts and knows no resolution, I ask you, on whom rests the responsibility,—on the citizen who throws himself back upon his natural rights, or the Government that has meddened him by oppression, and refuses him every means of legal redress?

I have been told, through the daily press, that these are abstract questions, which it is dangerous to discuss openly! Who forces us to the discussion of these abstract propositions? The men who drive us at the point of the bayonet from the courts of justice! A man who says to an individual claiming possession of a Massachusetts freeman, 'You must prove that he comes under the constitutional provision, and is held to service or labor, in the same way that you prove any other claim,' is denounced as factious and guilty of treason. If he finds, in the armory of the law, a process to enforce his demand, he cannot get an officer to serve it. Sheriffs refuse to serve process. Judges refuse to take jurisdiction. Because this law must be enforced, it seems to be inferred that all others must be nullified. For the last week, the Fugitive Slave Law has not only been held to be law in Massachusetts, but held, practically, to be the only law in the Commonwealth.

Our continued and relentless opposition to an unconstitutional law is denounced as factious. Yet it has the highest revolutionary precedent. Lord Chatham said of a law, not a tenth part as infamous as this:—'The Constitution at this moment stands violated. Until that wound be healed, until the grievance be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament—in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself we must convince them that their complaints are regarded, and that their inquiries shall be answered.—On that foundation, I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, may discord prevail forever! I know to what point this doctrine and this language may appear directed. But I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming; so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old as I am, I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and government. My lords, this is not the language of faction.'

I was present in the Supreme Bench of Massachusetts, the other day, and heard the Judge who, fifteen years ago, pronounced the decision in the Med case, refer, in fitting eulogy, to that decision. He dwelt upon it—the proudest feather in the cap of his judicial fame—for some length of time; that when the slave Med was brought before him, under a writ, *habeas corpus*, and it was shown that she had not *escaped* from Alabama, but was *brought* into Massachusetts, and consequently did not come under the constitutional provision in respect to 'persons held, &c., escaping,' the Court decided that she was free. Since that time, numbers have been brought here, and have been set free by the same principle. It has rung through the whole nation, and hundreds now enjoy the blessings of liberty under that decision. I heard the Chief Justice allude to it with becoming pride; but I could not help thinking, as I heard him, that if that very child, now grown to be a woman, should be brought up under the Fugitive Slave Law, by a certificate with the seal of the proper Court, affirming that in 1835 that child Med was a slave in a certain county in Alabama, and had escaped into Massachusetts,—as by the law of many slave States she is held to have done,—if the claimant should show that paper to George T. Curtis, give him proof that the person named in it was the person now before him, there is no power in this State—no writ, according to the Court's decision yesterday, that could save her—her, who very evidence, subject and trophy of the occasion, which will alone, probably, make the Supreme Court of Massachusetts remembered fifty years hence. She is not allowed to prove that she was brought into the State; she is not allowed to prove that she was the party to that decision which has immortalized the Judge who delivered it. Though the very volume which beam that decision should be produced in evidence, there is no power in Massachusetts competent to prevent her being rendered back to the degradation of Southern bondage, at the option of Mr. Commissioner Curtis. In our Western States, persons, situated like Med, have been several times surrendered within the past twelvemonths.

Notwithstanding this, let us remember, that if a fugitive slave shall be sent back from Boston, a fugitive slave has not yet been arrested in Boston. The United States Government was obliged to put on the disguise of a Boston watchman, and prowl at midnight in the streets, giving out that it was engaged in the arrest of a thief. Without such a pretence, it is not probable that Sims could have been carried over the few rods he was to be given into the custody of the Marshal. Again, Massachusetts has not yet surrendered a fugitive. It will be done, if done at all, only by trampling under foot all her laws. We have made the fact palpable thus the Commonwealth stands arrayed against the Slave-hunter; and this City now degraded into a miserable appendage to the County House, and catching slaves in order to improve business.

We have listened, of late, to many homilies on the duties of 'law-abiding citizens.' During the last few days, while Judges and the Executive have deserted their posts, the abolitionists have been strictly law-abiding citizens. We have begged for nothing but the law—have wearied ourselves to obtain the simple legal rights guaranteed to us and to all by the State. The City Government, in direct defiance of the statute of 1843, have sided, both directly and indirectly, in the arrest and detention of a person claimed as a slave. To effect this purpose, they have violated the commonest rights of the citizens—shut them out of their own court-houses, subjected them, from day to day, to needless, illegal, and vexatious arrests. Judges have been 'Artful Dodgers,' and Sheriffs have refused all processes. The abolitionists have exhausted every device, have besieged every tribunal, implored the interference of every department, to obtain the here execution of the law of the Commonwealth. Charged by the various presses with treasonable and seditious designs, and then taunted with cowardice that they were afraid to execute them, they have stood quietly to their well-considered plan, to develop, by unceasing diligence and fearless men, the whole plot against the laws of the State, and then appeal to the people to provide in future for the execution of their own laws. When law fail them, and when good sense approves, they may resort to arms; but be assured, while so deeply intrenched in laws as we now are, with every statute on our side, we shall not forfeit our throne away our advantage. George Canning repeated what the profound sagacity of Burke had seen, that in a slave colony good laws were useless—they had no executive power. We have found it so here. In the slave colony of Massachusetts, the laws are well enough, but public opinion has so degenerated, that there are none to execute them. The institutions are left, but where are the men? We live in an age of masks—not men. Rome had republican forms enough when the Emperor made his horse a consul. So we have republican forms left, though (a parallel case) Mr. Commissioner Curtis sits a Judge.

Now, one word more before I sit down. It is this: I am represented in the Boston papers as having said a great deal, of late, a great deal that I never did say; and I have been asked many times why I did not correct these reports. Let me take this opportunity, where I see before me a large body of my fellow-citizens, gathered from all parts of the Commonwealth, to state why I do not attempt any such correction. These presses lie, know that they lie, and intend to lie, in the greater part of the statements made as to anti-slavery meetings and speeches. Years ago, when I first commenced my anti-slavery career, I did attempt to get some corrections of gross misstatements inserted in the very columns where such misstatements appeared; but being almost uniformly refused, I have ceased all such efforts. The Daily Advertiser devoted two articles, in successive papers, to abuse of me and misrepresentation of any course. I asked the insertion of one short article in reply; it was refused. (Shame! shame!) The 'Traveller,' some years since, made me talk arrant nonsense about the American churches. Through a friend, I asked the insertion of a dozen lines of correction. It was refused. Some of the other papers, which make so liberal use of my name, no one would willingly confess to having read. Correction, therefore, is out of the question. Such have been my experience and observation of the Boston press, that I affirm there is not a daily paper in Boston edited by a gentleman, or by any one deserving the notice of a gentleman. I except from this remark the 'Commonwealth,' and, in virtue of its occasional manliness, the Boston Post. The abolitionists, therefore, can fairly claim that no man has a right to believe any thing stated in regard to them or their meetings, merely from its being to set down in the Boston papers. Their purpose is falsehood; their columns are closed against all correction.

I do not complain of these misstatements because say thing has been attributed to me which I should have feared to have said. No! I claim the right to resist any law I choose. The Secretary of State cannot make a law so good that the meanest minority which ever existed has not the right instantly, before the President's signature is dry, to resist and oppose it, and agitate for its repeal. I shall not go to the press, nor to Mr. Webster, to learn how, or when, or how far I have the right to criticise the action of government, and to agitate for a change of its policy.

Now, I know that this is treasonable talk; but it is sometimes said that we never need to claim rights until they are denied us. The people are beginning to question whether they have a right to discuss these things. It is questioned now, in yonder barricaded courts, by the leading influences of the land; and if the courts are to stand where they do to-day, the time may come when these questions may cease to be to abstract as they now are, and become purely practical. We may yet come to remember that we are not citizens merely—come to remember that we were men before we were citizens—that God gave us something, and we do not owe every thing to Daniel Webster and the Constitution. [Mr. Phillips took his seat amid enthusiastic and long-continued applause.]

From the Cincinnati Nonpareil.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI.

Pursuant to notice, the friends of the anti-slavery cause assembled at Centre Hall, on the evening of April 14, 1851, and were called to order by Dr. W. H. Brisbane, of Cheviot. Officers *pro tem.* were chosen, as follows:—Thomas Freeman, of Cincinnati, President, and Edward Mathews, Secretary. The call for the Convention was read by the Secretary. Prayer by Wm. M. McCullough. A Committee was appointed to nominate permanent officers of the Convention. Committee—Christian Donaldson, John De Grew, and Edward Harwood, of Cincinnati. Dr. Brisbane, in behalf of the ladies who had called the Convention, stated its object.

In the afternoon of Tuesday, the following persons were elected permanent officers of the Convention:

President—L. A. Hine, of Cincinnati.

Vice Presidents—Thomas Freeman and John Joliffe, of Cincinnati.

Secretaries—Edward Mathews, of Wisconsin, and Sarah H. Ernst, of Cincinnati.

The President, on taking the chair, made an appropriate address.

The following Preamble and Resolutions were introduced by the Committee, and by other members of the Convention. They were discussed during Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, by Messrs. Ward, Nevin, Trent, Rankin, Reddington, Mathews, Craven, Wombaugh, Price and others, and were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, we have assembled at a period when the slave-hunting crime has reached a most revolting crisis; and whereas, many in all parts of the country will be looking to us for an expression of our views in this important stage of our enterprise, therefore, this Convention, as such an expression of its sentiments, adopts the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That Liberty and Justice are in danger in the land; thrice millions of our fellow-beings are in chains; a Fugitive Law has been passed, and throughout the length and breadth of the land, the Slave Power threatens to reign supreme.

2. That man, therefore, is no time to sleep; it is no time to be dead; it is the time to wake and work, and live anew in the cause; it is the time to do and suffer, and, if need be, to die; it is the time for every one who claims to be a friend of the slave to lay his all upon the altar, to harness himself anew for the conflict, to throw himself into the thickest of the fight, and instead of being discouraged and tempted to lay down his arms by the onward events of these times, to lay himself out to do still more and more, neither giving nor taking quarter, till every shall be—not circumscribed in its limits—not defeated in its demands with regard to the Fugitive Law—not disbarred from the General Government—but *actually and wholly abolished from the land.*

3. That, as a great crisis demands great exertions, and as 'in union there is strength,' the present alarming condition of things requires of all Abolitionists, that, as far as possible, they *unite and stand together*, endeavoring, as one common platform, to re-organize the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and these to enlist the combined energy of all who hate oppression, in one determined system of efforts to destroy this blighting curse, and to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.'

4. That in carrying on such a system of efforts, Mass Conventions of the friends of the slave, irrespective of sect or party, ought to be held in all parts of the country. Lectures should be sent out to preach the gospel of emancipation in every town and village; anti-slavery books, tracts, and newspapers, should be scattered broadcast over the land; the question of abolition should be brought home to every man's hearth-stone; and a continual *agitation* thus be kept up, till the national conscience shall be roused, the public heart changed, and, as a necessary consequence, slavery peacefully abolished.

5. That Liberty and Slavery are as antagonistic as light and darkness, and therefore both cannot exist in the same country and under the same government.

6. That slavery, as it exists in the United States, is the greatest political and civil despotism on the face of the earth.

7. That slavery is antagonistic to the Christian religion, and is its greatest enemy in this country.

8. That slaveholding is practical Atheism, and pro-slavery ministers and church members are merely impostors under the cloak of religion.

9. That the Fugitive Slave Law, passed and approved last September, is a most flagrant outrage upon the rights of freemen, a most flagrant violation of the Federal Constitution, and therefore it is an act against which the moral, social, and political influence of all the people ought to be arrayed.

10. That the recent delivery of Sims to his claimants, in Boston, is a demonstration of the utter and hopeless subserviency of the National Administration to the Slave Power, and the readiness of the ruling politicians of our country to place the whole North under the despotism of military rule, to further the Heaven-daring objects and purposes of the Slave Power.

11. That our friends in Boston, who so nobly stood by Crafts and his wife, and Shadrach and Sims, deserve and receive the approval, and the sympathy of this Convention, and the friends of humanity every where.

12. That in the growing and increasing influence of the Slave Power, we see abundant evidence of the need and imperative demand for the renewed zeal and energy of philanthropists, for the overthrow of this accursed system; for either slavery and its kindred atrocities must be destroyed, or the day will soon come when the North and the South, the blacks and the whites, will be subjects of a common and hopeless lot—victims of a slavery which knows no parallel.

13. That whatever are, or may be, our different views and opinions about voting, and political parties, we are united in the declaration, that any man who votes for any of the friends, aiders or abettors of the Fillmore Kidnapping Law, ought to be regarded as a practical enemy to God and humanity.

14. That we wish to have it distinctly understood, that injunctions as we regard the Fugitive Slave Law, we yet consider it as nothing in atrocity compared with the slavery which it was passed to uphold and defend. This last is the great thing, the other is only an offshoot; therefore it is no mark of a true abolitionist merely to oppose and seek to repeal, or even to disobey, that law, but all men are bound to go further, and strike at the *root* whence that sprung, and not to rest contented till they have destroyed the *life of the parent tree.*

15. That the treatment recently received by our brother Edward Mathews, at the hands of Kentucky ruffians, under the conniving eyes of a pro-slavery church, shows that there is and can be no safety in a Southern State to any one who has conscienced himself to speak a word in favor of human freedom, and hence it becomes all who would not be slaves themselves to be ready to lay down their lives, if need be, in pressing onward the doctrine and the work of emancipation.

16. Resolved, That this meeting recommend the Eleutherian Institute, located in Jefferson county, Indiana, and that at Albany, Ohio, to the patronage of all the friends of justice and humanity, as being based upon principles of justice and benevolence, and with a special view to elevate the colored race, that have long been abused and placed by law under severe disabilities.

17. That, in carrying out any principle of moral reform, the conduct of those engaged in it should comport with their theory, and hence, so long as we treat our colored brethren as inferior beings, or live either directly or indirectly in church fellowship with slaveholders or their apologists, our influence in the cause of human rights will be but limited.

18. That, however the views of this Convention may differ in some points connected with the anti-slavery movement, they are perfectly agreed in this, that the North is to be held responsible for the existence of American slavery. The people of the North are the real slaveholders; they have the power to strike the system instantly dead; it exists only by their sufferance—only because they, on the whole, wish it to exist; and therefore, there can be no hope of a peaceful extinction in this country, till the public sentiment of the North has been radically and fundamentally changed.

19. That we do now and hereby earnestly entreat the friends of humanity, in all parts of our country, to engage in producing this change, and use earnestly and efficiently the means and talents wherewith Providence has blessed them, to set home the truth of anti-slavery to and upon the consciences of our fellow citizens, knowing that such measures alone will answer our responsibilities to God, the slaveholder and the slave, our neighbor and ourselves.

20. That this Convention cannot but utter its solice of unqualified condemnation of the wicked and ungenerous spirit exhibited, by the great State of Ohio, in continuing, in its recently framed Constitution, to exclude 40,000 of its weak and defenceless persons from the right of suffrage—that great, fundamental, universal right of human beings—simply on account of the complexion which it has pleased the Creator to bestow on their skin.

21. That we heartily rejoice at the call for a Christian Anti-Slavery Convention to be held at Chicago on the 3d of July next, and also the suggestion in favor of a Mass Meeting of all who are opposed to the Fugitive Law, to be held sometime during the summer, and we hope that similar Conventions may be instituted all over the country, and largely attended by the friends of the slave.

22. That the unity of purpose and harmony of feeling which has pervaded this Convention, made us as it has been of abolitionists of all parties, in which freedom of opinion and utterance has been fully indulged, are a source of hope to the slave, and give us the assurance that we shall eventually triumph.

23. That we now adjourn, to meet in this city the third week in April, 1852.

The Convention was well attended at all its sessions, and in the evenings was crowded to the full capacity of the Hall; the two last evenings many going away from inability to find even standing room. Not the least spirit of disturbance was manifested at any period of the Convention, and the earnest spirit and good feeling that prevailed was most encouraging to the friends of freedom.

From the N. Y. Independent.

THE BOSTON TRAGEDY.

In another column will be found a detailed account of the forcible abduction into slavery of a citizen of Massachusetts. The event is hailed with exultation by a portion of the press, and is a matter of congratulation among a certain class of merchants and politicians. What ground of rejoicing they have, it is difficult to see. Certainly not that the Fugitive Slave Law has been sustained by the people of Boston and Massachusetts—for such is not the fact. The most that can be claimed on that score is, that *the sovereignty of the city of Boston has been preserved*, even under the open violation of the laws of the Commonwealth; that although the sovereignty of Massachusetts has been trampled under foot by her own officers, the people have refrained from any demonstration of violence. In this fact we also rejoice. We are principled against mobs. Though, as in the *emeutes* preceding the revolution, there are exceptional cases, yet the mob spirit, as such, is not to be encouraged. It is rash, indiscriminating, cruel, perverted, and always dangerous to the public peace. We are glad that the friends of liberty in Boston did not suffer themselves to be exasperated to any deeds of violence. 'Oppression maketh a wise man mad.' Yet neither the sight of oppression, nor the provocations of hired bullies yclept police, nor the taunts of the commercial press in that city and this, accusing them of cowardice, and challenging them to break the peace, availed to excite them to a riot. They preserved throughout a dignified self-control; they took all lawful measures to avert the monstrous wrong, and improved the occasion for discussion and prayer. Their example in this will be felt. Their enemies, who desired a mob, are foiled; and now that the crisis against God and Liberty is consummated, the time for *their* action and their triumph has come.

What has been gained by this act? In the Union rendered more safe? If the South had any serious thoughts of secession, the world hardly take pains to stock her plantations with such men as Long and Sims to become the leaders of a general revolt of the slaves. What have the merchants of Boston gained by acquiescing in the violation of State law and personal liberty at the bidding of the slave power? Will the South be satisfied to get back one man at a cost of $1500, and under cover of swords and cannon? Is this the extent of devotion to the Union among the manufacturers and merchants of the Puritan city? How far are Mr. Webster's aspirations favored by this event? He told the South with honeyed words that the North would fulfill the disagreeable duty of enslaving men, 'with alacrity.' The South demanded that this alacrity should be shown by Mr. Webster's friends, by his own devoted constituency. Alas, men could not be captured in Boston for Slavery. Crafts, Shadrach, and others, made a mock of every attempt. Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster were at their wits' end. At last a man was seized, and after much vexatious delay carried off by an armed force, with great 'alacrity' on their part, for they were up before the day for their nefarious work. But will this satisfy the South? Will it convince them of Mr. Webster's popularity and influence at home? Will such a sop stay the mouths of the barking dogs of secession? We have not yet what orisons went up at Marshfield on Saturday, but we apprehend that the Constitution and the Union are not yet safe enough for thanksgiving on the part of the great 'ex-president.' To angel ears, such orisons must have blended strangely with Mr. Webster's prayer on Long Wharf.

This is the extent of gain to the slave power and its abettors. The man was secured and taken out of Boston. There was no mob; but the fact that the city of Boston was for two days under arms shows how the authorities felt that the public regard this law. It now remains for Massachusetts to utter her voice. Her free citizens are seized in Southern ports, imprisoned and sold into slavery, in express violation of the federal Constitution. She sends her venerable and honored Commissioner peacably and legally to redress the wrong. The chivalric Southerners threaten with mob violence, and drive him from their city. Mr. Webster forgot to speak of this in his place in the Senate, but Massachusetts never threatened to secede. Now a deeper wrong has been inflicted on the old Bay State. Her own Sheriffs and Judges, recreant to their oaths, in the face of her statutes, have suffered a free man to be kidnapped on her soil, whom they might have protected and delivered. It will be for the people of Massachusetts to mete out their retribution, and it is sure to come.

Massachusetts feels this outrage to its very core. The spectacle of the court house in chains will yet soon be forgotten. A veteran of the Revolution, now ninety-three years old, when he saw this indignity, remarked that it reminded him of the time when the State House was in chains under Gov. George III. in '73: 'When we got rid of the old king, he thought he should never see that sight again. It seemed to him like the same scene over again; the tyrant usurping the place of Justice, and barring out Liberty. Other remonstrances of the Boston of former days will come up in this day of her humiliation. It was given out that Sims was seized for the sake of testing the fugitive law and establishing the supremacy of the Union. Years ago, it was openly declared by the British ministry, that the Stamp Act 'was intended *to establish the power of Great Britain to tax the colonies.*' In those days, there was one paper in Boston that had courage to expose this typical test of power. The Massachusetts Centinel, containing matter instructing *to liberty*, and noways repugnant to *loyalty*; printed by *Andrew Marvel*, at the sign of the *Bribe Refused on Constitution Hill, North America.*' In those days James Otis made a speech in the Massachusetts Assembly, which the friends of the administration pronounced 'the most violent, insolent, abusive, and treasonable declaration that perhaps ever was delivered.' 'When lord use to strike, the tyrant knows, we will not rescind any acts, he should apply to Parliament to rescind them. *Let Britons rescind their measures, or they are lost forever.*' The news of the passage of the Stamp Act was received in Boston with the 'tolling of bells.' A mass Convention was held on Boston Common, at which the people from the surrounding country largely attended. A monster meeting was held in the Old South, Church, to which it had adjourned from Faneuil Hall, which proved too straight for them. This meeting declared the 'impolicy, injustice, and inhumanity of the *Part Bill* exceeded their power of expression.' There Josiah Quincy uttered these memorable words: 'It is not the spirit that vapors within these walls, that must stand us in stead. The assertions of the law will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the crisis of this day entertains a childish fancy. He must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend;—we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to their malice, inveteracy and implacability, and to the actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosoms, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest, *the sharpest* conflict—to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations and popular vapors will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw.' The speech delivered on the day that resulted in the famous tea-party at Griffin's wharf, 'the mob' that converted Boston harbor into a tea-pot that night. The spirit of Otis and Quincy has not wholly died out in Boston, and the successors of Mayhew and Cooper are not wholly wanting in her pulpits.

We read in Bancroft, (III. 113,) that even under the British Crown, 'the security of personal freedom was not formerly denied to America. Massachusetts, in an enactment of the year (1692,) *declared the full benefit of the writ of habeas corpus.*' The privilege had not yet been granted to the plantations, was the reply even of Lord Sotheby; it was not become a vested right, and the act was disallowed. When, afterwards, the privilege was granted by Queen Anne, the burgesses of Virginia, in their gratitude, did but esteem it an assertion to her subjects of their just rights and properties.' England conceded the security of personal freedom as a boon; America claimed it as a birthright.' Yet it would seem that what Massachusetts claimed as an inherent right against the tyrannical encroachments of Great Britain, her own officers refuse to maintain against the usurpations of the federal power over both her own statutes and the federal Constitution. Let Massachusetts redeem her history.

The attitude in which the transaction presents this nation to the world is most humiliating. There is one sailing on the high seas, a ship under the American flag, with a man on board of her, who, though guiltless of crime, was seized by force in the city of Boston, for the avowed object of being dragged into slavery, and who is to be carried, against his will, to the rice fields of the South. By every

principle and treaty stipulation for the suppression of the slave trade, a British man-of-war might seize the Acorn as a slaver, and her captain and crew as pirates. It is but a few weeks since Judge Betts, of the United States Court for the district, condemned a sentence of two years' imprisonment for simply serving on board a vessel which he knew was transporting men as slaves. But Captain Coombs and his crew set sail in Boston harbor under cover of cannon, with the U. S. flag waving over their heads, for the avowed purpose of carrying a free man into slavery; and the United States Judges and Commissioners sanctioned the deed.

The end is not yet. Wrongs such as this cannot die. They will hasten the overthrow of slavery, and that (to use Mr. Webster's language) at whatever cost. Let the friends of liberty, of the Constitution, and of the Union, set themselves resolutely for THE ABSOLUTE AND UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. For this, let them agitate in all lawful ways. Let this be the watch-word at every election; let this be the topic for every Congress, till the end is gained. It will go through the fluctuations of all political movements. It will require years of patient effort. But the principles of justice, humanity, and religion involved in this struggle, will assuredly triumph. Meanwhile, let the law be opposed by all peaceful and constitutional measures; never by violence, but always with decision; let no citizen shirk it; let the fugitive take care of himself as best he can.

Christians are called herein to a mighty struggle with Mammon in the State and in the Church. But let them not falter, though reproach and loss and imprisonment should come. Above all, let them pray God in his mercy to spare a guilty people. 'Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?'

WHAT THE SOUTH SAYS.

We give below a few of the many articles which the recent fugitive case has called forth from the Southern press. It will be seen that our slave-trading masters are not unanimous in the voice of praise; the balm of consolation to one is as the waters of bitterness to another. Boston has not yet sufficiently 'conquered her prejudices.' Sackcloth and ashes are not enough—she must 'eat dirt.' Perhaps she will!

From the Southern Press.

A VOICE FROM GEORGIA.

Thus sternly and scornfully speaks out the editor of the Augusta Republic, rebuking the 'rejoicings' over the military demonstration which has been made by the merchants of Boston, and the authorities, towards the performance, not of a *favor*, but a *duty*, which they owe to common honesty and common faith.

His editorial is in response to the Chronicle and Sentinel, a co-laborer with the Republican:—

THE BOSTON FUGITIVE CASE. It will be seen by reference to our telegraphic head, that Sims, the fugitive slave from Savannah, has been delivered by the agent of his owner by the authorities of Boston, and that he is now on his way to Savannah. This is certainly an inkind cut on the part of the abolitionists and disunionists of Boston, to their disunion allies in the South, and which they will not readily forgive them, thus to permit a fugitive slave to be delivered up in Boston. The disunionists in the South rejoiced at the arrest in Boston of another 'fugitive slave'—it was to them a sweet morsel, because they hoped it would be another Craft's case, out of which they might make capital. What a disappointment! They feel that the faithful execution of this law in New England dooms them—they see the handwriting on the wall, and they will keep deep and bitter curses on the abolitionists for permitting it.—*Chronicle & Sentinel.*

The delivery of Sims to the agents of his owner the Chronicle & Sentinel calls the *faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law!*

That paper seems to rejoice that this act of *extreme liberality* to the South, and *fidelity* to the law, afforded a prospect of dooming the disunionists (as it terms the Southern rights men) to annihilation. Massachusetts owes to the South the fugitive slaves with in her limits. Efforts have been made to get several of them back. We have the two Crafts and Shadrach, and recovered Sims.

If getting one nigh to doom the Southern Rights party to destruction, what effect should the *loss of three* have upon the submissionists? Some people seem to get drunk on a little drop of success.

A faithful execution of the law, indeed! It's like some of the other executions of the law. When costs have been subtracted, we should like to know how much has been gained. We shall see after a while.

There never was a plainer case in the world. Sims was the fugitive slave of Mr. Potter, beyond dispute, yet the case was kept in court and before a commissioner a whole week. It was necessary to guard him with a heavy police, in the third story of the court-house. The building was surrounded by a barricade of chains, and hundreds of the military had to be kept on guard to prevent his forcible rescue! The whole case looks more like a successful farce than any thing else. *Look* at some of the incidents. Mr. Fletcher Webster is imprisoned—Marshal Tukey is held to bail in the sum of a thousand dollars—Mr. Bacon and Mr. DeLyon, the agents of Mr. Potter, were arrested on a charge of conspiracy to kidnap, and had to give bail to the amount of ten thousand dollars—one of the agents narrowly escaped being struck on the head by a negro named Randolph. If his arm had not been caught by an officer, the life of a Southern man would have been sacrificed in an effort to recover a fugitive slave under the law of the country. This is the faithful execution of the law! It is the military executive of it. It was the execution of it at great cost and lowminded hazard. It was such an execution of it as will prevent nineteen persons in twenty from attempting to recover their slaves at all.

It would be more difficult to recover them in the interior than in Boston. The Bostonians are a great people for taking care of the *main chance*. We are not so certain but that Sims would have been rescued, after all, if that *million of dollars* which Boston has lost a Southern trade because of the other slave case, had not looked so pretty big, piled up in other cities. Money is a great source in some people's patriotism.

The minds of people who were grouped together, all about in Boston, talked the matter over in a cold and silver tone of pity. Their love for the slaves was cooled down some, at the rate of a million of dollars for two or three. Some of them said, give him up. It is true there is great merit in the love of the negro, but there is more perfection in money then a wooly head! Let him go. The sacrifice will be small—the gain great, and we can, in the course of time, by a few *compromises*, clothed in *silver words*, demolish the institution of these Southern tyrants, and get their money into the bargain!

See how the trick takes! Sims is recovered at great cost, difficulty and danger, to prevent a collapse of Boston purse-strings, and straightway the Chronicle, and other submission papers, with hats off, salute their bolders with, 'Gentlemen of Boston, your most obedient, humble, delighted, satisfied servants.' They first make their bow to rights men at home,

Great cry and little wool this, on the part of the submissionists. Whether she can succeed, or not, is the question—but Boston has her eye fixed on the golden prize.

Fear is dumbness.

From the Savannah News, April 15.

THE FINALE OF THE FUGITIVE CASE.

In another column we give telegraphic accounts of the closing scenes of this interesting and exciting case. From what we have published on the subject, our readers will have learned the extreme difficulty with which the reclamation was effected, and the accounts of the fugitive's rescue, which, even today, show how narrowly the agents escaped with their prisoner from the 'law-loving and law-abiding city of Boston.'

We give all credit to Judge Woodbury and Commissioner Curtis, and the federal and municipal authorities, who in this case, so nobly sustained the Constitution and the laws. But we confess that we would have been better satisfied had less delay been permitted, and less expense incurred, and if the fugitive had been removed from Boston as a fugitive from that city would be removed from Savannah, by the civil authorities, in broad daylight, under the protection and panoply of the law of the land, and not in deep midnight, stealthily, and in a hollow square of armed men. We do not pretend to say that Sims could have been removed from Boston, except under a strong escort, but we do say, that until the Fugitive Law can be executed in Boston as other federal laws are executed, the confidence of our people will not be re-established, and the late occurrence will not be regarded by them as a basis of a settlement of our sectional difficulties.

If, under the Fugitive Slave Law, the recovery of a fugitive slave is to cost double his value, and is to peril the lives of his claimants, and the peace of all communities,—if our rights, which it is designed to protect, are only to be obtained by means of the expenditure of large sums of money, by strategy and force,—then the law is not worth the parchment on which it is written. If our people are obliged to *steal their property out of Boston in the night*, it would be more profitable to adopt a regular kidnapping system at once, without regard to law.

We are gratified, however, that Sims has been recovered at all, and we accord all praise to those worthy men of Boston who exerted themselves to have the law enforced. The result is better than we had a right to expect, and we hope they will be able to put down the disorganizers in their midst, and that we shall have still better accounts from Boston when the next case occurs.

From the Mobile Daily Advertiser.

☞ The Boston people, it seems, have prevented resistance to the law by purchasing the slave.

So said a 'Southern Rights' organ a few days ago, in reference to the fugitive slave Sims. The inference intended to be conveyed was, that the slave *could not be taken away from Boston*. But even this small consolation is not left to cheer the desponding hearts of Southern disunionists. The slave was taken, in open day, publicly, and in open defiance of all the threatened 'resistance' of crazy fanatics and calculating traitors, and conveyed peacably on board a public vessel. No one dared to attempt a rescue, or even offer an interruption. The Law proved itself omnipotent.

From a Savannah paper of April 21.

THE RETURN OF SIMS.

Thomas Sims, the fugitive slave of Mr. James Potter, arrived here Saturday morning, on the brig Acorn, Capt. Coombs, and was, by U. S. Deputy Marshal Riley, delivered over to Mr. Bacon, one of Mr. Potter's agents. He came out in charge of Deputy Marshals, Byrne, Sewin and Russell, U. S. Deputy Marshals, and Messrs. Coolidge, Clarke, Tuck and Dolliver, special officers and assistants. This large force was detailed to accompany the fugitive back, not so much, we presume, to prevent a rescue on the Boston side, as to show our excitable fellow Northern people of the manner in which the laws of the land will hereafter be enforced and vindicated. Another object, doubtless, was, to satisfy the Southern mind that this particular law shall be maintained and carried out with all the power and dignity of the Government. When viewed in either or both of these respects, such a demonstration of the majesty of the laws and the supremacy of the Government cannot but be highly beneficial in allaying the excitement and bad feeling, unhappily existing to too great an extent, in both sections of the country.

It is a pleasant duty to accord to the authorities and people of Boston great credit for the firm and energetic manner in which they have demeaned themselves. It has been well remarked, that perhaps nothing could have been asked of Boston more distasteful than the surrender of a runaway slave; but the city authorities, the courts there, the police, the public have not asked what they liked, but what was their duty, and that duty they have faithfully discharged. What gives importance to this case, apart from the deference it exhibits for Law, is that in the Law Courts both of the State and of the United States, the abolitists have been allowed full sway in the exercise of all their legal quibbles and their legal ingenuity, and that they have been beaten in them all. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has unanimously decided against them. The Commissioner of the United States has decided against them. They have not a legal point to stand upon. Indeed, every point that has been suggested, or probably that can be, in regard to the constitutionality of the law, and the scope and effect of its several provisions, have been decided. There is henceforth no room for further quibbling. The law has been authoritatively expounded and fixed in its character.

It is only when viewed in this light that we are enabled to realize the importance of this case. The decisions of the U. S. District Court, of the U. S. Commissioner, and of *the Supreme Court of Massachusetts*, are so full, so clear, and so consistent, and the conduct of the State and United States officers has been so prompt and determined, that we think no further doubt need be entertained either in regard to the scope and efficiency of the law, or of the ability of the Government to enforce it. Hence, as we said on a former occasion, the conduct of Mr. Potter in pressing the case through is entitled to all commendation. He has been the means of forcing a decision, the importance of which to the whole country cannot be too highly estimated.

A story was put forth in Boston, which has since been caught up here, that the fugitive had been, or would be sold, and returned to Boston. We are authorized by Mr. Potter to state, that there is not the least foundation for the report. He further says, he would not sell the slave for any sum, however large, to be returned to Boston. We felt sure, from his previous conduct, that such would be his course; and but for the misapprehension which might exist abroad, we should not have thought it necessary to obtain his authority for this flat contradiction.

That the abolitionists at the North will still continue their dirty work, and that the disunionists at the South will still persevere in denouncing the law as inefficient, we do not doubt. Such is their vocation, and should they cease it, they would fall back into the indistinguished mass to which they belong. The patriotic and sensible, however, comprising a vast majority of the American people, will experience a degree of gratification at the result, seldom felt on any occasion where merely the enforcement of a law is involved. It is hoped that the troubled waters will henceforth be still, and that the people will rest quiet under the consciousness that they live under a Government possessing the will and the power to maintain its laws.

☞ We learn from the Courier that the proprietor of the Boston Christian Observer is in this city trying to obtain subscribers. This is styled a religious paper, but it seems proper to state that it is one of the lower law, or Devil's Gospel papers. It commends itself to the patronage of Rankies, and none others.

From the (London) British Banner.

HOW ARE AMERICAN PRO-SLAVERY MINISTERS TO BE RECEIVED?

It is recorded of the late O'Connell, that he would allow no slaveholder to be seated under his roof. The moment he ascertained the point,—and he was uniformly at pains to inquire, before an interview, when an American visitor was announced, how he stood with respect to the question of slavery—'Say the blunt, bold reply was, 'I cannot see him!' There are few British hearts which do not sympathize with the generous determination of the great Irish Patriot, and amongst those who do, we believe, is the honest place. It is, therefore, with no small pleasure we have received the following resolution, unanimously passed at the half-yearly meeting of the Ministers and other Deputies of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union and Home Mission:

RESOLUTION.

'That the grief and shame which we have long felt on account of the slavery which exists in several of the United States of North America are greatly aggravated by the fact, that not a few Christian churches and Christian ministers, so called, plead for the continuance of that wretched system; that our sorrow has been recently still further deepened by the atrocious 'Fugitive Slave Law,' which the Legislature of the United States has enacted; that while it would grieve us to do any thing that should even seem to be inconsistent with international and Christian hospitality, especially toward our trans-Atlantic brethren, during the approaching Congress in London, *we deem it right to express our determination not to welcome to our pulpits any minister of religion*, whatever may be his reputation in the States, who hesitates to avow his abhorrence of slavery, and his earnest desire for its speedy abolition; but that, on the other hand, we regard those American ministers and others who, in their own country, boldly avow their anti-slavery principles, to be worthy of 'double honor.'

This is as it should be, and we consider great praise is due to the Union aforesaid for this wise, bold and prompt expression of its conscientious detestamination and resolution. The ocean-path is free, and they may traverse it who choose, but not so the path which leads to the pulpits and the parlors of Englishmen. Let no pirate footing pollute those paths! Pirate, we say; for we must view the man who holds property in man, who makes merchandise of the flesh and blood, the soul and spirit of his fellow-creatures, as of the pirate species, and of that species the worst part! We never fail to discriminate, when dealing with these subjects; but discrimination has its limits, and, after passing the Fugitive Slave Law, those limits must, in our judgment and in our conscience, be contracted from a wide circumference to a single point. Previously, slavery was an affair of certain States; but, by this law, it is made an affair of all States, since all citizens are now, more or less, involved in the atrocious crime of slavery, and the time is come for Christians in England, and in Europe generally, to give the virtuous and right-minded portion of the United States people the benefit of an external conscience, and of a loudly and nonmistakably expressed public opinion. Let all who from the matter doth or may concern distinctly understand, that Englishmen will in no respect be directly or indirectly parties to the sanctioning of this barbarous and blood-stained enactment! That which was once local has now become federal, and therefore has compounded within its all-pervading grasp the entire population of the States General. The time has come which will try the spirits of men. Formerly, many were sincere in pleading the difficulties arising from the fact that slavery was a 'domestic institution'—an affair exclusively appertaining to the several States in which it prevailed, but with which the General Congress could not interfere. Many used this plea dishonestly; now, however, all mistakes are removed. It is now, with a vengeance, with a vengeance, a federal Confederation, and, unless removed, it will prove a blight and a curse to that great, and, in many respects, glorious country! If slaveholders and their abettors must needs gloze the Atlantic to worship at the shrine of 'Genius in the Crystal Palace,' let them! Let them parade the avenues of the wondrous Pile, and the splendid Parks which surround it, with their ladies gemmed and jewelled, and loaded with gold, the products of the unpaid toil of the bondmen, the fact that yonder sun is descending upon three-and-a-half millions of manacled men, women and children, whose blood and tears have ministered to their luxury, and sustained the expenditure of their trip to the Fatherland! Let them do so with cool conscience and self-respect, if they can; but, by all that is sacred, we call on British Christians to refuse their aid in the ungodly endeavor! Courtesy must not be exercised at the expense of conscience, and the rules of hospitality must not be exercised towards men whose hands are red with the blood of the slave!

It will be seen that the foregoing resolution touches only on the ecclesiastical point, and deals exclusively with ministers. For the Christian public, for ministers generally, this may be enough; but the matter must not end here. The principle must extend to laymen, to Christians generally, and to all the relations of life; the apostolic principle must be applied in full, and, therefore, 'no fellowship must be had' with these men, that 'they may be ashamed.' No alliance with the men who member their fellow-mortals with their horses and oxen! No alliance with men who rank such spirits as Fanniuxick Douglass—spirits 'whose wisdom' shines as sages, and whose eloquence would charm senates—with goods and chattels, and put them up for sale on the auction-block!

From a Newcastle paper.

THE REMEDY.

In the *British Banner*, of March 5th, there is a spirited article on the reception that ought to be given to those American slaveholders and their abettors who shall make their appearance in England at the approaching Exhibition.

We have been told of an American, resident for several years in this country, who complained that he had only met with *two gentlemen* since he came to England. On being asked for his definition of the term 'gentleman,' he replied, 'Those who do not trouble me about slavery.' We confess that, on hearing of it, we are so abominably conservative in our pleasure that the gentlemen were so numerous amongst us. Americans are known to be very sensitive as to what is thought of them in Europe; and it is well that those amongst them who have steeled their hearts to the influence of religion and humanity, are still vulnerable to shame.

The coming season will afford a capital opportunity for educating young America in the elements of Christian morals. We sincerely hope that British philanthropists will not be backward to make use of it. If slaveholders and their abettors can find their way into Peace Congresses and Temperance Conventions, doubtless they will manage to force themselves into the Crystal Palace. Having feasted their eyes on the wonders there collected, many of them will turn their steps to the country; and let the country be prepared to receive them in the Christian spirit. I said of the Daniel O'Connell, (who, whatever his faults, was always true to the slave,) that whenever he was told that an American wished to be introduced to him, his first question was, 'Is he a slaveholder?' and if the reply were an affirmative, he would have no communication with him. Such a rebuke, from such a man, would, no doubt, tell with thrilling effect; but as a general rule, we prefer the Scripture method. 'Tell the slaveholder his faults faithfully; and if he refuse to hear us, then place him under the ban of social excommunication. As to religious fellowship, the mere fact of slaveholding is amply sufficient to disqualify for that. If precedence are wanted, we might quote the example of an honored minister of our acquaintance in the north of England, who, with pain, refused access to the communion table to a lady, who, though formerly a member of his church, had removed to America and allied herself to a slaveholder.

When the Americans arrive, then, we say again, let us be prepared for them. Those whose hearts beat true for the slave, should be received with double honor, as faithful among the faithless. In our intercourse with the slaveholders, let us spare no pains in the exercise of faithful admonition and earnest expostulation. Let us not forget to make all due allowance for the education in which they are nurtured and the atmosphere which they breathe.—But if they cling tenaciously to their 'prescriptive right' to hold men in bondage—if they prove themselves incorrigible adherents of that system which John Wesley rightly denounces as the sum of all villanies—if they evince a dogged determination to persevere in their women-whipping, baby-stealing, soul-destroying practices—then let us all do the best we can to show them that in this England of ours the tables are turned; and that while the slave is at peace, the slaveholder is the fugitive. Let them see that, in their progress through the land, they must run the gauntlet from one end to the other—not, assuredly, the gauntlet of mailed hands, nor of stones and broomsticks, as in the case of Hayne—but the voice of an outraged public opinion, tracking them at every turn—now calling on the genius of British liberty to shower thick and fast her indignant remonstrances upon the heads of her apostate children—now quoting, to their shame, that code of Christian morals which they have so fearfully infringed—now thundering in their ears the reproaches of outraged humanity, manifest in the persons of their sable brethren—now invoking against them the spirit of that religion which they have done their best to bring into contempt.

Let the American man-stealer be met in this spirit, it, and we are much mistaken if he does not leave our shores greatly chastened and conscience-smitten, perhaps, as he re-crosses the Atlantic, on the best mode of escape from a position so inconsistent with his own professions of liberty, and so dishonorable in the sight of Europe.

The Impartial Citizen.

If we have respect of persons, we commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE PROGRESS OF THINGS.

Last fall, the Free Soilers and the Democrats made an 'understanding,' a sort of parole contract, to divide certain offices betwixt themselves, in case of their being successful in their combination against the Whigs. The election came. The Whigs were beaten. The Free Soilers, promptly and unhesitatingly, fulfilled their contract, to the very letter. Not so did the Democrats. Those under the controlment of the *Boston Post*, who know no rule in politics but the rule of plunder, would not regard the understanding as binding, and therefore would not act according to it. The majority of them, however, who were from the 'rural districts,' acted up to the agreement, manfully. Still, there were just enough, always, to elect any Democrat to any office in the gift of the Legislature, and enough to elect, also any Free Soiler whom they *chose* to elect, but there were never quite enough votes to elect Sumner.

So things went on, during the winter, until the case of Shadrach came on, when the anti-slavery tone of the popular sentiment became elevated, and the people began to inquire why it was, that an opposer to the infamous kidnapping act was not sent to the U. S. Senate. This inquiry became the more pointed and earnest, after the people read the poon, senseless, semi-bloodhound twaddle that composed the speech of Senator Davis upon the Shadrach case. But the *Post* Democrats and administration Whigs continued to act like themselves, till the Sims case came on. Then the people began to see what sort of a President, Cabinet and Government we have. Boston was put under the rule of a military despotism. The Court House was surrounded with chains. The sacredness of the Sabbath was violated in this pious city, by the tramp of an armed soldiery, drawn out and marshalled forth to defence of slave-catching. Commissioner Curtis showed his utter willingness to do anything the negro hunter might demand. Marshal Devens seemed determined to atone for his former delinquencies. The city and State authorities trampled the laws of the Commonwealth for the protection of human liberty under foot. *Law abiding citizens, they, surely!* Judge Shaw, a most hopeless aristocrat, a man with no feelings in common with the masses, the Jorist who judicially decided to the black children of Boston their school rights, but a year ago, denied the sacred writ of Habeas Corpus to Sims. Sims was given up; the man-hunters, by the force of powder and ball, and soldiery and corruption, and government gold and the hopes of office, triumphed. Now the people saw the urgent necessity of using all their moral power in behalf of the rights of freemen, and they turned their eyes towards the General Court, and the Legislature began to inquire into the why and wherefore of the conduction of the noble Free Soil Senator. The number of votes against Sumner sensibly diminished, but there was a stubbornness on the part of some two members. An examination was had, and behold it was found that some *good, honest, law-abiding* member had cast two votes, at once. The Whigs lay it to the Hunkers, and the Hunkers to the Whigs, while some long-eared writer in the *Tribune* charges it upon the Free Soilers! But the trick once exposed, and Sumner is elected for six years. *Laus Deo!*

So, we see the Progress of Things. The practical operation of the Fugitive Slave Bill progresses, and that develops the progress of anti-slavery public sentiment. Every speech of Webster, every despotic act of Fillmore, every piece of hireling bloodhoundism of the Commissioners and Marshals, by a law of infallible and invariable certainty, increases, fixes, and makes more prevalent the anti-slavery sentiment of the people—'the people, by the grace of God, free and independent.'

So the trials of Hayden, Wright, and Morris, whatever be the result thereof, will serve the cause of humanity. Let the law be enforced upon these men, or either of them, and Boston in particular, and Massachusetts in general, will grow too small for an administration party, or clique to live in. The Fillmore party is now practically dead, and ready to be buried. In the New York Legislature, it had not friends enough to invite Webster to preach the *Gospel of Bloodhoundism* to them. In all New England, there is not sufficient public sentiment in favor of Fillmore, to weigh an ounce avoirdupois. Get away from the caratime cities and the Federal office-holders, and you breathe the pure air of Anti-Fillmoreism, to the entire capacity of your lungs. In places where one fugitive has been delivered, the friends of the cause of liberty have increased more than tenfold. To every slave returned, one hundred make good their escape. For our own part, we never had more to do in this direction than since the Shadrach and Sims cases. The vigilance of officers, the gold of the Government, and the stringency of the laws of slave States, are wholly ineffectual. '*Ubi libertas, ibi patria*,' is the motto of hundreds who are putting it into practical effect. So do things progress.

We great new see to it, that we make demands commensurate with the needs of the case, and the truth which underlies our holy cause. Our poor, humble, though honest and earnest opinion in respect to this matter, shall be given in our next.

For the Impartial Citizen.

THE SLAVE'S REQUEST.

They tell me this is a Christian land,
The home of the noble free;
But I know weep, yes, I must toil,
In the chains of slavery.
Have I a soul? Then shall I dwell
With the white man in the sky?
Will ethne or color there be marked,
Among the blest on high?

If not, then would I ask to die,
And sleep within the grave;
'Twere better far than thus to live,
And be a '*Christian's*' slave!
My children dear from me are torn,
'My kindred all are gone'
O! can there be one ray of joy
To cheer a slave forlorn?

O! I would die, and go to dwell
Where Africa's sons are free,
And I shall meet my long-lost friends,
And dwell eternally.
O, happy thought! once more to meet
In that bright world above,
And there to dwell; for ever free,
Where all is boundless love.

Preble, N. Y. D. HARDY, Jr.

LETTER FROM REV. H. H. GARNET.

NEW HAVEN, April 28th, 1851.

BROTHER WARD:

I send you, for publication in the *Citizen*, the following communication, which I have received from our distinguished and faithful friend, GARNET. With this, also, you will receive the speech of the Irish clergyman referred to in his letter, and which he desired the American public to read.

Yours truly, A. G. B.

LONDON, March 14, 1851.

BROTHER B——:

Two weeks ago, I preached for Rev. John Angel James, of Birmingham. Two thousand persons were present. Before the audience, and before the communion table, he gave me the right hand of fellowship.

At Leamington, we had a great meeting. The venerable Wm. Marsh, D. D., Honorary Canon of Worcester, Chaplain to the Earl of Cadogan, and Incumbent of St. Mary's District Church, Leamington, presided. He said in his speech—'Mr. Garnet, when you go to America, say to the pro-slavery Doctors of New York—Spring, Cox, Dewey, Hawks and Krebs—that Dr. Marsh sends no compliments to them, and that if they should come to Leamington, he would *not* invite them to call upon him, lest his house should be polluted.' Rev. Mr. Winslow, the celebrated author, also took part, and dealt heavy blows upon slavery and American prejudice. I send you this scrap, which, with the speech of an Irish clergyman my wife will send you, please publish to the best advantage.

'The Chrystal Palace,' for the Exhibition, is a wonderful affair. All the lanes and avenues of it make sixteen miles!

Now, my brother, will you allow me to unburden my mind to your beloved flock upon one subject? My mind of late has been much exercised concerning our children. What our race shall be, under God, much depends upon how our children are trained. O, train them for the service of God! I know that the responsibility resting upon you is great; but you are able to bear it, for God prepares the back for all the burdens which he imposes. Precepts good, when rightly ordered; but example and example must go together in the education of the young, they form an influence which cannot be overthrown by mere or devils. Be careful, therefore, of the home education of your children. The school and the church cannot make up the deficiencies of home. Be quiet—be exemplary—govern well your own tempers—train your children to daily industry. You that can pray, dedicate them to God around your family altars; you that *cannot* pray, do begin! What is your hope, or that of your children, without Christ? If slavery, prejudice and injustice are ever to be overthrown, pure religion will be the principal instrumentality. Prepare them daily to fight the battles of freedom; help them to put on the Christian armor, for more than mere human fortitude is needed to prosecute our war. Teach them daily what they must do and suffer in years to come. Keep pressing these things home upon their minds. Be in earnest, and ask God to help you. Make home pleasant to your children. Make them love home more than any other place in the world. Encourage them in innocent amusements, and make the acquisition of wisdom and knowledge a pleasure. O that you would be wise, dear parents! How much good might be done to yourselves, your children, and to posterity, if half the money that is spent merely for *public displays*, was used for the purpose of imparting learning and virtue to your children!

Keep them away from evil company; learn them to observe the Sabbath, by doing so yourselves. When they leave school, see that they have trades, or some business. Remember the old saying, 'An idle mind is the devil's workshop.' Do these things, and all your children will be left with large fortunes, and your labors will return, like the dews of heaven, upon your heads.

I could write much more, but time fails. God bless you all, my esteemed friends!

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET.

[We have not room for the speech alluded by our friend this week. It shall appear in our next.]

From the Liberator.

FREEDOM IN CALIFORNIA.

The tidings conveyed in the following letter, (received by the last steamer,) will excite a thrill of joy in the heart of every reader. It is gratifying, when the supplicant knee of Boston cringes in the dust before the Slave Power, to know that our sister city on the Pacific stands erect, and that a decision fraught with such beneficent results has been thus early rendered. We hail it as a happy omen that the land whose dome, 'on golden hinges turning,' have opened to every nation, color and tongue, will remain true to the principles of justice and liberty.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 31, 1851.

W. L. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,—The first case of forcible attempt to return a slave brought here by his master came off this week. J. P. Calloway, the master, claimed that the boy Frank, about eighteen years of age, was his slave in Missouri, came here with him, and has worked with him in the mines eight months. He brought him to this city, intending to take him home. Frank objected, and the master shut him up in close confinement till the steamer's day of sailing. The friends of the boy brought him before Judge Morrison, of the County Court, on a writ of habeas corpus. The decision of the Judge was full and clear on the various points. 1st. That the master failed to prove ownership. 2d. That he failed to prove that the boy escaped from his service. 3d. He showed that he brought the boy here himself, and therefore he was *upso facto* free, and at full liberty to go, wherever he pleased. He also stated to Calloway that he was fully liable under the statute for kidnapping, and if he did not proceed against him, it was an act of clemency.

The court-room was crowded, and great satisfaction was felt at the decision, which was not easily repressed by the officers. Frank went off in triumph, and the chop-fallen kidnapper sneaked out, to smother, as best he could, his disappointment.

A full report of this interesting case will be published soon, which I will send you. We think this a good step gained, as hitherto of other cases will be likely to come up for decision. Frank was ably defended by S. W. Holliday, Esq.

Respectfully yours, J. B. PEIRCE.

MR. WEBSTER AND THE COMMON COUNCIL.

At a meeting of the Common Council of Boston, last week, the President, F. Brinley, Esq., submitted the following correspondence:—

COMMON COUNCIL ROOM,
Boston, April 18, 1851.

DEAR SIR—I have the honor to transmit a certified copy of the preamble and resolutions adopted, by the unanimous vote of the Common Council of this city, at their session of last evening, in reference to the refusal, by the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, of the request of your friends for the use of Faneuil Hall.

One of the rules of the Common Council provides that 'in all cases the President may vote.' I cheerfully availed myself of this privilege, by recording my 'aye' on the passage of the preamble and resolutions. It is with pleasure that I comply with the instructions of the Board to transmit to you an attested copy of them.

I remain, very sincerely, your friend and obliged servant, FRANCIS BRINLEY,
President.

HON. Daniel Webster,
Marshfield, Mass.

MARSHFIELD, Saturday Morning,
April 19, 1851.

To Francis Brinley, Esq., President of the Common Council of the City of Boston:

Dear Sir,—I have received your communication, transmitting copies of the preamble and resolutions adopted on the 17th instant, by the unanimous vote of the body over which you preside.

I should be incapable of all just emotion, if I delayed a moment to express my grateful thanks for a proceeding so friendly, and so honorable towards myself.

I wish my stay in this vicinity could be such as to afford me an opportunity of calling individually upon you, and all the members, and paying to each my personal regards.

There are, I know, members of the Council, who entertain political opinions different from my own; and this makes me the more anxious to signify, in an emphatic manner, my sense, not only of the kindness and courtesy, but also of the manliness and independence (!!) which characterize their votes.

I shall not have the pleasure, during my present visit, of meeting the citizens of Boston.

What I have done, within the last year, to maintain the Union, and to preserve the relations of peace, friendly intercourse, commerce and business among all the States, has not been done in a corner; I shall not go into a corner to perform what may yet remain to be done. Nor shall I, after Faneuil Hall till its gates shall be thrown open, wide open, not with impetuous recoil—grating harsh thunder, but with 'harmonious sound, on golden hinges moving,' to let in, freely and to overflowing, you and your fellow-citizens, and all men, of all parties, who are true to the Union as well as to liberty; men who can look around on the faces of the patriots which adorn the walls of that sacred temple, draw in with their deepest breath the appropriate inspiration, and stand upright and erect upon its pavement, in mind and heart elate, in the consciousness that they, too, are Americans, lovers of their country and their whole country, and not unworthy to follow in the footsteps of their sires and fathers.

If Providence shall be pleased to spare my life and health till that hour comes, I shall meet my citizens of Boston, and my voice shall be heard, once more, in the Cradle of American Liberty.

TIM then, I thank you and the members of the Council, I bid you and them, farewell!

DANIEL WEBSTER.

THE WEBSTER CORRESPONDENCE.

At a special meeting of the Mayor and Aldermen, held on Thursday afternoon, 1st instant, the Committee appointed to invite Mr. Webster to address his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall, made the following report, which was read, ordered to be printed, and sent down to the Council:—

CITY OF BOSTON.
IN BOARD OF MAYOR AND ALDERMEN,
Thursday, May 1st, 1851.

The Joint Special Committee, who were appointed to tender to the Hon. Daniel Webster an invitation to meet and address his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall, at such time as he shall select, beg leave to report:—That, in pursuance of the duty assigned to them, they proceeded to the lodgings of Mr. Webster, and, through their Chairman, communicated to the votes and wishes of the City Council; and have received from him an answer declining to address his fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall during his visit to Boston. Copies of the correspondence are herewith submitted.

HENRY B. ROGERS,
H. M. HOLBROOK,
BENJAMIN SMITH,
N. A. THOMPSON,
JOSEPH SMITH,
HARVEY JEWELL,
Committee.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, Secretary of State:

SIR—In compliance with an order of the City Council, passed this day with entire unanimity, we have the honor of inviting you, in the name of the City of Boston, to address your fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall at such time as may be most agreeable to you; and in behalf of the corporation, of the citizens generally, and of ourselves, we beg leave to assure you that your acceptance of this invitation, should it accord with your feelings and convenience, will be peculiarly gratifying at this time.

With the highest respect and consideration,
We remain,
Your very obedient servants,
HENRY B. ROGERS,
HENRY M. HOLBROOK,
BENJAMIN SMITH,
NEWELL A. THOMPSON,
HARVEY JEWELL,
JOSEPH SMITH,
Committee.

City Hall, April 21, 1851.

BOSTON, April 21, 1851.

GENTLEMEN—I have perused the paper which you did me the honor to place in my hands yesterday; and have to say, in reply, that it not my purpose to address my fellow-citizens in Faneuil Hall during this visit to Boston.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Messrs. Henry B. Rogers, Henry M. Holbrook, Benjamin Smith, N. A. Thompson, Harvey Jewell, Joseph Smith, *Committee.*

BALM OF HEALING. The following Call, signed by some five or six thousand names, appears in the New York papers:

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE 'UNION,' WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF PARTY.

In view of the services and sacrifices of the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, in maintaining inviolate the Constitution and laws of his country, in contrast with the recent act of the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston, in refusing the use of Faneuil Hall to the friends of that gentleman, to congratulate each other on the most satisfactory vindication of his representations regarding that ancient Commonwealth; and in view, also, of the refusal of the Legislature of New York to invite Mr. Webster to visit Albany, as the guest of the State; indignities cast upon that distinguished statesman by absent, and others opposed to his patriotic course; the undersigned, citizens of New York, respectfully invite Mr. Webster to visit this city, at same period convenient to himself, in order that they may express to him in person their deep and grateful appreciation of his devotion to the great public interests of his country.

New York, April 19th, 1851.

☞ Poor Sims, with his kidnappers, arrived at Savannah in a quick passage from this port. The usual treatment given to runaways was served out to him, and he was then cast into a dungeon for safe keeping; his mother not being permitted to see him! Of course, he return every immense satisfaction to the man-stealers in jhest dark and cruel region.

The following Card appears in the Savannah papers. It is the sublimo of devilish audacity!

A CARD.

The following resolutions, complimentary to Capt. Henry C. Coombs and his officers, of the brig Acorn, on their late passage from Boston to Savannah, were adopted by the U. S. officers having in charge Thomas Sims, the fugitive sent from Boston, by order of Commissioner Curtis, U. S. Commissioner, Circuit Court of the United States.

At sea, 12 o'clock, Friday, April 18th, 1851, off Tybee Light,

1st. Resolved, That we, the undersigned, U. S. officers on board the brig Acorn, from Boston to Savannah, in charge of the fugitive Thomas Sims, sent from Boston to Savannah, there to be delivered up to his owner or agent, by order of the United States Commissioner of the Circuit Court for the District of Massachusetts, feel in duty bound to express our sincere thanks to Capt. Henry C. Coombs, master of the brig Acorn, for his kind and gentlemanly treatment of us during our passage from Boston to Savannah—*believing that he has done all in his power in behalf of the cause*, and to make our passage as pleasant and agreeable as possible—having full confidence in him as a gentleman and a navigator, worthy to be named with the first class of the sons of the ocean, and that he has our best wishes for his future welfare, wherever he may be or whatever circumstances he may be placed in.

2d. That the rest of the officers, particularly *Cephas Amos*, first mate on board the brig Acorn, have our warmest thanks for their kind and gentlemanly treatment towards us on our passage from Boston to Savannah. May they always do likewise, and go on their way through *this* world with success attending them.

3d. Resolved, That in our humble opinion, the brig Acorn is a good substantial vessel, swift sailer, safe, comfortable and sea worthy, and we cordially recommend her and her present officers to the business and travelling public.

GEORGE W. WARNER,
Passenger for Macon, Ga.

J. H. RILEY,
FRED. D. HYNES,
CHAS. SAWIN,
WM. O. RUSSELL,
BENJAMIN TRUE,
GEO. F. COOLEDGE,
SIMPSON CLARK,
THOS. DOLLIVER,

U. S. Deputy Marshals.

Assistants.

☞ The Boston Evening Transcript of Tuesday announces the return of these wretches thus:—

THE SIMS DECOY RETURNED. U. S. Deputy Marshal John H. Riley, and other officers who accompanied the alleg Sims back to Savannah, in the brig Acorn, have arrived here home again safe, and in good health. They report that Sims received no other punishment than a temporary confinement in the Savannah jail. Mr. Potter entertained the officers at his plantation, and many civilities were tendered to them by other citizens of Georgia.

The telegraphic statements in the morning papers that these officers were insulted, on their return, by the people of Beaufort, S. C., were requested to say, are totally untrue. They were treated with the greatest civility and respect wherever their presence was known, and at Beaufort they were particularly honored. The Governor happened to be reviewing troops in the place, and when the Boston officers took their departure, they received a military salute, and nine cheers by the populace.

Since the above was in type, we have received the following Card from Deputy Marshal Riley:—

U. S. Marshal's Office, Boston, April 29, 1851.—The undersigned, who was charged, in company with other Deputy Marshals and assistant officers, by the U. S. Marshal of Massachusetts, with the delivery to his owner in the State of Georgia of Thomas Sims, a fugitive from service, has seen with regret a telegraphic statement in some of the morning papers, that it was rumored that he and his associates were subjected to insult and indignity while on their return from Savannah.

No statement can be more utterly unfounded in fact. On the contrary, every courtesy and attention was shown to them by the citizens of the South; and on his own behalf and that of his associates, he avails himself of this opportunity to express his thanks for the uniform kindness received by them, both while in Georgia and on their way back.

JOHN H. RILEY,
U. S. Deputy Marshal.

THE FUGITIVE SIMS.

☞ U. S. Deputy Marshal John H. Riley returned to Boston from his mission to Savannah on Saturday evening. The Savannah News of the 21st contains the following:

'We understand that the African Lion, who recently produced such a sensation at Boston, eclipsing all the other lions and lionesses of the New England metropolis, not even excepting Eliezur Wright or Abby Folsom, has been accommodated with private apartments in the county jail, where he will remain in retirement for the present. His manners have not been at all uncouth, we are told, by his late associations; and if what we hear of his insolent swagger be true, a little wholesome chastisement would do him no harm, while it would have a salutary effect upon those of his class who are likely to be influenced by his example and the notoriety he has acquired.'

The Georgian of the same day says:—

'We learn that Sims attempted to make a hypocritical speech on reaching the wharf, in which he denounced the abolitionists and congratulated himself that he had been once more permitted to tread the hospitable soil of Georgia. Sims was brought from the brig to Justice Reinford's office, where it appears the Boston officers went through the form of surrendering him to the authorities of the city. We should have been better pleased if he had been taken quietly from the vessel to the jail, as any other runaway negro would have been. The fact of attaching so much importance to the affair looks to us supremely ridiculous.'

According to the Republican, the Marshals who accompanied Sims to Savannah were to be complimented with a public dinner.

The New Bedford Mercury of the 30th ult. says:—

'Deputy Marshal W. O. Russell arrived in this city yesterday morning from Savannah. He has called on us and desired us utterly to contradict a statement which has appeared that he brings with him from Georgia papers for the arrest of fugitives in this city. He says, far from this, that there was not, while he was in Savannah, a question asked of him concerning fugitive slaves in New Bedford. He states further that he left Sims in jail; that Potter, the master, inconduct' for a few days, and then sell him for what he would bring. Mr. Potter said he would not sell him for any money to go into Massachusetts, but that he had no doubt that he would be back there in six months. He, Mr. Russell, says it is not true that Sims had been flogged.

ILLEGAL VOTING. There was illegal voting in the House upon the Senatorial question, Twice on Wednesday, there were more votes cast than there were members present and voting. The honkers at once charged intentional fraud upon the free soilers. This was unjust and ungenerous. For ourselves, we should be slow to charge any member of the Legislature of either party with acting dishonestly.

Well, now mark the rebuke which has been visited upon those who were so ready to assail the integrity of opponents. On Thursday morning, on the 1st ballot, there were again two more votes thrown (387) than there were members to vote (385.) And it was then ascertained that Mr. Winthrop had two votes more (168) than he had the previous day (166) and 1 more than he had ever had. Mr. Sumner had 192. The secret ballot was then adopted, and meanwhile, a new free soil vote was entered, (Mr. Kelsey, of Concord,) who had been absent. The vote was then taken under the secret system, and the proper number votes was cast, (386,) just the number of members present. Mr. Sumner was elected by 193 votes, Mr. Kelsey's vote being added to the number on the previous ballot; but Mr. Winthrop's vote was *two less* than before! Now, at the same time, be it noticed, the scattering vote, including the blanks, (1 the first time and 2 the second,) were just the same in number on both ballots, viz., 27.

Such a simple and concise statement of the facts—let others draw their own inferences.—*Essex Co. Freeman.*

A NEW VERSE OF LAMENTATIONS. The Richmond Examiner has discourseth, in accents of woe:—

Alas for Babylon! that great city! How is it fallen! What now are worth the many eloquent articles by Submissionist editors upon the triumph of law and order in Boston—the restoration of Tom Sims—and the downfall of the higher law? How will the grain of the theory weigh against the ton of practice? Tom Sims has been exchanged for Chas. Sumner; one fugitive slave for an U. S. Senator, and no boot!'

☞ A public meeting to protest against the Fugitive Slave Law was held in Weymouth last week. Dr. Field was President, and Gen. Appleton Howe and P. A. Kingsbury, Esq., Vice Presidents. Nearly a dozen gentlemen spoke in favor of a series of resolutions against the law, and one lawyer defended it.—The resolves passed with but three dissenting votes. They express obligation to Horace Mann, Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Charles G. Loring. They denounce the famous statute as unconstitutional and unchristian, and call upon the Representatives and Senators to vote for Mr. Buckingham's Bill.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

BALTIMORE, Tuesday, April 8.

The arrest of Sims, the fugitive slave, in Boston, has created quite an interest here in reference to the result. In case he should be successfully returned to the South, there will be a half dozen arrests made in that city of negroes who have fled from Maryland, provided they can be caught. I know, several who are only awaiting the action in this case to proceed at once and claim their property—the proper papers and witnesses being ready for an early start.

Proclamation by the President.—The President of the United States has issued a Proclamation in reference to the attempt, which is believed to be about to be renewed in this country, to invade the island of Cuba. The Proclamation is firm and decisive in its tone. It defines the character of the contemplated expedition; and admonishes all who may be deluded, or by any means induced to engage in such an enterprise, of the severe penalties of the law which they will inevitably incur.

TORONTO, April 22d.

Great Fire at Kingston, Canada.—A great fire occurred this morning at Kingston. Forty houses have been destroyed in the block bounded by Princess, Barrack, Wellington and Queen streets—the principal part of the city. The progress of the fire has been arrested. The loss will be very heavy, but is not yet ascertained.

On the Road to Freedom!—Last Tuesday, seven fugitives from Slavery in the South, and from slaveocrating Bostonians, passed through this place in the cars on their way to an asylum for the oppressed, 'to the land of the free,' and they probably reached Canada in safety on Wednesday last. Scarcely a day passes but more or less fugitives escape from this land of slavery to the freedom of Canada, from Boston, New Bedford and other places in Massachusetts, via this place, over the track of the Northern Rail Road.—*Concord (N. H.) Statesman, Friday.*

Death of Commodore Barron.—Commodore James Barron, senior Captain, U. S. Navy, died at Norfolk, Va., on Monday afternoon, in the 83rd year of his age.

☞ In Lebanon, New York, Col. Spences was accidentally shot and killed by his son, the ball passing through his brain. They were shooting rats together about the barn, and the father was not in sight of the son when he fired the fatal shot.

☞ A steam boiler explosion recently occurred at Stockton, England, by which twenty lives were lost.

THE SLAVE 'PERRY'—HIS FREE PAPERS.

The slave known by the name of Perry Wilson, formerly owned by Georgiana Sleeper, of Baltimore, which place he left in 1847 or 1848, and when last heard from was at the Parker House, New Bedford, is informed that he can have his free papers by calling upon Ellis Gray Loring, 27 State street, or at G. W. Sleeper's, 130 Washington street.

The Perry will confer a great favor on the said Perry by giving an insertion to the substance of the above.

A Good Toast. The following toast was given by one of the Boston Marshals, at a collation given them by Mr. Potter, the owner of Sims, at his plantation, during their stay in Savannah:

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH—May the links of the chain that binds their Union be stronger than over—the abolitionists pitched into h—l, and Bunker Hill Monument rolled against the gate.—*Baltimore Patriot.*

Some of our Hunker friends here have doubted the genuineness of the above toast—who we quoted it from the Savannah *News*. Perhaps they will believe the Baltimore *Patriot*.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

Melancholy and Fatal Accident.—A young man belonging to Lynn, by the name of Davis, accompanied by Miss Churchill, went to ride to Marblehead yesterday. While driving near an embankment, the horse became unmanageable. Mr. Davis attempted to lead the horse, but he backed off the precipice.—The young lady was instantly killed, the horse falling upon her. Mr. Davis, excited to frenzy by the screams of his companion, leaped off the bank, but was unable to save her. He was also severely injured.

Miss Churchill was about 19 years of age, the daughter of Mr. Henry Churchill, a respectable citizen of Lynn. She was an intelligent and amiable young lady, and her sudden death will be long and deeply lamented by a large circle of friends.—*Commonwealth.*

☞ The notorious Meghat Devens was in town on Thursday. Whether after a 'fugitive' or not, we have failed to learn. We do not think that a man would be given up here without a repetition of the Shadrach case. Still, *Daniel Webster* and the *Union (!)* have some friends here yet.

Every one was as curious to see the kidnapper as if he had been a cannibal from the South Sea Islands. The boys flocked around, and the crowd inquired of each other, 'Which is he?' 'Is he a fugitive for people to see a *legal* pirate.—*Greylock Sentinel.*

Runaway Negroes Caught.—At Vincennas, Ia., on Saturday last, a white man and four negroes were arrested. The negroes belong to B. McKiernan, of South Florence, Ala., and the man who was running them off calls himself John Miller. The prisoners were taken charge of by the Marshal of Evansville.

CINCINNATI, April 25th.

Jenny Lind at Cincinnati.—Jenny Lind has sent $3,000 and Barnum $3,500 to Mayor Taylor, to be disposed of as he may think most judicious, for the relief of the unfortunate and distressed in this city. In addition to this, Barnum had previously given $400 or $500. Jenny is here called the 'Angel in disguise.'

☞ A Slave was stabbed and killed at Rosemay Lewis, Charles county, Md., on Tuesday of last week, by an overseer named Richard Garner.

☞ Dr. Howes, of Worcester, claims to have invented a machine for making letter envelopes, which cuts, folds, and counts into packages of a quarter of a hundred, 120,000 envelopes a day.

Mortality among Editors.—The Indianapolis State Sentinel announces the death of Mr. George A. Chapman, one of the best conducted editors of that paper, and a notable character for his State.

It is a singular fact, that M. M. Noah, Isaac Hill, J. S. Skinner and O. A. Chapman, Editors well known throughout the Union, died within a day or two of each other.

☞ The noontide of the nineteenth century finds the American people struggling against the power of an institution which Aristotle condemned two thousand years ago. His heathen morality, at that early period of his existence, condemned an institution which an American Congress countenances and encourages under the Christian dispensation.

Attack on a Street Preacher.—A street preacher named Kirkland, while speaking in the market-place yesterday, was attacked for having said something against the Catholic religion. He escaped into the Dennison House, where he was with difficulty preserved from the mob.—*Cincinnati paper.*

☞ A terrible accident happened near Paisby, in Scotland, by the explosion of the Victoria Pit, caused by fire-damp, by which sixty-one persons lost their lives.

Syracuse Advertisements.

Boston Business Cards.

SELECTIONS.

From the Liberator.

SLAVERY DIABOLICAL.

The Case of William L. Chaplin; being an Appeal to all Respecters of Law and Justice, against the cruel and oppressive Treatment to which, under color of Legal Proceedings, he has been subjected in the District of Columbia and the State of Maryland. Boston: Published by the Chaplin Committee. 1851.

This pamphlet is one of the important historical publications of these eventful times. It should be so widely circulated in this country as there are hearts to be touched or heads to be enlightened. Calmly as it is written, a perusal of the facts and statements therein are enough

'To stir a fever in the blood of age,
And make the infant's sinews strong as steel.'

The circumstances attending the arrest, imprisonment, and subsequent deliverance of Mr. Chaplin out of the hands of bloody-minded men in the District of Columbia and in Maryland, by the payment of bail to the enormous amount of TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS, will ever constitute a revolting chapter in the history of this man-stealing republic. They demonstrate the fact, that slaveholding judges and courts, in all cases touching the question of slavery, are capable of perpetrating deeds the most lawless, inhuman, tyrannical, damnable, and that they who make merchandise of their fellow-creatures, and hold them as property, unite with the depravity of fiends the ferocity of hyenas; all which is instantly manifested whenever they can by their murderous hands on any one imbued with a spirit of sympathy towards their wretched slaves. Satisfy them that you do not intend to question their right to plunder, starve, lacerate, imbrute and murder their victims *ad libitum*, —denounce and ridicule the doctrine that the negroes are entitled to equal human rights, and therefore ought to be liberated,—and they will be liberal in their hospitality, (the hospitality of those who subsist by plunder,) and courteous in their manners; but let them know or suspect that you regard the slave as a man and a brother, that you hold his right to unconditional and immediate emancipation to be absolute, and their anger instantly burns to the lowest hell, and they become transformed into demons. You had better trust yourselves among wolves and pass them thus in their company. You can no more live among them than you can dwell in devouring fire. At once you must escape from their location and presence, as Lot fled from Sodom, 'without looking back,' —otherwise, a coat of tar and feathers, cruel lacerations, hopeless imprisonment, or a prompt suspension by the neck to the nearest lamp-post or tree, is your inevitable doom. Their cowardice, villany, and diabolical barbarity, cannot be exaggerated; so conscious are they of the damning guilt which stains their souls in turning the rational creatures of God into chattels personal! It is not true that 'they know not what they do': they know all about it. They know that they are utterly without excuse; that they have neither reason nor argument, neither principle nor expediency, neither sense nor instinct, neither honesty nor policy, neither truth nor justice, on their side; hence, as substitutes for these, they employ threats, curses, lies, slanders, rage and tumults, backed up by the bowie knife, the lash, the noose, and all the other infernal accompaniments of the Lynch code. 'Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood. They hatch cockatrice's eggs; and he that eateth of them dieth.'

The case of Mr. Chaplin is too well known to our readers to need a minute statement of the facts in this connection. While temporarily residing at Washington, in August, 1849, he was induced, from motives of the purest philanthropy, on leaving that city, to take into his private carriage two young men, slaves, (one belonging to Tacoma, of Alabama, the other to Stephens of Georgia, Members of Congress, though of this fact Mr. Chaplin was at that time ignorant,) on an earnest appeal being made to him, that thus they might obtain that dearest boon on earth, LIBERTY. As he drove out of the city, under cover of night, he was intercepted by an organized gang of ruffians, at the head of whom was one John H. Goddard, by birth a Rhode Islander, who was head a shoemaker, but who, finding honest handicraft industry not respectable in a slaveholding community, contrived to get himself employed as a bum-bailiff and watchman, and by dint of a prowlering spirit of servility, has risen to be captain of the night-watch, and one of the police magistrates. All Northern men who visit Washington are warned against this very dangerous person. 'He may be known by the official cockade on his hat, and a knavish, treacherous smile on his face; and is a cold-blooded, cunning creature, exactly the Irish Hoop of Dickens's David Copperfield. If Goddard had not expressly for his portrait, the likeness could not have been more complete.

Mr. Chaplin was knocked from his seat by a heavy club, thrown to the ground and trampled upon, barely escaping with his life. He was then bound with cords, and forthwith committed to jail, where he remained until he could give bail to the amount of $6000; at which time, instead of being released, he was treacherously delivered up on a malicious requisition from the Governor of Maryland, to be tried in that State for what he had done in the District of Columbia! He was hurried to the jail at Rockville,—bail being required to the enormous amount of $12,000,—where he remained until he could raise that sum in cash, to be paid at the moment he was allowed to leave his cell. In the whole city of Baltimore, not one wealthy, and respectable man was found willing or had the courage to become his bail, though the money was ready to be deposited in the hands of [illegible]. At a last resort, application was made to the successful slave-trader, Hope. Hope sent for Slatter, and he readily consented to become bail for Mr. Chaplin! 'Satan, no doubt.' It is quickly added, 'would eagerly avail himself of any opportunity that might offer to go bail for the archangel Michael, especially if it so happened that all the priests, deacons and church members had first been asked, and had declined.' Fortunately, the services of the slave-trafficker were rendered unnecessary by another arrangement. Yet after the payment of his ransom of $25,000, to prevent his being lynched before he could get out of Maryland, it was necessary that Mr. Chaplin should travel incog., and in the stealthiest manner. Thus, after an imprisonment of six weeks at Washington, and of thirteen weeks at Rockville, he was delivered out of the hands of the Philistines, and by a great price, which generous and sympathizing friends have been willing to pay, rather than that he should perish. And still the slaveholding bloodhounds are not satisfied; for it is said that Mr. Chaplin is to be indicted as a fugitive from Justice, (!) and that the vast sum extorted from him in the name of bail is to be spent in attempting to recover possession of his body! Such is the diabolism of slavery. And remember that these things are done in the middle of the nineteenth century, and among a people claiming Christ as their Leader and Savior!

As to the act for which Mr. Chaplin has been punished in cruelty—for which the friends of the slave have been plundered to such an extent—who will say it was not a kind and benevolent one, and worthy of all commendation, however indiscreet as a matter of personal safety? Who that prays,

'That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me'—

who that holds to the precept, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'—who that accepts as binding the apostolic injunction, 'Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them'—will condemn him for desiring to save from desecration the image of God, and unfortunately seeking to deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor? Yet, all over the country—by the presses as the North as well as at the South—he has been ridiculed as a fanatic, branded as a madman, anathematized as a villain, and indicted as a felon of the deepest dye!

And who is William L. Chaplin? If the testimony of abolitionists is not to be received, surely that of one like the Rev. John Todd, of Pittsfield, (Mass.) who has never identified himself with them, and of whose church Mr. Chaplin was formerly a leading member, ought not to be rejected. This testimonial was voluntarily furnished by Mr. Todd himself, in an article published in the New York Evangelist of October 30, 1850, on the occasion of Mr. Chaplin's arrest.

'We speak of him,' says Mr. Todd, 'as we know him years ago. He is the son of a most venerable and perfect Puritan minister,—the Rev. Dr. Chaplin, formerly of Groton. . . . His grandfather, Col. Prescott, was a commander at the battle of Bunker Hill. Family educated, with a natural grace and eloquence. Mr. Chaplin is one of the finest speakers to whom we ever listened. But this is not what we would say. We say, fearlessly, that he has one of the noblest, most self-sacrificing, conscious hearts, that ever beat in human bosom. We never saw a selfish act performed by him. The impulses of his nature are strong, lofty and generous. . . . He is a great-hearted creature. We look upon him as a sun which has broken away from the taws of its Maker, through the vapors and the desires to throw its light and beams into December, and could not wait for the spring to return, ere he made flowers to grow among the snow-banks.'

What must be the character of the people among whom such a man, for such a deed, is every where held up to popular scorn and detestation? 'Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?'

We commend this pamphlet for the candor, truthfulness and ability by which it is characterized, and for its startling facts and thrilling disclosures. It is accompanied with a fine lithographic portrait of Mr. Chaplin, is very neatly printed, and merits the widest circulation.

THE RIGHT ACTION.

The following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, (England,) held March 27th, 1851:—

The members of this Society, having contemplated with pain and deep regret, the course of the clergy in the United States, who (with a few honorable exceptions) afford more or less support to the system of Slavery; and having been especially grieved by the low views of Christian duty recently proclaimed by ministers in the free States, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Bill,—

Resolved, That such ministers of this city as may be about to attend Annual Conferences in London, during the month of May, be respectfully, but earnestly, solicited to deliberate with their brethren, on the expediency of adopting some line of conduct to prevent their pulpits, being occupied by any clergymen from the United States, visiting England at the approaching Exhibition, who have not borne testimony to the unrighteous character of the Fugitive Slave Bill; and further, to take into consideration the desirableness of organizing those religious societies in America, with whom they sympathize in doctrine and discipline, not to depute any minister to this country upon religious or philanthropic missions, who have not publicly manifested their disapprobation of this law, which Junon Jax declares to be 'as palpable a violation of the Constitution, as it certainly is of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ.'

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
F. N. TRIBE, *Secretary.*

RELIGIOUS action.

NORTH BROOKFIELD, April 20, 1850.

At the annual meeting of the members of the First Congregational Society in this town, held on the 14th day of April, the following resolutions were presented and adopted:—

Resolved, That the act of Congress usually styled the Fugitive Slave Law is oppressive, unrighteous and inhuman—a disgrace to its authors and supporters, and a foul blot upon the legislative records of our Republic.

Resolved, That the manner of executing that law in the capital of our State, in the case of the alleged fugitive Sims, is an outrage upon the moral sense of the people, and an infringement of their rights as citizens of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That Massachusetts cannot be safe when her soil is desecrated by the bloodhounds that lay in the track of humanity, and she cannot be secure when her pulpits are figuratively, and her temples of justice are both figuratively and literally, bound in the chains of slavery.

Resolved, That we have heard with pleasure that many ministers of our State have nobly spoken out their opposition to this wholly apostate—this crying disgrace of our land.

Resolved, That we hold that pulpit recreant to its trust that fails to lift its voice in denouncing this great wrong; this outrage upon the religious feelings of the community; and we cannot aid in the support of any minister of the Gospel who fails to do his whole duty in this matter.

It was voted that the Clerk of this Society be directed to enter the foregoing resolutions upon the records of the Society, and also to forward a copy of the same to such newspaper as he shall think proper, for publication.

WILLIAM F. ADAMS,
Clerk of said Society.

The Expedition.—The Washington Telegraph says, the Cuban expedition now on foot is said to be headed by Gen. Mirabeau, B. Lamar, of Georgia, and a Senor Gonzales, of Havana. It is also said that Gov. Towns, of Georgia, is identified with the enterprise.

From the N. H. Independent Democrat.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ANDOVER, April 21, 1851.

MR. FOGG:

DEAR SIR—I have thought that the accompanying copy of a petition from the students of this Seminary, presented to the Massachusetts Legislature on Saturday last, might not be uninteresting to the many readers of your paper who have been pained with the supposed position of the Seminary on the great question of the day. The extraordinary course of Prof. Stuart on this subject has undoubtedly produced the impression that the state of opinion here was adverse to the cause of humanity. Such is not the fact. Of the seventy students now present, but one would be found so far upholding the accursed system of slavery as to refuse to sign this petition. It is certainly a sad thing that so many as eleven are thus infected, but when the friends of humanity reflect on the constant *Stuart-ing* process going on here, they cannot but be glad that so many are ready to avow their conviction, that 'the *spirit* and provisions of this [fugitive] law contravene the law of God.' Many of the signers are men of calmness and deliberation, who have but lately been thoroughly roused to a sense of the necessity of decided action in regard to our great national sin, but who will never give up their decided convictions of duty, out of regard to Prof. Moses Stuart, or any body else. The others were never any thing else but abolitionists. Yours, truly,

A STUDENT.

To the Honorable the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, members of the Theological Seminary in Andover, believing that the recent Act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to amend and supplementary to an Act entitled an Act respecting fugitives and other persons escaping from their masters,' endangers the personal liberty of a portion of the inhabitants of this Commonwealth; believing, moreover, that the spirit of and the provisions of said act contravene the moral sentiments of a majority of our citizens and the law of God, do respectfully petition your honorable body—

First, To adopt such measures as your wisdom may dictate and your constitutional authority allow, for securing those safeguards of personal liberty which respectively belong to the citizens of a free and Christian State; and,

Secondly, To request the Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their best efforts to secure the immediate repeal of said act.

J H Levins	Wm T Sleeper
G A Adams	David Brenner
Edwin Yale	H Norton
Edward G Miner	Alonzo A Quint
Wm L Ropes	Geo N Boardman
F H Brewster	Wm B Greene
Henry M Storrs	Augustus Walker
Neith A Hyde	Edwin A. Buck
G B Willcox	E C A Woods
Thomas S Bliss	Justin E Surbank
John Gardner Hale	James O Murray
Luther R White	Geo E Allen
George Bent	Joseph D Pelard
W Wells	Charles Lothrop
Samuel Emerson	W A Farnsworth
S Bourne, Jr	J R Herrich
John Willard	James A Yoeh
L W Cheney	Wm A McCrillis
Philips H Ireland	E H Blanchard
N George Clark	Henry Wokes
G P Fisher	Geo L Weed Jr
E S Stinney	Joseph B Johnson
S H Telman, Jr	Charles Hutchinson
J W Stone	E H Richardson
J S Perry,	John Q Peabody
C S Smith	George Pierson
James B Howard	S C Kendall
Charles H Allen	Henry R Edson
Daniel T Noyes	W W Winchester
	Obed Dickinson.

From the Christian Register.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVES.

Ye sorrowing people! that from bondage fly,
And cruel laws that seem against you make,
Think not that none there are who hear you cry,
And for yourselves and children thought will take!
Though now bowed down with sorrow and with fear,
Lift up your heads! for you are not alone;
Some Christian hearts are left your flight to cheer,
Some human hearts are wholly turned to stone;
God to his angels shall give strictest charge,
And in their hands they'll bear you safe from harm;
Where in a free land you'll rest at large,
Nor dread pursuit, nor start at each alarm;
Till in His time you shall return again,
No more to feel man's wrath, or dread his chains.

March 8, 1851. J. V.

From the Dover Morning Star.

THICK DARKNESS.

NEW YORK, April 16, 1851.

DEAR STAR:

Our friends of the hopeful heart are still comforting themselves with the proverb, 'Always darkest just before the break of day.' If it holds good in the signs for our city and nation, day-dawn must be near indeed! It is hard to see where the darkness can be, if it increases much longer, or becomes much thicker, we must yield to the evidence that it is one of the nights that know not a morning. There have been such nights, and such nights will be again. Though the stars refuse to shine, though the moon refuses to rise, though the sun refuses to shine, though the rubbish, sand and lava, lies in sunshine to walls buried for centuries and ages, and brings forth specimens of art to the wonder of living nations, it is not the breaking of morning to those great cities, kingdoms and empires that were. There might be, there never break. Will care? We may hope so. The darkness is not total yet. There is light enough to make the darkness visible, and life enough to make it felt. If these should become extinguished, then adieu all possibility of coming day—the night is one that gives place to no morning.

The friends of the hopeful heart promised us that the law commanding this national and personal land piracy should prove the crisis for the moral of the country's moral disease, and its establishment of freedom. So far, the crisis indicates a fatal rather than a favorable issue. The death-symptoms grow stronger, and the signs of vital energy diminish. It has never come to that before, we never felt, that the national tyranny has become so rampant here, all law and authority so completely at its service, that not for the sake of humanity nor for the price of gold can a human being be obtained for the enslavement and doing of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but even of the apprehension of destruction by the mob. Last year, there was some advance of this in the breaking up of the meeting by the cave of slavery, with only their hideous barkings. Now, property-owners have the consciousness of the blackened overshadowings of the great Upas, to the degree that their money-conscience forbids the risk of their buildings for any premium that could be given as the hire of them for this occasion. The satanic press feels this as proof that the city and nation have arrived at a degree of devotion to slavery that renders our Castle Garden Union Safety Committee so longer needed. The *Tribune* (a press that has a human heart and a rational mind) says of it:

'Will it be believed, that in the middle of the nineteenth century, while we are boasting of our freedom, our civilization, our love of liberty, and our horror of oppression, a Society composed of peaceable and respectable citizens cannot find a place in the metropolis of this New World in which to celebrate the anniversary of its formation, because the owners of all nor public halls fear the destruction of their property, should they permit it to be used for such a purpose. Where are our 700 police officers? Where is their valiant Chief, and where our order-loving Mayor? For what do our merchants a police force, if they can not be protected from the violence of such dregs does as those who have overagged the owners of our public halls and driven the managers of the Anti-Slavery Society to a distant city, to find a place in which they may safely, peaceably and quietly discuss the great question of human freedom, and safely give expression to their sentiments? When in Boston, a short time since, the people, actuated by a love of liberty, and acting upon the impulse of the moment, dared betwam the oppressed and the oppressor, and in violation of statute enactment rescued the slave Shadrach from Bondage and from the lash, our Cotton journals were loud in their denunciations of the authorities, for allowing what they termed a mob to obtain, for a moment, ascendancy over law—but now, when a band of fiends villains, actuated by no motive of good, no love of freedom, no desire to benefit the oppressed and down-trodden, succeed in driving from their city the people who differ from them on certain questions, these same papers have not a word of condemnation to bestow. They are deaf, and blind, and dumb, or if they speak, it is rather to praise than to censure these knaves. According to these gentlemen, it is the people, en masse, protest against an unjust law, it is treason—when demagogues and drunken vagabonds invade an Anti-Slavery Convention and disperse its members, it is love of law, admiration for order, and attachment to the Union.'

To see our condition—what is it? We are all sold to slavery; some millions of us to the literal chains and lash of the whip, the others to be bound in their chains, under the penalties of fines, and imprisonments, and to pay the expenses of keeping them in bondage; and to complete our doom, we are prohibited speaking in remonstrance, not by statutory law, but by being turned out in a mob-larry to the unrestrained enfiamem of slaveholders and their dogs, to be despoiled of property and life as they list, if we presume to assemble as friends of freedom. This is our real condition, and it is a degree that almost excands mental comprehension. And thus for the crisis—dreadful aggravation of our moral and political typhus. Will the disease take a favorable turn?

THE FIRST WHITE MAN IN AFRICA.

Mr. Thompson, of the Mendi Mission, thus speaks of the sensation he produced, when first seen by the blacks:

'Here, where they never saw a white man before, I am a great wonder to them. They have flocked from far and near for two months to see me. Some are afraid to shake my hand, but most come to tell me, 'How do you do?' They generally come with great diffidence and reverence, and some, and even chiefs, have crept and kissed at my feet to address my hand, as slaves and subjects approach to their masters and kings in this country. They all consider me some superior being. Wherever I go, into any town, I have to sit a long time for the crowd to gather and gaze at me, without being willing to leave me. If in the house, it is crowded; if sitting down to write or read outside, they crowd round me and stare and wonder; if I walk in the town, they run before and after, shouting and making a great noise; if eating, every mouthful is watched, and many remarks and shout my manner. 'Why, see, he eats with a knife!' 'How little he takes!' 'Gentlemen in this country eat with their hands.' 'Why, look, that rice is not more enough for one man, and he leaves half of it!' 'Poo moie (white man) don't know how to eat,' and such like remarks. This is a large town, where I go for the first time, I get but little quietness except in the night, and then they generally keep up such a noise by drumming, singing and dancing till midnight, that sleep flies from me till I get so nervous I cannot sleep after their noise has ceased; so that it is exceedingly wearing on me, night and day.

They consider me supernatural, and if none attempt to worship, all fear me. In serious places, chiefs and others have called me a god! One chief said in the meeting of all their chiefs, called together to give me an answer whether they would leave the Mendi Mission, and go back to their old ways, to him! We don't know where he came from—whether he walked here or dropped down from the clouds! When he came, God came. What he says, God says, and what he says we must do, &c., &c. Another chief, (on the other side of the war,) heard of Mendi. He said, 'How little he takes!' 'Gentlemen in this country eat with their hands.' 'Why, look, that rice is not more enough for one man, and he leaves half of it!' 'Poo moie (white man) don't know how to eat,' and such like remarks. This is a large town, where I go for the first time, I get but little quietness except in the night, and then they generally keep up such a noise by drumming, singing and dancing till midnight, that sleep flies from me till I get so nervous I cannot sleep after their noise has ceased; so that it is exceedingly wearing on me, night and day.

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From the Leeds Times.

MR. IRA ALDRIDGE.

The African Roscius—such his first appearance for the present season on Monday night, at the Prince's Theatre, sad played Othello—as arduous character for any gentleman to assay, and one in every way calculated to try the quality of a performer. When we say that Mr. Aldridge played the part creditably, we know this thought will rise in many minds—'Ay, very well—for a black.' The first time we witnessed his performance, we were disposed to mentally say, 'Very creditable indeed, and, 'mais allons ace,' as the phrase goes, for his first effort as a negro'; but we had not gone over the first act, before we discovered that the Caucasian race has not monopolized all the talent which the world owns. Black as he is, negro as he is, Aldridge has not only proved himself a gentleman and a scholar, a man of fine feelings and acute perception, but something more; he so admirably portrayed the various passions which agitate the human breast, and so charmingly delivered himself of the sentiments adapted to the immortal bard, as to stand out in bold relief from all the other actors. And on Monday night last, we found that he had lost none of those qualities which have made him every where a favorite. His address to the Senators, in the first act, was finely delivered, and the last scene was admirable and effective. There was something touchingly true, too, in his portrayal of the physical and mental prostration, the crushed and broken hopes and aspirations, of the once gallant and noble soldier, and the subtle poison of jealousy had done its work. At the close of the play, Mr. Aldridge was called before the curtain, and briefly thanked the audience for their warm greeting. Desdemona found a representative in Miss M. Lowe, who looked the character very well, and played with that 'gentleness' which was the leading characteristic of the fair Venetian. Mr. Herbert enacted Cassio, and Mr. Graham Roderigo, with more care and truthfulness than we had anticipated. Mr. Pennier played Iago to the delight of the gods, but it was not Shakspeare's Iago. The play was very well put upon the stage, and the house was densely crowded in every part.

The Impartial Citizen.

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REPORT IN THE SENATE ON THE SIMS CASE.

In Senate, April 22, 1851.

The Committee to whom was referred an order to inquire whether the freedom of any of the inhabitants of this Commonwealth is endangered through the resistance of any officer thereof, or if any officer has refused or neglected to serve any process for the arrest of any person charged as a criminal, with power to detain or deliver persons; and also to inquire if any law for the security of personal liberty has recently been violated by officers of the city of Boston, or by officers of this Commonwealth, pretending to act under the orders of officers of said city, with power to send for persons and papers, ask leave to

REPORT:

That after a careful examination of the numerous witnesses, the minutes of whose testimony is annexed, we have ascertained the recent existence of a state of facts in the city of Boston, in which the municipal authorities and the police force were involved, hostile to the laws and the judicial processes of this Commonwealth.

As these proceedings grew out of the recently enacted Fugitive Slave Law, it will be necessary, for the more perfect comprehension of the subject, first, to take a brief retrospective view of the sentiments, and of the legislation of Massachusetts, with reference to that clause of the Constitution of the United States, which provides for the delivery up of persons held to service or labor, in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. Though the word slave is not used, in this clause, and although sufficient subject matter for its operation might be found in the case of minors, apprentices and others bound by contract for a term of years, yet as fugitive slaves have been usually understood to be included under it, this provision has always been a matter of great regret, and an occasion of serious, conscientious scruples to a large portion of the good people of Massachusetts. It was early held by the Supreme Judicial Court, that the declarations in our Bill of Rights, that all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness, was incompatible with the existence of slavery. Whence it would seem, that the clause of the Constitution of the United States referred to, required, as it was inconsistent with those inalienable rights of man, upon which not only our State Constitution was founded, but which, in the Declaration of Independence, had been set up as justifying the separation from Great Britain, and a civil war to support it, and as the fundamental principle, by virtue of which sprung into existence the new-born confederated nation of the United States of America. It was no doubt in consequence of this dilemma and these scruples, that the people of Massachusetts eagerly availed themselves of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania, made in the year 1842, to pass the act of March 24th, 1843, 'further to protect personal liberty.' It had been decided in the Prigg case, that the clause of the Constitution of the U. S., respecting fugitives from labor, imposed no active duty whatever upon the States. They were only required to obtain from freeing laws to discharge the fugitive from the obligation of service; they were not required to interfere in any way with the process of delivery, that being exclusively within the scope of the federal authority; that the State had a right to prohibit all officers from being engaged in the arrest and delivery up of fugitive slaves. In conformity with this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, it was provided, by the second section of the act of 1843, 'that no sheriff, coroner, constable, jailer, or other officer of this Commonwealth, shall hereafter arrest or detain, or assist in arresting or detaining, or aid in the arrest or detention, or imprisonment in any jail, or other building belonging to the Commonwealth, or to any county, city or town thereof, of any person, for the reason that he is claimed as a fugitive slave.' The above is still the law of this Commonwealth; unrepealed, and never pronounced to be unconstitutional, and ought to be binding on the constituted authorities. Yet it fully appeared in evidence, that this law has been of late disregarded in the city of Boston, in a manner amounting in substance to an armed resistance to the execution of the laws of the State. It appeared from the occasion of the arrest of Shadrach in February last, claimed as a fugitive slave, certain constables of the city of Boston assisted in detaining him in the courthouse belonging to the city of Boston, or to the county of Suffolk. It also appears, that on the 4th day of the present month, a warrant was issued by George T. Curtis, Commissioner of the U. S. Circuit Court, for the apprehension of Thomas Sims, claimed as a fugitive slave, and the U. S. Marshal, instead of serving this warrant by himself, or by other subordinate officers of the United States, or by such private persons as he might be able to hire, or who might volunteer their service, obtained the aid of the Marshal of the city of Boston, who appointed two of his subordinate officers, who made the arrest of said Sims. There were no U. S. officers present and aiding in the arrest, but it was made by the city officers alone. In order, as Mr. Tukey testified, to prevent a riot and bloodshed, which he was convinced would have occurred, if the arrest had not been made by his near. Yet it did not appear that any arrest could have been made, or, that any riot or bloodshed could have followed, if the city authorities had not interfered. There is reason to believe that this arrest was made under the pretence of a criminal charge, that Sims had stolen a watch. But this did not fully appear in testimony, as the person who made the arrest refused to appear before the Committee. Sims was then handed over to the U. S. authorities, and confined in the court-house of Suffolk county, which was converted into a jail for that purpose. Heavy chains were drawn entirely round the court-house, upon those on the first story, the ground. The city police, amounting to sixty men, were constantly employed in guarding the court-house, and detaining the alleged fugitive slave. A regiment of militia was called out and armed. The courts in the county were no longer open course for suitors and others to enter at their pleasure, according to their long-established rights. None were permitted to enter without questions and explanations, and none were allowed to go in but members of the bar, persons having business in the courts, or gentlemen from the South, without a permit from the U. S. Marshal. The Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, the Court of Common Pleas, the Municipal Court, and Police Court, were obliged to bow down and pass under these chains, to perform their high judicial functions.

It appeared in evidence, that while Sims was held a prisoner in the Suffolk court-house, as a fugitive slave, and while that matter was in process of investigation before the United States Commissioner, a writ of personal replevin was issued in his behalf, which was put into the hands of the deputy sheriff, and bonds of $3000 having been duly executed, the deputy sheriff repeatedly demanded Sims of the United States Marshal, to be replevied; but was refused, with threats to use force to resist the service of the writ, he having at his command the whole police force of the city.

Your Committee are perfectly aware of the peculiar character of the government, or rather the governments, under which we live. We have, in fact, the subjects of two governments, each operating in its own sphere, independently of the other. Yet the officers of each government, being citizens and subjects of both, but subject for official acts only to one, should, if possible, discharge their several functions in such a manner as not to bring the powers and duties of each into collision; and where the processes of each government seem likely to clash, a compromise should be made, if it can be, without a sacrifice of the rights of either. If the writ of personal replevin had been suffered to be served, the bond was sufficient to preserve the pecuniary rights of all possessions, and by a peaceful decision of the courts, the alleged fugitive would have been restored to the marshal, or, at least, the bond would have been forfeited. The writ of personal replevin was sued for the express purpose of covering a case of this kind, and was intended to prevent a collision of the powers of our two governments on this subject. The marshal having it in his power to bring the question of his better right to hold the man, notwithstanding the writ of replevin, to a judicial decision, seems to have been ill advised in opposing the service of the replevin writ, and thus endangering a armed collision between himself and the sheriff. Had the decision been against him in the State Court, he might have carried the question to the Supreme Court of the United States; so that neither he nor the claimant was in danger of suffering any wrong or loss, without speedy redress, should have been established for future cases. But mortification, and a desire to atone for the loss of Shadrach, seems to have outweighed all consideration for State rights and State legislation.

It appears further in evidence, that a criminal warrant, duly issued by a justice of the peace, on a complaint duly sworn to, charging said Sims with an assault with intent to kill, was subsequently placed in the hand of Deputy Sheriff Coburn for service. In answer to the demand of the officer on the criminal process, the United States Marshal set up, not only the fugitive slave process, but also a criminal warrant for obstructing the service of the United States process, which he received, and then at once simultaneously with the first attempt to serve the criminal process of the State.

The criminal warrant of the United States remained in the hands of the marshal from the 7th to the 11th inst., without having been returned or otherwise disposed of; the marshal declaring that until the United States criminal process were out of the way, he should still hold the said Sims under the fugitive slave process, against the criminal warrant of the State. Accordingly, on the morning of the 11th inst., without returning the criminal warrant of the United States, or bringing the prisoner before any magistrate for examination, he proceeded to remove the said Sims from the court-house, by an armed body of Boston police, out of the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth.

That the United States criminal warrant, in the hands of the marshal, would have justified his holding Sims against the criminal warrant of the State, for such reasonable time on night, under the circumstances of the case, have been necessary for carrying him before some United States authority, that he might be discharged, bailed or committed, we do not doubt. But to use the criminal process of the United States as a cover to cloak the detainment of a fugitive slave to carry him out of the Commonwealth, while charged with crime against the laws thereof, would be a gross contempt of State sovereignty.

That such use has been made of the United States criminal warrant against Sims, is too palpable to be denied. Indeed, the Commissioner who issued it, seemed to justify, in his examination before the Committee, such use thereof, as an offset to what he chose to term the abuse of the State. His whole examination proceeded on the assumption of the Legislature, Constitution and laws of the State, as beyond the control of the State, and under the higher law of Congress, he condescended to give advice and authority for their release, while the information desired was withheld, or ridiculously evaded, and a multitude of verbose, declamatory, and insulting remarks.

The criminal process of the State was in one form under oath, and was issued against a person who confessed that he had committed a high crime against the laws of the State. The efforts made to serve it prove that it was issued in good faith. Indeed, there is no way by which the criminal warrants of the State can be used for unlawful purposes. They must be served, returned and finally disposed of by judicial authority.

There can be no doubt that a State criminal process against a fugitive from labor overrides the claim and title of the master. We are confirmed in this by the opinion of the Attorney General of the Commonwealth hereto annexed. But if the United States Marshal had any doubts in relation to this, he might at once have obtained a judicial decision upon it, by causing Sims to be arrested on the State process, and then suing out a writ of habeas corpus from the United States Court to test the question. But instead of this, at the risk of collision with the authorities of the State, he prevented the service of the criminal process by threats of force, having at his control the whole police force of the city, armed with swords and staves, with a regiment of militia, called out by the Mayor of the city of Boston, in readiness to assist him.

It would have been impossible for the United States Marshal thus accomplished to harm resisted the law of the State, without the assistance of the municipal authorities of Boston, and the countenance and support of a numerous, wealthy and powerful body of the citizens. It was in evidence that fifteen hundred of the most wealthy and respectable citizens, merchants, bankers, and others, volunteered their services to aid the Marshal on this occasion. A proper reverence for the laws of the State is as imperative as those of the Union. Both should be observed. But the criminal law of the State, which is of higher law than the Fugitive Slave Law, should not be countenanced and defeated by the wise and the wealthy. The precedent is bad. It is to the laws of the State, and not of the Union, that we must look for the protection of life, liberty and property. The great doctrine of State rights, in the end to enforce this Fugitive Slave Law, should not be disregarded. It is the central power that has the control of the army and navy, and of a boundless revenue, holding the purse and the sword, of which the people should be constantly watchful. It should be held to the strictest construction of the Constitution. All its legislation should be examined, investigated and agitated; and if found to be unconstitutional or wrong, should be opposed and repealed, or else the early fears of the Democratic party of encroachment and consolidation will be realized. Indeed, the two extremes of nullification and consolidation should both be guarded against. But there appears to be sufficient power in the general government to prevent the one, while the people alone have the power to prevent the other. We have observed that the people of the Southern States are sufficiently awake upon this subject, and no latitudinal construction of the United States Constitution, or even some of its provisions, are permitted to interfere with their notions of State rights. Some citizens of the complexion are not permitted to travel or reside amongst them, without liability to imprisonment and slavery, notwithstanding the provision of the United States Constitution, which gives guarantee to the citizens of each State all the privileges of citizens in every State. Very recently, a vessel under the command of officers of the navy, and claiming to be a national ship, entered the port of New Orleans; the officers were ordered to be taken out and imprisoned. But the commander declared, on behalf of the national character of the ship, and the city authorities obtained the opinion of the District Attorney of the State, who advised that, as the law was unexpected, and not pronounced unconstitutional by judicial authority, it ought to be enforced. We can see no objection to the correctness of this opinion, but we believe that all the laws of the State, not declared unconstitutional, ought to be executed by the authorities and people of the State; and whenever the powers of the two governments appear to be coming in conflict with each other, especially amidst excitement and popular effervescence, resort should always be had, if possible, to peaceful judicial decisions to determine the right, and afford time for the subsidence of popular excitement. There may be cases of invasion or civil war, where a course of this kind would not be followed. But certainly it should be in the case of a fugitive slave charged with crime. It need not appear, in this case, by his confession, that he is guilty. All men are presumed to be innocent until proved to be guilty. And the attempt to justify the officers of the United States in resisting the service of the criminal process of the State, on the ground of its being a fugitive, is only adding insulting insult to violation of State rights. No matter what may have been the motive of the person making the complaint or of the magistrate in issuing the warrant, even if it were, as asserted by Mr. Hallett, for the philanthropic purpose of sending a man to prison, instead of into slavery, still, it is not to be taken for granted that the proceedings are wrong, and may be conceded or resisted, until after the arbitrament of judicial power.

The committee were careful to examine the witnesses in the most kind, courteous, and conciliatory manner, never insisting upon the answer of a question, which the witness himself deemed to be improper. And although a few questions were refused to be answered, yet, with the exception of the city marshal, and commissioner Hallett, all the witnesses were respectful and courteous.

The committee cannot see that any blame can be rightfully charged upon the sheriff and his deputies while acting under the advice of the district attorney and the attorney general, who were required by the Governor to give advice upon the subject. And yet, it seems that when the United States Marshal was in the act of taking Sims out of our jurisdiction, that a resolute attempt to serve the criminal process of the State would then have been successful. The assumed criminal proceedings of the United States could no longer be held up as a shield for the Marshal. It would have been then advised, than to have dared to oppose, by force, the fugitive slave process against the criminal warrant of the State. In this respect, there appears to have been some deliberation. No watch was kept upon the doings of the Marshal, and when the State officers slept, after the moon had gone down, in the darkest hour before daybreak, the accused was taken out of our jurisdiction by the armed police of the city of Boston. It appears that another criminal process was duly issued against Sims, while on board the brig Acorn, at anchor in the harbor of Boston, which the Sheriff refused to take or to serve. When the criminal process of the United States was out of the way, as it must have been before Sims left Boston, it then became the duty of the Sheriff to serve the criminal warrants of the State, at all hazards, and if necessary, with an armed posse to aid him. And such is the written opinion of the Attorney General. He says,

"In a case in which it was the *clear legal right*, and the *corresponding official duty*, of a civil officer of the Commonwealth, to execute a precept by force, and for this purpose to summon, if need be, an armed posse to his aid, against an opposing force directed by an authority, acting under the authority of the Federal Government, but one course would be open to him, however lamentable and disastrous the consequences of such a resort to violence, might be."

And in afterwards adds, "It cannot be maintained, and would not, I think, be pretended, that if the party was held in custody by the United States marshal, merely upon a civil process, charging him to be a fugitive from labor and service under an act of Congress of 1850, he could thereby be protected from a criminal process, issued by a competent authority, and be removed out of the State, without as a warrant to the charge of having committed an offence against the laws of the Commonwealth."

Should the sheriff, under such circumstances, call out the *posse comitatus*, and should blood flow in consequence, that blood would be unquestionably upon the head of the marshal, who had chosen to bring the question to this arbitrament, by omitting to refer the question of his better right, in the way we have before shown, to the decision of the State or United States court.

The attorney general, in his written opinion to the sheriff, has the following remarks:

"Whether, if your efforts to effect a peaceable service of the warrant under these circumstances should be repelled by the marshal, you should resort to force in the first instance; or make a return of the facts upon the warrant, with a view to the issuing of a writ of habeas corpus by the court to which the warrant is returnable, is a question of great importance; and the suggestions of Mr. Parker upon this point are entitled to great consideration. I am not prepared to say that you would not be justified in adopting either alternative—though, to avoid a collision by force between the authorities of the State and those of the United States, I should certainly, with my present views, advise a resort to the latter."

The committee cannot see the object of this advice, since it is evident that the police court, to which the warrant was returnable, has no power to issue a writ of habeas corpus to take a prisoner out of the hands of the United States marshal. It appears, however, from the testimony of Sheriff Coburn, that subsequently the attorney general advised his deputy to return the warrant forthwith into the police court, while Sims was still held under the United States criminal process, and it was only by the accident that Mr. Coburn was summoned before Judge Wooddbury, and was detained there until the police court had adjourned, that he was prevented from making this return. Whatever was the object of this advice it is evident the effect of it would have been to settle the whole question, by quietly and voluntarily yielding the right of the State to take this alleged fugitive slave out of the hands of the marshal on a criminal charge.

The examination took place in a time of great excitement, yet the committee endeavored to keep cool and candidly and impartially hear and decide upon the facts and testimony which were laid before us. We were impressed, in the course of the examination of the city marshal, that the power to call out and command an armed militia should be strictly guarded. Amidst the excitement of large popular meetings, indiscreet remarks are sometimes taken for threats of force and violence. The militia may then be called out, and party feeling and personal hatred may lead to tumult and bloodshed, when, if the power of the militia had not been shown, the excitement, caution, and effervescence would have innocently subsided. Our legislation, until recently, confided the power of calling out the militia first to the commander-in-chief, who is the Governor; in the absence to a court of record; in want of such a court, to justices of the peace, &c. But recently, since we have had mayors of cities, we have made a law allowing the mayor of any city to call out the militia at his discretion, independent of the higher power of the commander-in-chief. Now it would seem proper that so great a power as that which can command the shooting down the people in the streets, should, if possible, issue from the highest and most responsible source, and while the governor is in the city, the Mayor should have no power to call out the militia.

The Committee therefore report the following Bill.

And as it appears that the laws of this Commonwealth have been openly disobeyed by a large number of persons holding office under the laws thereof, your Committee deem it important, by further and precise legislation, to endeavor to prevent the recurrence of such disobedience, and we therefore report the following Bill. [The bills have been previously published.]

All which is respectfully submitted, by

FREDERICK ROBINSON, *Chairman.*

From the National A. S. Standard.

ON RECEIVING A PIECE OF FLAX-COTTON.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

While we, with human rage and hate,
Would make the world forego its ill,
Behold with what innoticed feet
God's passionless reformers still
Come unawares, and have their will!

Tough roots hath prudishly wrong,
That blunt too long the leveller's axe;
God touches them with naught more strong
Nor sharper than a stem of flax,—
The iron fibres melt as wax.

Thoo soft and silken Garrison!
Light as thou lieest in my hand,
By thee great statesmen shall be shown,
For thou shalt slay the Cleve-wand,
And disenchant the grass-ling land.

Sy mony's rushing waterfall
I hear the spindles buzz strongly,
Twining the cords that bind us all!
I see our dear New-England bowed
To receive the web of Freedom's shroud.

How quietly upon her side
Doth Fate the hostile force enlist!
Peacharge, are long, with us allied,
Those wheels, with every thread they twist,
Shall make us Abolitionist.

I hear our pines, with horrent thrill,
Sigh, dreading that their doom may be
From 'neath the shade of Bunker Hill,
To bear across this churning sea
The human flesh-tax of the free.

Come swiftly, happy change, and bless
Our longing sight before we die;
Set free our pulpit and our press,
Release the ancient fires that die
In fallen New England's downcast eye!

Or, come in God's own season; swift
Is sickly speech, stung by wasps;
The hand of God from each good gift
One finger at a time unclasps,
And shuts from him who rashly grasps.

Then let our banyan empire shoot
Such knitted stems as earth ne'er saw,
Yea! a world; and let its root
From Shakspere's tongue and Alfred's law
The ever-living forces draw!

HON. WM. H. SEWARD'S LETTER TO THE MASS. CONVENTION.

Auburn, April 5, 1851.

Sir—Your letter, inviting me to attend a Convention of the people of Massachusetts opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, and to communicate my opinions on the subject, has been received.

While offering the pressure of duties here, too long deferred, as an apology for non-attendance, I pray you to assure the Committee in whose behalf you act of my profound sense of their courtesy and kindness. I would be an honor to be invited to address the people of Massachusetts on any subject; but it might well satisfy a generous ambition to be called upon to speak to the great and enlightened Commonwealth on a question of Human Rights and Civil Liberty.

I confess, Sir, that I have earnestly desired not to mingle in the popular discussions of the measures of the last Congress. The issue necessarily involves the claims of their advocates and adversaries in the public confidence and favor of the country. Some of these advocates have entered the arena of strife, originating those from whom they have differed, while others have endeavored, by extraordinary means, either to control discussion, or to anticipate it altogether, and thus they have shown themselves disqualified, by prejudice or interest, for trusting their impartiality and candor which the occasion demanded. I am unwilling even to seem to imply, by referring arguments already before the public, either any distrust of the position of those with whom I stood in Congress, or impatience for that favorable popular verdict which I believe to be near, and know to be ultimately certain.

Nevertheless, there can be no impropriety in my declaring, when thus questioned, the opinions which will govern my vote on any occasion when the Fugitive Slave Law shall come up for review in the National Legislature. I think the act singularly unwise, because it is an attempt by a purely federative government to extend the economy of slave States throughout States which repudiate slavery as a moral, social and political evil. Any despotic government could awake sedition from the profoundest numbers by such an attempt. The attempt, by this government, has aroused nonconformist resistance, which will not cease until the effort shall be relinquished. He who teaches other faith than this, whether self-deceived or not, misleads. I think also that the attempt was unnecessary; that political ends, merely political ends, and not real crisis resulting from the escape of slaves, constituted the prevailing motives to its enactment. I think also that the details of the measure are indefensible; that the denial to the alleged fugitive of a trial of his alleged obligation to labor, and of his escape, claim by a court, and nothing less than a court of justice constitutionally organized, and proceeding according to the course of common law, in the State where he is claimed, is subversive of the Constitution; that the rules of evidence which the law prescribes are oppressive of the weak and defenceless; and that Christendom might be searched in vain for a parallel to the provisions which make escape from bondage a crime; that the retroactive in its effect, and without limitations of time to resist the presumption of freedom, which, under rigorous penalties, compel freemen to aid in the capture of slaves, and which offer unmistakable inducements to false claims and false judgments. Finally, whatever changes of opinion others may have undergone, I retain my earliest convictions that the constitutional provision on which the law purports to be founded, is merely a compact between the States, and that the Congress of the United States have no jurisdiction on the subject.

Nor is the law which is so obnoxious in itself commended to my favor by its connection with what are called the other measures of compromise. Compromise implies a mingling of truth and error, right and wrong. One of those affiliated measures provided the admission of New Mexico, because she had determined to come as a free State, and remanded her to slavery in the jubilee of slavery. Another distinctly intimated to the Mormons that they should, if they could, plant a slave State in the very presence of the continent. A third abolished a public slave mart in the city of Washington, without abating either the extent or the duration of slavery in the District of Columbia. A fourth abolished a peace on humiliating terms from one of the youngest and feebler members of the Confederacy in an attitude of sedition; while a fifth only reluctantly admitted California as a free State, when she had refused to contaminate herself with slavery. Each of these measures has superfluous merit to be received in extenuation of the Fugitive Slave Law? But we are told, that had any these measures were, they were the best that could be obtained. On the contrary, there were always votes enough in the Senate for the admission of California. The thirty-first Congress might have admitted her, and left the other questions to another Congress, which, instructed by the people, might have done better, and certainly could not have done worse.

Nor do I find the Fugitive Slave Law growing in my favor on the ground of the already falsified promise of an end of the agitation of slavery in the public mind. An agitation which, whether beneficial or otherwise, is as inseparable from our political organization, as the winds and the clouds are from the atmosphere that encircles the earth.

I have weighed, moreover, the argument that some portion of the people in some of the States have made the perpetuity of the Fugitive Slave Law a condition of new declarations of Loyalty to the Union; that Loyalty is a duty resulting from the Constitution, and inequally due whether the measures of administration are satisfactory or unsatisfactory. I regret that any thing should have been given to encourage a belief that loyalty could be accepted on conditions, especially on the condition of forbearing to repeal a repealable Statute. But since it is so, I can only say that no one more desirous to secure action of the government been, as it seems to us, so unjustly, as the Union for richer, or poorer—for better, for worse—whether in a majority or in a minority, whether in power or powerless—without condition, reservation, qualification, or limitation, forever and ever; that we are in the Union, not because we so prefer it to all its administration, but whether satisfied or not; not at all by means of compromises or understandings, but by virtue of the Constitution, and that all other parties are in the Union on the same terms, for the same terms, and by virtue of the same obligations; that they will find their case to be, when they offer to plead violations of extra constitutional conditions to justify secession. Whatever is irreparable in any of the acts of the last Congress, no one will be loyal enough to attempt to repeal. Whatever is irreparable in those acts, and whatever shall be repealable in future acts of Congress, whether it favor Freedom or Slavery, no matter under what circumstances, nor with what authorities, nor with what securities it may have been adopted, must abide the trial of experience, of reason, and of truth. It is only in this way that the Constitution can be maintained, and the Union can be saved. The security consists in its adaptation to the physical and moral necessities of the broad and ever-extending empire which it protects and defends, and in the facility with which, without violence or undue change, errors of administration can be corrected and exigencies can be met. So that the State, free or slave, under which may at any time be least favored, will be at all times safe under this government, when worst administered, than it would be under any other, however wisely constituted, or favorably administered.

I think, my dear Sir, that all this is virtually confessed now by those who, while they see that their hopes of a settlement by that suppression of free debate which they thought would be the safety of the Union have failed, nevertheless admit that the Union is no longer in danger. And therefore I think we may at least congratulate ourselves on the discovery, that we need not now grant extra constitutional compromises concessory, but that the Union is secure in its stability enough to endure, notwithstanding that such compromises, under the influence of no unwise legislative distrust, are sometimes unnecessarily and unsatisfactorily granted.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
Your humble servant,
WM. H. SEWARD.

John A. Andrew, Esq., Secretary of the Committee to call a Convention of the People of Massachusetts on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, Boston.

Dr. Bushnell's Fast Day Sermon. On Fast Day, Dr. Bushnell preached an admirable discourse—one of his admirable discourses, and most people will understand what that means. We hope it will be published. The topic was the Genius, or the Increase of the Nation. We will not undertake to give a sketch of this discourse. In the course of it, in thoroughly denounced the Fugitive Slave Act. He said that when there are on men to disobey wicked laws, there will probably be no laws worth having, and that the argument that the Fugitive Law must be respected and kept because it is a law of the land is more despicable and abhorrent than the law itself.—*Hartford Republican.*

SPEECH OF REV. JOHN L. BENTOUL,

AT THE

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING

Held in the Donegall Place Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Church, Belfast, Ireland, February 5th, 1851.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND CHRISTIAN FRIENDS:

I have come up from Bellymoney, to attend this meeting, for several reasons: one is, that I may enjoy to the last moment the society of my *black* but *beloved* brother, Mr. Garnet; another is, that I may comfort him in his journeyings in a strange land, cheer him in his struggles for liberty, and when we must part, bid him 'God speed.' But, sir, I have another and still more important object in coming to this meeting—that I may show what side I am on—(cheers)—and that I may cast my lot and take my part with the Anti-Slavery Society of this town.—Since I came to Belfast, I have been engaged in committees devising ways and means to free the people of this unfortunate country from the slavery of drunkenness—(cheers)—and of late months, as some of you are aware, I have often been off the public platform, pleading for my oppressed and down-trodden countrymen, without distinction of sect or party—(great cheers)—and I would consider it very inconsistent on my part to look on in cold indifference, and stifle my voice from advocating the claims of the poor *black* slave in the far West—(cheers.) Sir, there is a luxury again in striving to do good to our fellow men; and one of the safest and noblest positions any man can take is on the side of liberty—to plead the cause of afflicted humanity, and to lift one's voice, however feeble, against tyranny and oppression all the world over—(cheers.) I am not come to this meeting prepared to make a speech (go on); you have so many lights in Belfast that plain men like myself, when coming from the country, scarce ever expect the honor of being permitted to appear before a Belfast audience (great laughter.) And when looking forward to this meeting, I just said to myself, 'I need not prepare a speech, because there will be so many of the Belfast lights on the platform that my humble services will not be required.' But I find that Belfast is very often, of late, in a *mist*, and I strongly suspect that many of its lights at present are suffering an *eclipse*; but as our beloved Queen, in her late speech, has spoken of slavery as an 'atrocious system,' I venture to hope that the eclipse will be but a *partial* one, that the present darkness will soon pass away, and the *greater* and *smaller* lights of Belfast will soon shine forth in all their native lustre. (Great laughter and cheering.)

As my beloved brother, Mr. Garnet, has referred in his speech to certain observations that have been made respecting him; one as to his being *too violent*—and ye he has stated that these observations have been made within these few days, I am most anxious to remove from your minds any suspicions that such things were said in Ballymoney (cheers.) I feel concerned for the character of my town, so distinguished for its love of civil and religious liberty, and I am proud to tell you that such things were not said *on our side* of the town of Belfast, and that you must look out *among yourselves* for the persons who said so. The fact is, Belfast has gained the peculiar distinction of the place where strange things are said, and still stranger things are done (cheers.) And I am happy to tell you that we are not so ready as you may think, to take our creed from Belfast, or endorse its strange proceedings (great cheering.)

Having said so much respecting Belfast, you will permit me to say that the visit of Mr. Garnet to Ballymoney was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm—several gentlemen greeted him on his arrival, with an Irish welcome (cheers.) On the Sabbath, he preached twice in my church to crowded and delighted congregations; on the evening of the Sabbath, we had to admit by ticket, at sixpence each. On Monday evening, we entertained him at a soiree, when near 600 persons sat down to tea. Ten Presbyterian ministers were present to give him the right hand of fellowship [great cheering]; resolutions condemnatory of slavery and slaveholders, and expressing the deepest sympathy with Mr. Garnet and his family, were unanimously passed; and I believe that if any one had brought forward a motion to the effect that the '*cat-o'-nine-tails*' be applied to the back of every slaveholder and man-stealer in America (not even excepting the clergy), it would have passed with the most perfect unanimity. In fact, I never witnessed greater enthusiasm; and, I can assure you that no living man would in hailed with greater delight in Ballymoney, could he return, than Mr. Garnet [cheers]. And you will permit me here to say, in passing, that it is my decided opinion, that we should lay hold on Mr. Garnet, and retain him in this country [laughter]—that we should send for his family and bring them away from the land of *blood and bondage*, and find them a home in the land of the free [cheers]. This would be a labor of love, perfectly worthy of the ladies of this country: for there is a chord in woman's heart that, however slightly touched, will always respond to sympathy for the *afflicted* and *despised* [cheers]. And if it so happen, in the good providence of God, that Mr. Garnet and his family will visit this little isle of our own, he may rest assured that my house, though *humble*, is the *abode of the free* [cheers]; and that none shall be received by us with greater joy than the *little black boy Jimmy*, and the wooly-haired Mary, of whom he so often speaks with the yearnings of a father's heart [great cheering.]

Having said so much, I would gladly refer to the resolution now before the house, and, so far as I can catch its spirit by hearing it read, it respects two classes of men in America, and, while it asks *sympathy* for those ministers and churches that detest slavery, it requests *excommunication* for slaveholders. It is delightful to know that there are churches in America that denounce slavery, and to them we look with pleasure; it is refreshing to rest the eye on some green spot, after it has been fatigued with looking over a barren wilderness; and it is one comfort to know that there are ministers and churches in the far west who hate slavery with a bitter hatred. To this noble band of men, whose hearts the Lord hath touched, we owe our sympathy and our prayers; and every man who is not prepared to sympathise with them should be looked upon as an enemy in disguise. [Hear, hear.] It will not do for men to lie back on some *flimsy pretext*; and because some strong-headed men, like Mr. Nelson, or some out-spoken men, like myself, may speak in such a way as to offend ears polite, it will not do, I say, for men to keep silent when the iron is entering the very souls of millions of our fellow beings.—[Cheers.] Our duty towards these faithful churches is clearly pointed out in the word of God. You all remember that when the people of Gon went out to fight with their enemies, it so happened that when Moses held up his hand, Israel prevailed, but when his hands were heavy, Amalek prevailed; and that when the destiny of Israel hung suspended in the balance, Aaron and Hur took a stone, and set Moses upon it, and then they stood, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side, until the going down of the sun, and that day Israel smote their enemies with the edge of the sword. Our duty is to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and I envy not the man neither his *head* or his *heart*, who can look on in cold indifference on such a glorious struggle for freedom. [Cheers.]

But there is another class of persons referred to in that resolution, and it grieves me to think that there are such men in the world—men to buy and *sell* their fellow men; and especially am I grieved for their own sakes, when I read in the Bible that 'They shall have judgment without mercy who show no mercy.' But before I go up to these men, I wish in passing to stop at the half-way house, and pay my respects to a certain class of men who are always striving to apologise for slavery, and to soften the fall of the slaveholder. I do not know what you would call them in a polite place like Belfast, but I call them *time-servers*—go-between, who blow hot and cold at the same time. They are a class of men whom I would only *one* wait to say, 'Save us from our friends, and we will take care of our enemies.' But now, with respect to these slaveholding characters, I must say that I am very slow indeed to regard them as the servants of Him of whom it was predicted—'That He would bind up the broken-hearted, proclaim liberty to the captives, and open the prison door to them that are bound.' I rather think that they belong to that class of whom the Son of Man spoke—'Who devour widow's houses and for a pretense make long prayers:' or, of whom He said—'That they enter not in by the door, but climb up some other way; these are the thieves and robbers.' Perhaps you are disposed to ask me if I would admit a slaveholder into my pulpit? I say at once that I *would not*—[cheers]—and for this, reason, among others, because I believe that he would be unfit to preach the Gospel of a *free salvation* to my people. How could he—how dare he speak to men on such passages as the following: 'Turn to your stronghold, ye prisoners of hope;' 'As streams of water in the south, our bondage, Lord, recall;' 'Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made his people free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage;' 'He is a freeman whom the truth makes free.' But you may ask me if I would preach in the pulpit of a slaveholder? I never wish to hear men boast of what they would do when there is no danger near, and especially would I speak with caution when I think of the human frailty that has been displayed on this point: but this I will say, that rather than go into the slave States of America, and occupy the pulpits of slaveholders, and take the *hush-money*—and, perhaps, on the following day, walk out to see the slaves and hear them praised as *fat* and *happy*—I would preach the Gospel under the blue-sky; and rather than live a manse built from such a source, I would take up my abode either in the cheerless garret of the large city, or in the half-built hovel of the country. [Chorus.] But still the question turns up, what would you do with slaveholding ministers and churches? Did I want to shift the question, I might say that I would hand them over to the tender mercies of my friend, Mr. Nelson; but I do not wish to blink the question; and I am here to say that I would deal with them as with all other *open* and *daring* violators of the law of God [hear, hear.] Sir, I stand here to table this charge against them, and I am prepared to prove it, that these slaveholders are violating every precept of the law of God that man owes to his fellow man. The 5th precept of the moral law respects the duties of children and parents—and yet these men will set up for sale whole families, and separate them among the highest bidders, never again to meet. The 6th precept forbids the taking of human life; and yet it must be known to many of you that about 150,000 of poor slaves are stolen yearly from the coast of Africa. The 7th commandment forbids impurity; and yet I have lately seen an account of two fine young girls sold for—*modesty forbids me to mention*. Now, with respect to all such persons, I would just say: By all means strive to bring them to repentance, but as an evidence of the sincerity of their repentance, I would require them to set their slaves at liberty, and if they would not turn to the Lord by repentance, I would say of them, 'They are joined to their idols—let them alone.' Before I sit down you will permit me to say, that I believe Mr. Nelson has been right on the subject of slavery, and that God's some may say that he has not the best way of doing things, he has with him oh *this*, and other points, the sympathy of young ministers and the people of our church. [cheers.] There is a duty which we owe ourselves, as churches, on the subject of slavery. Peace is very desirable, and I am prepared to say—'Grace be to all them who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity?' but after all, peace, like gold, may be bought too costly. And I fear that by communion with slaveholding churches is too dear, if it have in it the blood of the slave. I have detained you too long, but you will permit me to say that slavery is a disgrace to humanity, dishonoring to Christianity, rending religion in the house of its friends, and must be an abomination in the sight of Gun [cheers.] Let no man speak of impossibilities in the emancipation of the slave—there is nothing impossible with Gon; and though there may be hindrances, but there can be no insurmountable barrier in the way of Christian duty. Go and see the deliverance of the enslaved from Egypt by Moses and Aaron—see the Red Sea open before them, and the slaveholders sink in its waters.—[Cheers.]

☞ Rev. Dr. Bethune, a clerical wind-bag of portly dimensions, in a speech at the recent festival of the National Academy of Design, blew a blast in behalf of the 'glorious Union,' which, though wholly inappropriate to the occasion, greatly delighted the heart of Cotton.

☞ The speech above is well worth reading.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1851.

Liberty Party Nominations.

FOR PRESIDENT.

GERRIT SMITH,

OF NEW, YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

SAMUEL R. WARD,

OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CLOSE OF VOLUME II.

This number of the Citizen will close the Second Volume. Were we to consult our own ease and personal happiness, it would close, at once and forever, our connection with this, and every other, department of public labor. But many persons subscribed for the paper and paid in advance, less than a year ago: such persons have legal claims upon us, that we feel disposed to meet, like a man. Some of them have, through delinquencies, the responsibility of which we must assume, been irregularly served with the paper. Others have not received it at all: Others still have borne patiently with all the faults connected with the matter, in a spirit to us every way agreeable.

We now offer a word of explanation to all.

The second volume should have closed in March. Why didn't it? The want of money, is the answer. Sore, pressing, helpless poverty caused one or two temporary suspensions. Money makes the mare go, some say. About that we are not very certain. But we are certain that the press won't *without* money. Some of our subscribers have so neglected us, that what has been received at the office is less than enough to pay the week's expenses. We have been obliged, therefore, to leave our office, and seek funds to pay the printer, and to support our family, to boot. A little disappointment would make a deficit, and then, not having any funds to rely upon, suspension was the inevitable consequence. How could it be otherwise? We are most miserably poor. We have no backers. We have no dependence but on our toil. The Anti-Slavery papers of the day, with the exception of the *North Star*, are edited by salaried men, and established by funds abundant. Our paper has no regular patron, but Gerrit Smith, who gives it, for a limited period, two hundred dollars a year: and doing its existence, it has received but one hundred and twenty-seven dollars by fairs, or other efforts—thirty-seven dollars from the Syracuse fair, in 1849, and ninety dollars from the recent fair in Philadelphia. The editor has to live independently of the subscription list, or—not live at all.

Besides, we confided our business in Boston to a young man whom the Colonizationists are aiding to obtain a medical education. We will try to carry the patience of our readers with a long story about him, but we will say, that if he serves Colonization no more faithfully than he has served us, the Colony of Liberia will never be very prosperous in his hands, our will it receive a *very high* commendation to the black people, from his character. But for the shameless demeanor of this Mr. Daniel Laing, Jr., we should have been able, ere now, to have remedied many of the defects, and predict a much more glorious career for our little sheet. It will take us some months, if not the whole of the forthcoming year, to get over Mr. Laing's mal-administration of our affairs.

But, after all, we have got through the volume. We have now some 1900 subscribers on our list. We have an honest, faithful man, in the person of Mr. J. W. REMBLER, as our Junior. We shall be able to pay more personal attention to our own affairs. We hope to be able to issue regularly, and every subscriber who pays shall receive 52 numbers of the Citizen. If all who owe us will pay us at once, we can pay our debt to our patient printers, some one hundred and fifty dollars, and we can devote our time to the paper wholly. We exercise the most rigid economy in respect to our personal, family, and office expenses. And it only needs, after all we have been obliged to encounter, that those owing us should pay at once,—surely we have waited and suffered long enough,—and, poor as we are, we can pledge the continuance, permanence, and regularity of the paper. We shall immediately send bills to all who owe us, and we shall call in person on some, when convenient. We desire, most earnestly, that *all who owe* will give evidence of their practical understanding of what bills are sent for.

It will be seen that the time of each subscriber is extended in consequence of the suspensions. Those who have suffered through our clerk will only be charged from and after this date.

DEFERRED ARTICLES.

We spent the middle and latter part of March in attending Chaplin meetings in Madison county, N. Y. Eleven years ago we resided in that county. It is sad to see how little progress such a lapse of time has made, upon the whole, in that county. But, after all, there is encouragement. At Hamilton, Madison, Georgetown, Eaton, Cazenovia, De Ruyter and Morrisville, we saw many of our old friends and coadjutors. But one defection and another had left but too few to defend the cause, considering the money and talent that have been bestowed upon that county. There was less lack of intelligence, however, than of honesty, in that county. The Whigs and the Democrats, Hunkers and Silver Grays' included, know their duty to God and the slave, but they lack the honesty to act accordingly. That's the trouble. Poor sinners! how some of them did writhe and squirm under Chaplin's scathing rebukes! Many of them were obliged to feel self-condemnation for the vile treatment Chaplin had received. But for them and their abominable parties, slavery would have been a bolished in the District of Columbia, and the imprisonment of Drayton, Sayre and Chaplin would never have been perpetrated.

We went into Augusta and Vernon, in Oneida county. Our old friend S. S. Bradford presided over the Sherburne meeting. Every where we went we found the influence of the National Era against Chaplin. The fact that Dr. Bailey turned a cold shoulder upon Chaplin while he was in prison, and the writing of that miserably cold-blooded article at the time, and the still worse Lynafield explanation, has tinctured many minds with a considerable degree of BAILEYISHNESS towards Chaplin. How we do wish that Dr. Bailey could made the fortune he is realizing with his paper, accommodating it to the tastes of Southernors, without doing mischief at the North! He is welcome to his immense list, to his great fame, and to his rapidly accumulating fortune; but he is not welcome to the acquisition of them by the dissemination of such sentiments as are his in respect to Chaplin. The Evening Post, the Tribune, and such papers, do incalculably less injury to our cause, because they are honest enough to own for themselves, and their friends for them, that they are out abolition papers. But Dr. Bailey's paper, though not a whit more anti-slavery, is constantly looked upon and treated and defended as an abolition paper, by *some folks*. And yet you can scarcely find a Northern abolitionist whose anti-slavery is not weakened and diluted by it; while you can find hundreds who are but too successfully taught by it to vote for the most bitter negro-hater in the land.

While our hand is in, we will just say, that the negrophobia article in a recent number of the Era (wherein the Doctor shows his heart to be just what several black men, who know him personally, taught us to expect, and what, indeed, his whole course towards black men has made abundantly plain) is full justification for what we now say, and for what we so offensively said in the Cincinnati Convention. In the article referred to, Dr. Bailey takes especial pains to say that he should differ not at all with the advocate in respect to the introduction of the black people into this country, were this population not here, and when this question now to be mooted. To say nothing of the taste of a descendant of a foreigner in putting on airs of this sort, it is pestilently too bad for us poor blacks, who are at the most but nominally free, and on more free because of this selfish feeling against us,—a feeling which the life and pen of Dr. Bailey does little or nothing to rebuke,—it is too bad, we say, that we should be obliged to have this expression of a professed abolitionist flouted in our faces. But it may be that there is some consolation in seeing Dr. Bailey show his true colors. He makes his paper more popular by such remarks, and we doubt not that all of that class of pseudo-abolitionists who mean him their oracle will welcome the cow light, and aid in spreading it. God save us from our friends!

CINCINNATI CONVENTION, &c.

About the middle of last month, we took a very hasty journey to Cincinnati, via Buffalo, Cleveland and Columbus. We had no time to stop at Buffalo, but we met a few of our friends at the boat we were about to leave. A most agreeable passage did we have upon the beautiful steamer America: except that we ran aground off Erie Bay, and lay some six hours nidonious. The Captain, Steward, Clerk, hands, and our friend Leach, the barber, all treated us in the very best manner that the officers of an American boat can consistently with their duties, you understand us.

Arriving at Cleveland, we put up at the Dunham House, where we received a sort of tolerably considerably, kind of decentish treatment, and that is about as much as we can say. We called and left our card at the office of our old friend and preceptor, Dr. C. D. Williams, Professor in, and Dean of, the very flourishing Homœopathic College. The good Doctor protested against our ever going to a public house while in Cleveland. As we used to obey him when he directed our medical studies years ago, so we shall keep his instructions in this matter, and the more readily as Mrs. Williams most cordially united with the Dr. in the injunction. The next time we go to Cleveland, we shall know on which side our bread is buttered.

We were in Cleveland on Sabbath, and attended the meeting of the black Methodists. The preacher was a man of more then ordinary intelligence, and his acquaintance with the Scriptures quite respectable. The congregation compared favorably with congregations of our people elsewhere.

The next day, the 14th of April, we stopped some few hours at Columbus, the Capital. We called on the Editor of the Journal, and found him an agreeable gentleman, as you know, dear readers, Editors quite often are. We found, also, that many of our people in that city are in good comfortable circumstances, some of them owning several houses, and many of them living in their castles. Considering the abominable meanness of Ohio towards her black citizens, we could but regard this as reflecting very great honor on our brothers. Making but few acquaintances here, we hurried onwards to Cincinnati, where we arrived on the morning of the 15th finding a hearty welcome at the fireside of the slave's constant friend, Levi Coffin.

The black people of Cincinnati are in advance of all others we know of in enterprise and wealth. Mr. S. T. Wilcox owes a four story brick house, in which he keeps one of the very first class of grocery stores; containing stock to the amount of eight thousand dollars. He owns a large amount of real estate. Mr. Jackson is reputed to be worth some fifty thousand dollars, and, ladies, he is a bachelor! Mr. Ball is one of the best Daguerrean artists in the Buckeye State; and the Hotel Dumas, kept by Delany & Co., compares, for table, furniture, and, we are sorry to add, *bar*, with any establishment of the sort we know of among our people. Mr. Delany made us his guest during our sojourn. Now, the names of the gentlemen referred to are upon our subscription list, where we hope to enroll 500 more during this blessed year.

Well; the Convention was well attended, the falsehoods of the pro-slavery papers of this city and Philadelphia Ledger to the contrary notwithstanding. But it was in vain that we looked for some of the old abolitionists in the Convention. The Convention was called by women; that was enough to keep some away. Cassius M. Clay was there, however, during one of the evening sessions. A more gentlemanly, self-sacrificing reformer does not live in the Southwest than Cassius M. Clay.

The Convention lasted three days and four evenings. Deep, radical and thorough were the resolutions and the discussions. We were obliged to do our full share of the talking. Very grateful are we for the kindness and hospitality of our Cincinnati friends.

We returned to Philadelphia via New York and Buffalo in time to attend the fair, whereof we shall speak in Vol. 3, No. 1.

H. H. GARNET IN IRELAND.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Belfast Anti-Slavery Society.

The Rev. H. H. Garnet arrived in Belfast, from Whitehaven, January 14th, 1851, and next day addressed the children of Frederick street Ragged School, the first established in Ireland.

Saturday, 18th. He addressed the 'Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association,' and pressed on them to take up the Free Labor cause, as a great means of assisting the abolition of slavery.

Sunday, 19th. He preached in the morning in the Presbyterian Church, Donegal street, when a collection was taken up for the Presbyterian Home Mission. In the evening, he preached in the Independent Chapel. Both sermons were excellent and seemed to make a deep impression on the hearers. The churches were so crowded that great numbers of persons were unable to obtain admission.

Tuesday, 21st. A public meeting was held in the Presbyterian Church, Donegal street. The Rev. Wm. O'Hanlon (Independent), presiding. The Rev. Mr. Garnet's speech was one of great eloquence and feeling, and occupied an hour and a half in delivery. The meeting was also addressed by the Rev. Isaac Nelson, (pastor of the church,) the Rev. Wm. Johnson, (Presbyterian,) the Rev. Dr. Drew, (Episcopalian,) and Mr. Standfield, one of the honorary Secretaries of the Anti-Slavery Society. A resolution was unanimously passed, denouncing the infamous '*Fugitive Slave Law*,' recently enacted in the United States of America. The church was crowded to excess.

Wednesday, 22d. Mr. G. addressed some of the Rev. Dr. Morgan's congregation, with several others, in the Presbyterian church, Linen Hall street, on the moral and religious state of the slaves in the United States, and how, by the American Laws, they were debarred the use of the Bible, and interdicted by their masters from acquiring such education as free men obtain.

Thursday evening, 23d. A public meeting was held in one of the Presbyterian Churches, in the town of Ballymena, 24 miles from Belfast, and, though notice of it was but brief, a large assembly attended. The Rev. Dr. Dobbin (Presbyterian) presided, and made an excellent speech. He dwelt on the sin and folly of the prejudice against color, which exists in America, and stated that some of the most distinguished Bishops of the Primitive Christian Church were black men. Mr. Standfield, in a brief speech, showed the great moral influence which this country had with our friends on the other side of the Atlantic, and introduced the Rev. H. H. Garnet to the meeting. The reverend gentleman spoke at great length on American slavery, and the infamous '*Fugitive Slave Law*;' and pointed out the duty of every friend of the bondman, to abstain as much as possible from using articles produced by slave labor. He concluded his eloquent speech with reciting the poem of 'The Blind Slave Boy.' The Rev. Dr. Houston, (Covenanter,) in strong and forcible language moved a resolution denouncing the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Moore, pastor of the church. He expressed the pleasure he felt when listening to the thrilling and eloquent speech of his brother, Mr. Garnet, and said it would be worth while to travel fifty miles to hear him recite 'The Blind Slave Boy.' The audience were much delighted with the entire proceedings, and many expressed a wish that Mr. Garnet would again visit Ballymena. Anti-slavery tracts were gratuitously distributed at the conclusion of the meeting.

Friday evening, Jan. 24th. A public meeting was held in the Presbyterian church, Townsend street, Belfast. The Rev. Wm. Johnson, the pastor, presided. Mr. Garnet spoke upwards of an hour and a half, on 'the relation which the Churches of America bear to Slavery.' He explained how the Churches, with some honorable exceptions, were the upholders of slavery in America. The meeting was also addressed by the Chairman, and by the Rev. I. Nelson, and the Rev. Dr. Murphy, (Presbyterian,) and Mr. Standfield. A resolution was unanimously passed, deploring the inconsistent conduct of professing Christian ministers and laymen, in upholding an iniquitous system, so contrary to the precepts and spirit of the Gospel. Mr. J. B. Ferguson, an Elder of the Presbyterian Church, explained to the meeting the principles of 'The Belfast Anti-Slavery Society'—to do all in their power, by religious, moral, and pacific means, for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, and their motto is, and ever has been, '*No fellowship with the slaveholders*.' The vast assembly, which amounted to at least 1400 persons, the church being crowded to excess, responded by long and loud cheers to Mr. Ferguson's announcement.

Sunday, 26th. Mr. Garnet preached in the Primitive Wesleyan Church, in Donegal Place, in aid of the funds of another Methodist congregation; and in the evening, in the Presbyterian Church, College Square North, when a collection was taken up for the Presbyterian Home Mission. Many were disappointed in not getting admittance, as the church was completely filled. Between the sermons, Mr. Garnet addressed the following Presbyterian Sabbath Schools: Fisherwick Place, Alfred street and Alfred Place. The number of children was about 1500.

Monday, 27th. Mr. G. visited 'The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind,' accompanied by Mr. Calder, one of the honorary secretaries of the Anti-Slavery Society, and expressed the pleasure he felt at the great proficiency of the pupils and the great care taken of those unfortunates by their kind instructor, the Rev. John Martin. Mr. G. asked a deaf and dumb boy what he thought a slave was? He immediately wrote on a board, '*A slave is one who is whipped and made to work without wages*.'

Tuesday evening, 28th. A public meeting was held in the largest Presbyterian Church in the town of Newtownards, 8 miles from Belfast, and upwards of 2000 persons were present from the town and neighborhood. The chair was taken by the Rev. Julius

M'Cullough, the pastor, who delivered an eloquent and uncompromising speech on the infamous system of American slavery, which,to the disgrace of Christianity,is upheld by professing ministers and laymen in that guilty land. Mr. Standfield explained the nature and object of Mr. Carnet's visit to Great Britain and Ireland, and introduced that gentleman to the audience. Mr. G. spoke at great length, with his wonted eloquence. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:

'That this meeting deplores that the iniquitous system of slavery continues to prevail in the Southern portion of the United States of America, and that its horrors are greatly aggravated by the Fugitive Slave Law, lately enacted by the American Congress, which dooms again to bondage many who long since fled from the oppressor, and now enjoy the blessings of liberty in the Free States.'

'That this meeting deeply laments that ministers of the Gospel and office-bearers of the Church are proprietors of slaves in the Southern States of America, to the disgrace of the Christian religion.'

'That it is a matter of notoriety,'that ministers of various Churches in the Northern States of America, (where slavery is precluded by law,) uphold the system by sitting in Ecclesiastical Courts with slaveholders; therefore, Resolved, That it is the deliberate opinion of this meeting, that it is the boundden duty of all Christian Churches to hold no fellowship with any Church admitting slaveholders to their communion.'

Each of the speakers forcibly exposed the various subterfuges of the Americans in still clinging to the unrighteous system of slavery, and the repeated cheers clearly evinced how much the audience sympathized with the sentiments.

Thursday evening, Jan. 30th. A public meeting was held in the Rosemary st. Presbyterian church, Belfast. Mr. Garnet occupied the pulpit, and after reading a chapter of the Prophecies, and prayer, addressed the audience for two hours. He spoke of the inconsistency of the emigrant from Ireland to America becoming slaveholders, or apologists for the system, after being declaimers against every species of slavery and oppression in their native land. He also exposed the unworthy conduct of *professing* Christian ministers in America, either in holding slaves themselves, or doing everything in their power to prevent others being attached to those who uphold that system of injustice and cruelty. It is thought the people forming the Rosemary street congregation will never again tolerate the Rev. Dr. Cox, of New York, or any other pro-slavery minister from America, in occupying the pulpit.

Monday, Feb. 3d. In consequence of a pressing invitation from the Rev. J. L. Rentoul, (Presbyterian,) of Ballymoney, 37 miles from Belfast, Mr. Garnet preached in his church, morning and evening, in aid of the funds of that congregation. The collection amounted to £50.

Monday, 3d. Mr. Garnet was entertained at a soiree, when 600 persons partook of tea, &c. Spirited resolutions were unanimously passed, denouncing American slavery and all its supporters. Ten Presbyterian Ministers were present, and took an active part in the proceedings. As usual on every occasion when Mr. Garnet addressed an assembly, he advocated the necessity of abstaining as much as possible from using goods produced by slave labor, and directed his hearers how articles can be obtained uncontaminated with the blood of the slave.

Wednesday, Feb. 5th. A public meeting was held in the Primitive Methodist church, Donegal Place. The Rev. Thomas McFaun, the pastor, presided.—Before Mr. Garnet spoke, he requested an extract read from the Thanksgiving sermon of the Rev. Dr. Spring, published in the *N. Y. Herald*, in which he stated that if one prayer would emancipate all the slaves in America, he would not utter it, as it would be in opposition to the mind of God, who had fixed a brand upon the negro for 4000 years.

Mr. Garnet having eloquently addressed the meeting, exposing the subterfuges and shifts of the pro-slavery ministers in America, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

1st. Resolved, 'That it is the deliberate opinion of this meeting, that the atrocious system of slavery will never be destroyed in the United States until the churches do their duty. We hereby express our sympathy with various sections of the Christian Church, which have entirely separated from Christian communion with slaveholders and their abettors, and our solemn exhortation to the various churches of Great Britain and Ireland to encourage the hearts and sustain the hands of their sister churches in the United States, by asserting the principle of no communion with slaveholders.'

2d. 'That as, in the judgment of this meeting, the institution of slavery is one of the greatest obstacles to missionary enterprise, and as the American Board of Foreign Missions leave their agents at liberty to admit polygamists and slaveholders into their churches in heathen lands, we desire to present our warmest congratulations on the success with which a gracious Providence has blessed the efforts of 'The American Missionary Association,' which sends forth no heralds of the Cross among the heathen, but such as are pledged to bear witness against slavery wherever it prevails.'

3d. 'That believing, as they do, that, next to the action of the churches for the overthrow of slavery, the alleviating from the use of the products of slave labor is of the greatest importance, it is encouraging to know that since the Rev. Henry H. Garnet came to England, he has formed nearly twenty free labor associations. Merchants and traders can be supplied with goods uncontaminated with the blood of the slave, from houses in London and Manchester.'

4th. 'That we consider the unparalleled atrocities of the present African slave trade as mainly to be attributed to the bad faith of the Governments of Spain and Brazil in not fulfilling their treaties with Great Britain—treaties solemnly made, and for which they received the enormous sum of thirteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; and desiring to press this subject earnestly on the attention of Her Majesty's Government, we adopt the following petition to Parliament for the enforcement of the fulfilment of said treaties.'

(Signed) THOMAS M'FANN, Chairman.

Mr. Garnet having received a pressing invitation from some anti-slavery friends in Dublin, left Belfast on Friday morning, Feb. 7th, and spoke the same evening at a large public meeting in the Rotunda of that city. (Signed)

JAMES STANDFIELD, } Honorary Secretaries of the
F. A. CALDER, } Belfast Anti-Slavery Society.

Belfast, Ireland, Feb. 25th, 1851.

MARTIN LUTHER ON LAW.

'If one or the other must perish—perish law, and reign Christ.'

'You are going against the imperial law,' cry these fellows—[the lawyers.] I care not a straw for any law that does wrong to the poor.'—*Michelet, pp. 301, 303.*

HARD FOR THEM TO DISCERN THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

'Whoever has studied the effect which the Fugitive Slave Law has had upon the various classes of persons in this country, must have been enabled, through it, to learn the characters of men, as they could hardly have been learned in any other way. Of all classes which have thus made a revelation of themselves, none have presented more astounding illustrations of the doctrine of 'human depravity,' than those who have been installed as the illustrators, teachers and defenders of truth and piety. While Drs. Cox, Kreps and Spring, and a few others, have achieved their 'bad pre-eminence,' some of the religious editors have toiled faithfully in the same ignoble cause, and made a revelation of themselves equally abhorrent, not only to all the principles of justice, but to all the sentiments of piety and love. Among these the New York Observer can certainly claim the palm.

In that paper for February 20th, 1851, in an editorial upon the 'Conscience,' after enlightening its readers with its teachings, designing to prove that the conscience can be perverted, presents the North as the field, and many in it as illustrations in proof of the doctrine, in the following manner:

'In our view, the conscionsns of many at the North are perverted in the matter of slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law. The Constitution of the United States requires that persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall be delivered up. This requirement of the Constitution met with opposition at the time of its adoption; and was never believed by any considerable number of religious men at the North to be morally wrong, until recently it has been proclaimed that the slave owes no service to his master; and as a consequence, that it is wrong to deliver up the fugitive. This doctrine finds no support in the Bible. It is an infidel doctrine; it is an emanation of the doctrine of the social compact, which derives the authority of human government and human laws, not from the will of God, but from the will of the governed. It may be that we are to be punished for the pride of our hearts, and our vain glorying by being given over to a perverted conscience in this matter.'

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the provisions by which fugitives from service were to be returned, he says, met with no opposition. How that proves that the provisions are either in harmony, as interpreted by the Fugitive Slave Bill, with the principles of truth and justice, or that the consciences of those who adopted it were, on that subject, either enlightened by reason or purified by Revelation, or were coincident with either, the editor does not attempt to show. Further thousandth time, he declares that the doctrine that the slave owes no service to the master finds no support in the Bible. How I—wish the editor and all who think with him on any of these points would prove that the slave is under a righteous obligation, according to the principles of eternal right, and according to the demands of God's revelation of his will to man, to yield 'service or labor' to the tyrant of the South. The truth is, that in consequence of the light which the anti-slavery discussions have thrown upon the great and fundamental rights of man, the consciences of thousands have been awakened and enlightened, and the vile character of slavery is seen and hated with a perfect hatred. The same effects are seen in the temperance reform, and in all the reforms which mark the progress and constitute the glory of the age. Owls may love darkness, and think that the eyes of the eagle are perverted because the noble bird thinks with Solomon, 'to see the sun is pleasant.'

Amid the discussions which are to agitate America on the subject of slavery, the consciences of all the people will be 'perverted,' until it gains strength to embody its power in such institutions, political and religious and social, as shall forever annihilate the whole system of slavery,—'*the vilest*,' said the venerable John Wesley, '*which the sun ever saw.*'

Hypocrites may read the face of the sky and fail to understand the signs of the times—nevertheless, the times present signs full of hope and encouragement, that 'truth is mighty and will prevail!'

'No weapon formed against the righteous shall prosper.' A. C. B.

New Haven, May 13th, 1851.

DR. TAYLOR, OF YALE COLLEGE.

Friend Ward:

Dear Sir!—In a recent number of your paper, I saw an extract of a speech of Dr. Taylor, of Yale College, delivered at a Union meeting in New Haven.

As I have a brother pursuing a collegiate course in that mammoth Yale, I feel some interest in understanding the instructions which are given there on moral subjects. In the meeting of citizens referred to, it is said, that the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College, being loudly called for, came forward to address the meeting, and it is added, that 'a death-like stillness prevailed.' And now, while millions of helpless victims are imploring sympathy and aid, what has the Rev. Doctor, as representative of the College, to offer? During his speech in favor of crushing the last hope of the fugitive, he says, as it were in a parenthesis, that he '*is sorry for the poor slaves.*' As well might the commander of a pirate ship, while butchering the entire crew which he has overpowered, exclaim, '*I pity you, poor creatures!*' Suppose a poor mother and daughter, escaping from one of the beastly masters in that Southern 'sink of pollution,' make their way to New Haven; the Theological Professor, true to his own popularity, and Southern despotism, seizes them, and hands them over to the tormentors, to be carried back and doomed to perpetual shame and degradation. Their heart-rending cries and shrieks are unavailing in his sight. 'O! I pity you,' says he, 'but then, in the light of the least of two evils, what is the prostitution of tens of thousands of mothers and daughters, when to condemn and discountenance these things, would divide the Church of Christ, and peril this glorious Union?'

This same Professor is out on all occasions, religious periodicals and pulpits, who will not adopt his bloody creed, and practice his merciless doctrine of devils and damnable heresies.' There may have been, as it is stated, profound silence when such a man was called forward for such base purposes, but there was a jubilee in Hell, and a death-wail through the whole line of those against whom the artillery was levelled. It may have been sport to the Doctor to be cheered by those who are pursuing with hot haste the innocent, yet bleeding victim; but it was death, most cruel death, to those who must weep and wail in consequence of such heartless teachers. My brother, I wonder not that you despair of hope for your long abused race, from the religion of this country, for this is a fair specimen of at least nine-tenths of all the doctors of law and gospel in the nineteenth century, as well as the teachers of theology. There are a few colleges and seminaries of learning, however, where God and humanity are welcomed, where the doctrines of 'peace on earth, and good will to men,' (to all men, not excepting black men and slaves) are proclaimed. But kidnappers, negro hunters and slaveholders, all in one blessed union, unite in the cry concerning those schools of humanity, 'Away with them, away with them!' 'Crucify them! Crucify them!'

I was once a student in a Theological Seminary where the same spirit of opposition to freedom, and friendship to slaveholders, (who were then connected with the institution,) wickedly ruled. A large proportion of the students associated in a peaceful society of inquiry on the subject of slavery, and were forced to disband on pain of exclusion. At the same time, other societies were tolerated and encouraged, which took into consideration the degradation and woes of other portions of mankind. This school has since divided into two opposing factions, but neither, as we have any evidence to believe, are willing to confess the wicked deed of killing and burying the first anti-slavery society organized within its walls. Both these schools, while they berate each other and clash in the most contradictory statements, unite in their hostility to the New York Central College, on account of its adherence to the principles of equal right and universal benevolence.

Again, my brother, hated as you are on account of your color and condition, as a people, you have nothing to expect from a majority, at least, of all the great so-called charitable organizations, for nothing will throw them into such agony and contortions as the mentioning of a poor forlorn slave;—they make no pretensions to regard your welfare, while on the other hand they publicly declare that they have nothing to do with you. Whenever the subject is introduced, they talk as if they would consider it as appropriate to consider the welfare of cattle and swine in their august assemblies.

You will remember that these doctors of the different denominations stand at the head and control all the popular organizations. See how the Southern tyrants have eulogized them for howling on the track of their defenceless females, who are flying to Canada for shelter from the brutal lust and wrath at man. Notice the praise given to such divines throughout the Southern States, for their pro-slavery Thanksgiving sermons, and all the influences they have exerted, in and out of the pulpit, against the slave. But there are a few missionary organizations connected with the different denominations, which have identified themselves with their down-trodden brethren. These associations have even treated black men and slaves like human beings, 'bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh.' They have regarded your mental, physical and moral condition, with the same interest of all the rest of mankind. Those, as you well know, have labored, at the sacrifice of property, reputation, and many times, life itself, to correct public sentiment, and furnish protection and shelter to those turned out by others into the pitiless storm. That God may have mercy on your despised countrymen, hated and hunted as the wild beasts of the forest, is the prayer of your unworthy friend and brother.

Yours, for the fugitive and the slave,

New Berlin. G. F. P.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN A. S. SOCIETY.

The following Resolutions, were passed at the annual meeting of the above Society, holden at the 'Tabernacle,' in New York city, on the 5th inst.:—

Resolved, That American slavery is the most sinful, cruel and merciless system that has prevailed in any civilized country, inasmuch as, under the light of the gospel, it deprives men, not only guiltless, but unaccused of crime, of every civil and religious right; denies them legal compensation for any wrong, however grevious; annihilates, in regard to them, the conjugal and parental relations; consigns them at pleasure to heathenism; withholds from them the Bible; and reduces them to the condition of brutes.

Resolved, That it is our right to condemn, and by lawful means to abolish, sinful institutions, wherever existing; that it is the peculiar right of American citizens to express orally, or through the press, their opinion of the conduct of their representatives, and of the laws passed by them; and that every attempt to prevent or control the free expression of opinion is an outrage upon the constitutional rights of the citizen, and a dangerous assault upon the liberties of the country.

Resolved, That we have never proposed to abolish slavery by any unconstitutional act, nor to infringe upon the rights of the States; our doctrine being universal emancipation, without compensation, and our measures, under God, moral suasion and the ballot-box.

Resolved, That we deem the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutional and inhuman, a disgrace to the country, an outrage upon civil liberty, deserving the reprobation of every friend of God and man; and that it should be disobeyed by every person who is not willing, and does not deserve, to wear the chain and submit to the lash of Southern despots.

Resolved, That every man who has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and who believes the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutional, is solemnly bound to oppose its enactment; and that, in the language of Mr. Justice McLean, 'A unconstitutional act of Congress implies an obligation on a State, or the people of a State, and may be resisted by any individual or community.'

Resolved, That we believe that the late act of Congress for the recovery of fugitive slaves makes demands upon individuals to which they cannot yield obedience without a direct violation of the principles of love, mercy and justice given by the Savior to his disciples; and that those professed ministers of the Redeemer who teach obedience to this law are false teachers, and unfaithful to the high and holy profession they have assumed.

Resolved, That the attempt of the Slave Power to enforce an alleged constitutional provision with regard to fugitive slaves, while it sets at naught an undisputed constitutional provision with reference to colored seamen, is an apt illustration of the mode in which the South understands and fulfils the 'Compromise' of the Constitution, and the manner in which, aided and abetted by Northern allies, it has governed the country for the last half century.

Resolved, That the audacious attempt made to convert the free States into a great hunting-ground for fugitive slaves, has inspired an unutterable disgust toward the accursed system of which it is an off-shoot, and awakened a deep sympathy for the bondman that will, we believe, ensure a repeal of the Bill, the political death of its framers and abettors, and a vast increase of the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the temporary triumph of the Slave Power, in consequence of the treachery or apostacy of Northern politicians, merchants who sell their principles with their goods, and pro-slavery preachers, the People of the free States have, it is hoped, ceased to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to the oligarchy of the South, or their allies, the dough-faces of the North.

Resolved, That we exult in the election of the Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, to the office of U. S. Senator, as the triumph of a glorious cause, achieved in the person of one who will not, is is believed, barter his fair fame for gold or office, or ever prove treacherous to the principles of Liberty, the cause of the slave, or the true interests of the country.

Resolved, That we are the friends of the Union and the Constitution, and will labor to have them sustained according to the well-known intentions of the patriots of the Revolution, but that we do not desire their continuance, if perverted to the destruction of Freedom and Religion.

Resolved, That we are the friends of true Republican Government, of a free Christianity, and of the Equal Rights of men, in opposition to Cotton Whiggery, Cotton Democracy and Cotton Theology, and that we welcome to our ranks men of every sect and party who are in favor of a righteous civil government, the abolition of Caste, the downfall of Oppression, and the supremacy of the Divine Law.

Resolved, That we will not bestow our suffrages on any candidate for office, who we have reason to believe would, if elected, exert his influence to maintain and enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill, oppress the people of color, or refuse, at any time, to cast his vote *for* Freedom and *against* Slavery.

Resolved, That the thanks of the community are due to the liberty-loving members of Congress and State Legislatures, ministers of the gospel, and conductors of the press, who have advocated the cause of human rights; proclaimed the law of the living God, and been true to the instincts of Humanity, in despite of the combined influence of wealth and power, and the opposition of pro-slavery man in Church and State.

Resolved, That we sympathize with the oppressed of every clime, and, especially with those of our own country, and promise them our succor in all times of their distress, according to the Golden Rule.

Resolved, That the agitation of the Slavery Question has not ceased, nor will, in our opinion, cease, until the great chain upon the national escutcheon is removed, and the Higher Law has the ascendancy in the councils of the nation.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies of similar principles, and wish God-speed to every effort to diffuse information, succor the distressed, bring about the emancipation of the enslaved, and the removal of prejudice against the free people of color, in a way consonant with Truth, Justice and Christianity.

Resolved, That we tender our thanks to the free and hospitable inhabitants of Canada for the succor and relief they have so generously bestowed upon our countrymen who have fled from oppression, sought an asylum among them, and placed themselves under the protection of British law and philanthropy.

Resolved, That we renewedly and fervently commend the great cause of Human Freedom to the care and protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to inspire all who labor for emancipation with wisdom from on high, to grant them a spirit of prayer, an exhibition of meekness, fidelity, perseverance and confidence in His promise, that the rod of the oppressor shall be broken, and the oppressed go free.

A WORD OF CAUTION.

As long as our strong, athletic young men hang around the hotels and kitchens of the whites, just as long will white men have nothing to fear in walking into New York, where there are twenty-five thousand colored people, stepping into a hotel, and seizing and carrying off a black man anthey would a calf. Finding as in those servile situations is a better guarantee of success than all the warrants and laws that can be made. They know just what kind of material they have got to deal with. They know that the atmosphere of kitchens and dining rooms is not congenial to the growth of patriotism.

OBSERVER.

NOMINATION.

S. R. Ward:

WILLIAMS AVERY, of Sherburne, is proposed as the Liberty Party candidate for the office of Senator, in the place of John Noyes, resigned, for the 18th Senatorial District, comprising Chenango and Otsego counties.

Do the Liberty men of said District coincide in this suggestion? If so, let there be a full vote at the coming election.

W. W. CHAPMAN,
N. B. SROWN,
DAVID BABCOCK,
GEO. E. LAWRENCE.

Sherburne, May 12, 1851.

REPLY OF MR. WEBSTER TO THE NEW YORK INVITATION.

The following is Mr. Webster's reply to the New York Committee, inviting him to address the people of New York:—

Washington, May 9.

Gentlemen,—I have received your communication, by the hands of Mr. Williams, and I acknowledge myself overwhelmed by this new proof of regard from the city of New York. An invitation to visit that city from so many thousands of friends of the Union, without distinction of party, as much surpasses my merits as it exceeds my expectation. I have read the names, and, as you suggest, may be probable, many of them are known to me, and I know them to be men of high honor and character, of business and industry, of great stake in the country, and active supporters and props of all the institutions of benevolence and charity, morality and religion, literature and science, which adorns the great commercial metropolis of the United States.

Gentlemen,—I have no wish to appear in public for purposes of ceremony or entertainment, nor can I say that I feel the necessity of any occasion at present to express my sentiments in regard to public affairs: all that I think and all that I feel on the great topics of the hour is conveyed from nobody. But notwithstanding all this, and notwithstanding that my public duties are likely to demand my attention rather imperatively for some weeks to come, I yet cannot persuade myself to say that I may not, at no distant day, make an effort to meet my friends in New York.

One thing, gentlemen, is certain; if I address you at any place, you will hear no change of tone, no shaky faltering voice in support of that cause which is dear to your hearts and to mine.

With grateful and profound respect and regard, I remain, gentlemen, your friend and obliged humble servant, DANIEL WEBSTER.

THE PRESIDENT AT THE NORTH.

Philadelphia, May 12.—The President reached Wilmington at 1 o'clock, and was received and welcomed by Mayor Evans, to whom he briefly replied, as also did Mr. Crittenden. The Philadelphia Committee arrived about noon, and were handsomely entertained. The President was then handed over to the Philadelphia Committee, and was received on board the steamer Roger Williams. He was welcomed by Mayor Gilpin in a short speech, and briefly spoke briefly. A salute was fired at the foot of Mifflin street, and a national salute at the navy yard. The party was received by a large military and civic procession, and escorted to their quarters in the United States Hotel, where both the President and Mr. Webster spoke. A magnificent dinner was provided on board the boat, of which they partook on the way up. They leave in the morning for New York, by way of Amboy.

The President left Philadelphia at 9 A. M., escorted by the Mayor and the City Council, in carriages, to the Camden boat. Among the Philadelphians who started for New York were Mr. Matthias, President of the State Senate, Mr. Wilbertt, President of the State Council, and others. A Committee from New York then took charge of the President and party, who came on by the Camden and Amboy Railroad, in a splendidly decorated car.

They were everywhere warmly cheered at every point along the line, and reached Amboyat twelve o'clock, where they were received by the President and Directors of the Erie Railroad on board the steamer Erie, beautifully decorated with flags, &c. The party passed the Battery at 2 o'clock, and were there saluted by a park of artillery. They immediately entered Castle Garden, where the Mayor in a short speech welcomed the President home to his native State. He then formally introduced him to the citizens assembled.

The President replied, alluding to the past history of the city, and his belief that it still retained the same patriotic spirit which actuated it in the early days of the Republic, and closed by expressing his thanks for the very cordial manner in which he had been received.

Mr. Webster being called for, spoke, and also Mr. Attorney General Crittenden. The Battery was thronged with spectators.

The President invited to visit Boston.—Messrs. T. P. Hale, A. H. Bean, E. S. Swing, John Wright, David Chapin, Benjamin Beal, W. H. Calnow, and Joseph Smith, a Committee of the Municipal authorities of the city of Boston, arrived in New York on Saturday, for the purpose of soliciting the President to visit Boston, previous to his return to Washington. This he will probably decline doing, as he contemplates returning via Cincinnati, Wheeling, Pittsburg, and through Pennsylvania.—*Tribune.*

From the Toronto Patriot.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P., AT TORONTO.

Citizens of Toronto:

The advertisements which have covered this meeting have already informed you that I appear in this hall to-night to deliver a lecture on the Evils of Slavery. I do so on the invitation of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada. I rejoice over the formation of that body, and that its head-quarters are to be in this beautiful, improving and important city. It was called into existence, as I learn from its constitution, to cry aloud to your neighbors beyond the line, to stay their hands from prosecuting a system of iniquity, and to invite and urge them, by every consideration arising from our common Christianity, to put a stop to it for ever by the abolition of slavery. I am glad to find that this duty is to be performed in the spirit of those who entertain the feelings of brethren and friends toward the inhabitants of the neighboring States, and that you disclaim any desire to intermeddle officiously with the internal affairs of that great, growing, and mighty people, from whom you are separated by so short a distance. The work you have purposed to yourselves is worthy of you, and the spirit in which you propose to prosecute it is worthy of you, and of those with whom you purpose to co-operate, as of those, also, by whom your Christian remonstrances and brotherly rebukes will be directed. All am rejoiced to find, also, that you hastily bid God-speed to the noble and ever-increasing band of Christians and patriots in the United States, who publicly plead, without fear or favor, the cause of their enslaved fellow-citizens. In this you do well. The true abolitionists of the United States are eminently worthy of your admiration, your encouragement and God-speed. The world does not contain a nobler band of men and women. In proportion as you learn to know them, you will learn to love them, and to regard them as then part of the population of the great American Union who are doing most for the diffusion of those divine principles which lie at the foundation of the great doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, and of the equal regard of our common Parent for all the children of the human family.

As a British subject, I feel peculiarly happy in being with you on this occasion. I am increasingly happy to find myself upon the same platform in the new world with those who have been my fellow-laborers in the cause of emancipation in the old world; to find them still alive, active and vigorous in the cause in which we labored and triumphed on the throes of our native country; to find, too, that they have faith in the power and universality of the truths which were successfully applied to our own Colonial system of bondage. This is as it should be. We won the victory over West Indian bondage, not because we were Britons, but because the truths we preached were divine, universal and eternal. This is no question of latitude and longitude—it is a human question. I ask not, is the slave my fellow-subject but, is he a man? I ask not, Do I stand upon British or American soil? but, Am I still in God's dominions? Am I still under the law of the Supreme Ruler, and are the great principles of morality and justice still the same? If my brother is held in unjust bondage, my message is the same, whether it be to my own or any other human government. Thus saith the Lord, 'Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free.'

I have come amongst you to discuss the question on no low, or narrow grounds. In my mind, it links itself indissolubly with every topic within the entire range of religious and human duty. It ascends to the very throne of God, and has to do with His character, His attributes, and His moral government of the world. It surveys itself beyond the spiritual nature, hopes, fears, joys, sorrows, the present condition and future destinies of man. It must be understood before we can comprehend man's responsibilities, or know the meaning of the command, 'I am the Lord thy God, and thou shalt have no other God before Me.' This question cannot be separated from the doctrine of a future and equal judgment, and of a just and unerring retribution. It cannot be disjoined from the sanctity, improvableness and immortality of the soul. It concerns the all-important questions of the inspiration, authority and interpretation of Scripture. It defines the limit of human statutes, and settles the question of the paramount claims and obligations of the law of individual conscience and of God. It must be studied if we would know who is our neighbor, and what is our duty towards him, or to what extent we are authorized in applying the principles of the everlasting gospel and the truths of revelation to the affairs of the world. As far as I have been connected with the great question of slavery, it has not been with me a question of politics. It is transcendently, it is infinitely above all human politics. If there be a principle at the bottom of this question—in other words, if there be any truth in the doctrine that there is a God—that he is the Creator and Governor of the world—that he is the sole proprietor of man, and that man belongs of right to himself, and is responsible only to the Supreme Ruler for his actions—then slavery is not an institution to be regulated, but a crime to be abolished—not a condition to be modified, but a wrong to be redressed; then religion and morality demand that the evil doer return to the allegiance he owes to God, and the slave be instantly restored to his rights as a man. This whole subject resolves itself into the question, 'Can man hold property in man?' If this question be answered in the affirmative, then we have no ground to stand upon; then we are impertinent intermeddlers, whether we speak against slavery on English, Canadian, or American soil. But if it be answered in the negative, then our feet are placed upon a rock, and our commission is, 'Go ye into all the world, and whosoever ye find the Divine Creator and sole proprietor of man dishonored by the usurpation of his prerogative, let him be faithful in pointing out to that God be restored to his rightful dominion, by the restoration of liberty to that subject of His government who is now held in chattel bondage.' Grant that man may hold property in man, and you are a trespasser on the plantation, and an invader of legitimate right. Do you tell me of death and of war? I am a true and loyal subject of the King of kings—the vindicator of His outraged rights—the restorer of his children—the upholder of His government—and the foe of the slaveholder himself. Go forth in the strong belief that man cannot have property in man, and you will find no collision anywhere with God. You are at once in harmony with universal truth. Your doctrine finds an echo in every human heart. The consciences of all men, as on you, side with you. You have at once enlisted the affections, sympathies, aspirations and hopes of humanity on your side. Can anything be more simple? Can there become a God on the one hand? can man become a god on the other? Can the master be man and God in the same person? or can the slave be man and beast in the same person? Can a creature own an equal fellow-creature? Can the potsherd say onto the potsherd—'Thou art mine'? Can the pinner be God over his fellow? Or can another man, formed like him, be at once free to serve God, and doomed to serve a man? Be a rational, immortal and accountable soul, in his relation to God—a marketable, degraded beast, who may be manacled, scourged, branded, hunted and shot like a wild animal, in his relation to man? Has the master a soul? So the slave is. Is the master responsible? So is the slave. Has the master affections? So has the slave. Does the master hope, fear, rejoice? So does the slave. Must the master be free, that he may fulfil the purposes for which he was born, and glorify God in the use of his faculties? So equally must the man he calls his property. Would the master, if he were made a slave, regard his doom as worse than death, and lose the crown of glory from his brow? It is even so with the slave. Away for ever, then, with the doctrine that has filled the world with woe, that man, whose breath is in his nostrils, can have property in his fellow-man!

If these views be admitted to be correct, with what feelings must that system be regarded which makes merchandise of three millions of the human race, or one hundred and twenty times as many as the entire population of the city of Toronto?—A system, too, which entails slavery upon the posterity of these three millions to the very latest generation. Yet, such is the system which at this moment sheds its baleful influence over every part of the great Republic to which you are so near neighbors. Three millions of imbruted men, women and children, the chattels of 20,000 tyrannical and sordid men—the disgrace, as they are the curse of their species. A money-making confederation, to which the stock is in human hearts and human souls. While other men call themselves rich in flocks, and herds, and fields and farms, these men count their riches according to the number of souls that tremble at their glance, and the capacity of their human cattle to increase and multiply. They rear children as you would rear sheep or calves; they put beauty, and loveliness, and youth, and purity, and intelligence and piety up at auction, and sell them to the highest bidder. They sell their own children without remorse; and are filling the shambles of America with the best blood of Virginia and the Carolinas. O, what a monster is man! Not satisfied with the legitimate dominion given him by his Creator over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea—not satisfied with every tree of the garden, with every green herb for meat, and the cattle upon a thousand hills—not satisfied with the promise that 'summer and winter, seed time and harvest will never cease'—he has put forth his hand, and taken hold upon that which God has reserved for himself—the only creature made to glorify God by the faculties of a deathless soul;—*that creature* man has seized, has torn the crown from his brow, has robbed him of his dignity, and stamped his brand in beast. Ay, advertises him for sale with oxen and horses, and lashes him with a scourge to the shambles where he is to be sold! And yet there are those, in America, who ask whether slavery is not a *religious* and *divine* institution. And for what is man enslaved? What great purpose is accomplished by this robbery of God—this sacrilege of man—this wreck of soul—this annihilation of intellect—this wringing of the heart-strings of humanity—this degradation of the lightest being in the world to the lowest condition of which a tamed brute is capable? Is there some grand object of stupendous magnitude, which cannot be accomplished unless this be done, and which makes it *impotent*, if not *right*, that one portion of the human race should be sacrificed, that the rest may be saved? It is, that a few may live *idle* themselves, and yet well *rice, tobacco, sugar* and *cotton*. And it is asked, Is slavery religious? No man need ask whether slavery be *irreligious*. Can that be religious which dethrones God and puts man in his place? Can that be religious which strikes at the root, at once of the *freedom, responsibility, dignity* and *happiness* of man? Can that be religious which makes man a *tyrant* and another a *slave*, and creates a gulf between them wide as that between the burning seraph near the throne of God, and the reptile that lives upon the vapor of a dungeon? Ask not whether it can be *religious*; for your own heart tells you it is not *human*. You shout without restraint the wild tones that come into your fold and steals the lambs of your flock. Slavery wains till the agony of the mothas is over, to take her babe of the fruit of her womb, and to write beast upon that brow which was intended to wear the stamp of intelligence, and the crown of immortality!

How appalling is the state of America, when viewed in connection with the prostration of *politics, literature, commerce, social intercourse, and religion*, before the fearful power of slavery! To the man who looks through forms, ceremonies, professions and creeds, to the actual, pervading *spirit* of a nation, America seems to be one actuating principle but slavery, no God but slavery. At the South, the soil is monopolised by it. It overshadows millions of acres of the fairest portions of God's creation. Every portion of the population is under its direct and absolute influence. The patrician class are the slaveholders. Their wealth is computed in slaves. Their influence regulated by the number of their slaves. Their respectability measured by the number of slaves. The slaves themselves are nothing but *breeding* slaves. Their muscular power—their mechanic skill—their powers of endurance—their spiritual intelligence—their personal beauty—their fecundity, as being capable of multiplying their species—all weighed, tested, and appraised, in connection with slavery.—The *free people of color*, as they are called in mockery, are regarded as below contempt. Having no *marketable* value, they are nuisances, eye-sores, and abominations—the *very* filth and offscouring of the body politic, to be got rid of as soon as means can be devised, to gather them up as the scum of humanity to be thrown off the surface of society. The non-slaveholding whites in the South are a race of mongrels, who *acquit, not free*; who are tolerated, not encouraged; and who have no status or position among their own kind. What the state of morals in such a community must be, it needs no statistics nor newspaper facts to prove. We know, however, from the records of every day, as well as from the deductions of reason, the condition of the South in regard to morals. We know that, superadded to the vices of the free States, there are crimes and immorralities peculiar to the region of slavery. We know that human lusts are without check or restraint. We know that all that is precious to man—the sexes is the sport of those who live to gratify their passions. We know that *marriage*—as an indissoluble tie, as a legal contract, as protected by law, as giving the husband the right to defend the wife—is utterly unknown amongst the three millions of the South. We know that a bear in the forest has a better chance of rearing unmolested her whelps, and of keeping them, when she has reared them, than the human mother who suckles slaves. We know that symmetry and beauty are the curses of their owners, and mark them out for infamy and perdition. We know that Religion is made to coalesce with this state of things; that the ministers of religion are slaveholders, slave-breeders, graders in human cattle, slave-whippers; and the friends, copartners and co-plunderers with the vilest of the vile of the unintelligent creation. We know that *humanity* is a *crime*; the love of equal freedom, the unpardonable sin; and that the priesthood consent to the martyrdom of the emancipationist, and will hold the clothes of those who stone him. How much better is it at the North? The religion of the North recognizes the religion of the South. I have printed letters in my possession, written by slaveholding ministers, since I came to America, boasting of the fraternal greeting everywhere given them in the free States—of the pulpits thrown open to them—of the sacraments administered by them, and reporting the state of the religious mind as sound and healthy on the subject of slavery. What a fearful revelation has the late Fugitive Slave Law led to. It might have been sent to prove to the world the deeply corrupt state of the Northern American Churches. Christendom may well stand aghast at the doctrines which have been preached, by the descendants of the Puritans, since that Bill became the law of the United States. Take the entire range of Northern literature of every class: 1. The penny papers that cater to the appetites of the multitude. 2. The papers that are the organs of trade and commerce. 3. The papers that support political parties. 4. The papers that are the representatives of religious denominations. 5. The periodical literature, in the shape of magazines, reviews, and miscellanies. Either they stoutly defend slavery—meanly apologize for slavery—or are profoundly silent on the subject. An American exhibit name the influential periodical journal that writes in favor of humanity, and directly and unequivocally condemns slavery. I have now referred to that description of literature which is carefully provided for the human moral and intellectual palates of the people. Are you not justified in inferring the state of the public mind from these indications? Take greater works. Works on moral philosophy. Reprints of English Works. Works on American history.—Works on political economy. All contain the proofs, positive or negative, of the fact that the spirit of slavery reigns in the department of literature, as supremely as in the cotton or rice fields of Alabama or Carolina. These are startling and affecting signs of the times.

Look again at the tameness, the submissiveness, the almost thankfulness, with which the North allows herself to be deprived of her rights, and her citizens going South to be treated worse than curs. She allows the crews of her vessels to be plundered of their citizen rights, and thrust into dungeons, and sold to pay their jail fees. She allows her own diplomatic ministers to be ordered out of a Southern State by a Lynch Committee. She allows her best sons to have their backs ploughed up, their heads shaved, their bodies tarred and feathered, to be hooted, mobbed, dodged, drowned, imprisoned, cat-hauled, branded, shot like dogs—and never utters a word of remonstrance. What is the only subject which will arouse her? Abolition. What is the worst character a man can bear in the church? The character of being an abolitionist. What is the opinion a man takes the most pains to conceal? The opinion that slavery is a curse and a disgrace to the country. What class of men, of all others, is it that may be ridiculed and libelled with impunity—in the pulpit, in public lectures, in lyceums, at dinners, on political platforms? Abolitionist. What meetings are they to which rowdies and little boys know they may go, to shuffle, whistle, crow and cough with impunity? The meetings of abolitionists. What religious views are heresies? Those the view of which make a man, whatever be his color or his country. What class is it, of all the slaves in the world, that an American may not succeed? The slave born in his own country, and purchased the son of one of its most distinguished patriots. What animal is it that a Southerner may hunt over all the valleys, hills and plains of the free States? Man! The American Game Laws great licenses to hunt this animal throughout the land—and make it a crime—nay, treason—to attempt to succor, defend, or rescue the prey of the blood-scenters of the South, when on the track of the flying and quivering fugitive. No, American will deny that I have drawn a true picture of the state of his country.

No American will deny that the pro-slavery sentiment is the paramount sentiment of the United States. Slavery in America is superior to all law, for it is the controlling spirit of the country. There is no higher code than the bloody enactments of slavery. The great religious controversy at this moment in the United States is upon the question, whether there is any higher law than the Fugitive Slave Law; and the majority—the vast majority of the Divines—go for the superior authority of the Congress, and preach openly to their congregations, that thus saith Millard Fillmore, is more binding than thus saith the Lord; and that a letter signed Daniel Webster is infinitely more worthy of attention than the Sermon on the Mount. If any thing more than another can prove the horrid influence and dominion of slavery in the United States, it is the fact, that because the demon hates the Bible, the Christian denominations of that country have consented to withhold it from the three millions of Southern slaves. Yet, if any portion of the human race need the Bible, between them and it is the slaves. This has always appeared to me the fact which above all others proved the demoralizing influence and antichristical character of slavery—that men who profess to regard the Bible as the Word of God and the revelation of his will to the children of men, should deliberately consent to see it withheld from their fellow-immortal beings, and entes no protest against laws which punish the second offence of teaching the Bible with the penalty of death. Christians of Toronto, of all sects! I summon you to night to the rescue of pure and undefiled religion from the dishonor cast upon it by slavery in the U. S. of America. His nation is to be judged by its fruits, and according to the prevailing influence which it exerts, controls and dominates in every department—in the field—on the exchange—in the closet of the author—the study of the minister—the Assembly of the Presbyterian—the Conference of the Methodist—the Hall of Legislation—the Cabinet of the General Government—I ask you, who is the God of America? Is this the God who hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the bounds of their habitation—the God who is no respecter of persons, who directed Philip to join himself to the Ethiopian eunuch—who hath said, 'Cry aloud, spare not—the God who spake from the burning bush—who sent his Son to seek and save the lost—whose tender mercies are over all his works? Is this the God who is served in America? I see a consistency between the religion and the god of the devil-worshippers of interior Africa. The medicine men of the North American Indian correspond with the habits and pursuits of these children of the wilderness. I can understand the Persic fire-worshipper when he bows before the sacred flame, or hails the sun as he comes forth from the chambers of the east. I can understand the Mahomedan—the warrior of the faith—who goes forth with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, to spread the religion of the Prophet. I am understand the Hindoo, when he washes in the Ganges, or prostrates himself under the wheels of Juggernaut; but I cannot understand the religion of America, and least of all, reconcile in my mind, in the live of its professors, with that religion of love, whose object, aim, spirit, duties, blessings, hopes, rewards, honors and glories are exclusive! whose founder came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. Wherever I travel in America, I am still in the realms of slavery. The country is magnificent and glorious—the mountains are stupendous and sublime—the rivers roll their floods along in majesty and beauty—the vallies stretch away in verdure and loveliness; there are towering steeples, and multitudinous priests, and busy crowds hastening to worship, and a never-ending, still beginning round of rites, ceremonies and observances; there are loud and ostentatious proclamations of the duties and obligations of religion, and thanksgivings, and feasts, and festivals; but all these hide not from the sight the presence of the foul demon of slavery; his spirit is everywhere—his dominion universal—his will despotic. The glorious external creation seems but the vestibule of his glorious temple, and all the rites and ceremonies of the people seem to be subordinate to the profound and soul-prostrating homage paid to this insatiate fiend, who has seated himself above all that is called God, and daily demands the living death of three millions of the human race. Amidst all the temples of America, I see mother, and entering its dreary portals, and penetrating to the chamber where sits this God of America, I behold him amid all the symbols of pollution and we, with his hast upon the mangled form of American Liberty, surrounded by crushed hearts, darkened souls, deflowered maidens, weeping Rachels, and lustful tyrants—issuing his mandates for the enslavement of a continent—swaying a sceptre of scorpions over his quivering victims—a sceptre of iron over his voluntary, self-degraded vassals, and with demoniacal exultation exclaiming—See how these Christians love one another! And this is the system that has to be abolished. Oh, this anti-slavery cause is a cause of surpassing greatness. There is nothing little about it but its advocates. If we would swell beyond the dwarfish dimensions of our own narrow souls—our own petty prejudices—let us gaze often and long upon the fabric we are making to extirpate. There is real grandeur in the gloomy vastness of the huge superstructure of guilt we are seeking to abolish. Try to comprehend its circumference, and you will feel it. Look at the length of the horrible abyss, and you shall bring up again, exclaiming—O, the depths! Try to count the groans and agonies and sighs pressed by this system into every instant of time, and arithmetic shall fail you. Try to penetrate the future, and to grasp the issues of this system, and your imagination, halting and weary, shall give up in despair. Try to compute the value of one of the millions of souls daily imbruted by this system—put it into the scale against the material universe, and it shall make the last magnificent of unintelligent creation to kick the beam. Then try to compute the value of the slaves, past, present and to come. Take up this work at one of here hundred, of mercy to animals. Oh, it is the higher and holier than this. Christianity must be exhumed from the tomb of ages, and you must roll away the stone. The Genius of Liberty must be disenthralled, and you must break his bonds. Mind, immortal, illimitable mind, waits to be let into liberty and life. The Bible, in chains, cries, Emancipate me, and let me go free. The earth calls, Deliver me from my curse. Labor cries, I am degraded, dishonored, infamous; redeem me, and let me be again the glory of him who tills the soil! Morality says, Behold me—I am wounded, violated, struck down; let me once again stand erect to teach man his duties, and be the guardian of human rights! The negro says, Have pity upon me, and transform me from a beast into a man. Have pity on that woman, my concubine, whom I may not make my wife. Behold my empty table plundered of its contents, my daughter polluted and ruined!

Let us turn to the bright side of the picture. If there is slavery in the United States, there is also anti-slavery. If there are those who prostitute their talents and influence to the support of slavery, there are those also who devote themselves, time, talents, property, health, reputation and all, to the cause of the slave. If there are those who pass fugitive slave bills, there are those who execrate those bills, and hold them to be atrocious violations, under the name of law, of every precept, divine and human, pointing to the duties which man owes to his fellow-man. The anti-slavery cause is advancing with majestic strides. Its aspect is truly sublime. When I was formerly in the United States, the abolitionists were few, and therefore despised; now, their name is Legion. Now they speak, and the Legislature listens. Now they issue their command, and it is obeyed. Twenty years of unceasing effort has made this the question of questions! In the anti-slavery ranks is to be found intellect as lofty as any to be found in the ranks of slavery, and an amount of moral courage and indomitable zeal, and perseverance never excelled, in the prosecution of any other enterprise, not excepting those of an exclusively religious character. In this conflict, the abolitionists ask and have a right to expect the sympathy and aid of the entire civilized world; and the man who is not willing to give them that which they ask, is no friend to liberty. I have been told, since I come to this city, that there are those in it who inquire, What have we to do in this matter? If any such persons are here, I would say, Everything. Are we separated geographically and politically from the country where slavery reigns? We are, for that very reason, the persons best who to form an unbiassed and sound judgment on the question at issue. We have as much to do with this question as with any question that concerns the happiness of man, the glory of God, or the hopes and destinies of the human race. We have to do with this question, for it lies at the foundation of your own rights as a portion of the human family. The cause of liberty is one all over the world. What have you to do with this question? The slave is your brother, and you cannot dissolve that union. While he remains God's child, he will remain your brother. He is helpless, and you are free and powerful; and if you neglect him, you are not doing as you would have others do to you, if you were in bonds. Know you not that it is God's method to save man by man, and that man is only great and honorable and blest himself, as he is the friend and defender of those who need his aid? You see dwellers on a continent with three millions of slaves. Their sighs come to you with every breeze from the South. Oh, haste to help them, that this glorious continent may be freed from its pollution and its curse. Give the fugitive your aid. You have thus far done nobly. Continue to receive kindly and to cherish hospitably, on these shores, the refugees from the house of American bondage. Give the abolitionists your sympathy. Let them hear, in tones louder than those of Niagara, your words of encouragement—your hearty God-speed. It will refresh and re-animate them in their work, and cause them to gird up their loins and renew the struggle. The influence I ask you to exert is moral influence, and against that there can be no legitimate objection, as there can be no effectual resistance. Let your weapons be those of truth, reason and religion, and the time shall come when, from sea to sea, and from the Arctic regions to Panama, this soil shall be sacred to freedom.

Mr. Thompson was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic bursts of applause, and sat down amidst continued cheering.

After a few remarks from Frederick Douglass, the Rev. Dr. Burns closed the meeting with prayer.

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PRO-SLAVERY.

SPEECH OF DANIEL WEBSTER,

TO THE CITIZENS OF SYRACUSE, MAY 26.

Fellow-Citizens of Syracuse—Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you cordially for the pains you have taken to assemble this afternoon, forming so honest an assemblage, to welcome me to your important and growing city of Syracuse.

I have known this place by occasional visits for many years. Some of those visits were made before the happy faces before me were born, or when they were infancy. I have watched its progress with interest, connected, as it has been, with the interest of the great saline of the State, and as the capital of the noble county of Onondaga, which I have always regarded with admiration.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the President and his friends were invited three weeks ago to attend the celebration of the completion of that great line of communication, the Erie Rail Road.

We left Washington with no other purpose, certainly none on my part, than to attend the celebration of the completion of that noble work. I had not the slightest expectation of being here, nor had I the slightest expectation, or wish, of being called upon to address you or any other body of citizens of the United States, upon the political topics of the day.

Ladies and Gentlemen, my time of life for such public discourses and illustrations may be considered as pretty much over. There is a time for all things, and there has been a time when it was not unpleasant to me to meet masses of ladies and gentlemen in the open air, upon topics which were not disagreeable to them, and certainly not to me. But there must come a time when we advance in life and age, when what we do for the public must be more in the closet, and less in the field.

Nevertheless, Ladies and Gentlemen, a large number of the people of Syracuse having signified to me by letter that it was their desire that I should meet them to-day, and address them on public subjects—as far as rest in my power, I gladly conform to their request.

On the great questions of the day, my fellow-citizens, I have no secrets. I have nothing to conceal and nothing to boast of. I trust that all of you know pretty well who I am, and what I am, and what my principles of political conduct have been for the last thirty years. They are not likely to be changed, and it is not likely that any earthly inducement will prevail upon me to depart from those settled notions and opinions which I imbibed in early life, which I have followed in the councils of this country, for good or for evil, for thirty years, and which I find myself settled upon in judgment more and more every day of my life.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I know very well, that on the agitating questions of the present day, I have not the happiness to concur with all the people of Syracuse, or the county of Onondaga, or other parts of the State of New York; I know there are varieties of sentiment, and I know the sources of that disagreement. Some of them are very justifiable, and some of them, I am sorry to believe, are not capable of much defence.

But I know there are differences of feeling brought about by differences of association, by different reading, and by different degrees of knowledge and information respecting public affairs.

But since I am requested to address you, you must take freeforee the honest sentiments of my own heart, the convictions of my own conscience. I lay no claim to your approval of my views, and I ask no favorable reception of them, further than you see the suggestions I make to you are worthy of your regard.

You are here in the centre, the very centre of the greatest State in the Union—the place where congregate the representatives of all parties and all views—and you have here all sorts of sentiments advanced, all sorts of doctrines espoused, and you have a very fair opportunity of forming a judgment, a fair, conscientious judgment, of all great questions before the public.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a matter of notoriety all the world over, and especially in Syracuse, that the origin of the important questions that for two years have agitated the country, is the condition of the Southern States in respect to the institution of slavery in those States and the rights of the parties connected with that institution in the government in which we live.

You cannot state more strongly than I feel, that this original, ancient, unhappy institution of the slavery of the African races, in the Southern States, is for ever and ever to be deplored. It has been, in the course of our history, as much deplored by the Southern States as by ourselves, and thirty years ago, more so.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the Northern people did not feel the evils of slavery, because it was not among us. The Southern people did feel the evils, because it was among them. And they all thought, and all said, it was an evil, entailed upon them by the British Government, for which they were full of lamentation and regret; and if they had known how to get rid of it, they would have embraced any reasonable measure to accomplish that end.

Such were the feelings, and such the opinions of the principal men of the South, of such men as Chancellor Wythe, Jefferson, Mason, and Chancellor Pendleton, and other leading men of the South, who were concerned in the formation of the Constitution of the United States.

And if you, young men, will look into the history of those times, you will find what I state to be true, that the Southern people were more filled with regret at the existence of slavery among them, than the Northern people were, among whom it did not exist.

The thirteen colonies, originally of English origin, coming here at different times, settling along the coast under various circumstances, all united in a common origin, found themselves opposed by the mother country in 75, and in '76 declared their independence.

That was an act of Union—it was an united act of the thirteen colonies—it was that united act that made us free of England—and, united under that act, the colonies fought the war of the Revolution, and successfully established a common government.

There was at that time no more idea of prohibiting slavery in the Southern States, than there was of introducing it into the Northern States.

These domestic State institutions, these State establishments, were considered as proper subjects for the legislation of the States themselves.

For purposes of general defence and general welfare, and for purposes of common equality, and similar objects, the States afterwards agreed to become one government; and as to all the rest, it was expressly agreed that each State should take care of its own rights, and regulate itself in relation thereto.

Upon these principles we came together under the Constitution which was adopted; and Washington, unanimously chosen by all the people, was our first President.

That was before your day, fellow-citizens, and before mine; but it is a matter of history, and from that you know, that the matter of the existence of slavery in the Southern States never became an agitating subject for more than fifty years afterwards. For more than fifty years, the Northern States never supposed that they had any thing to do with it; but in process of time, and in process of things, public sentiment has changed at the North.

There is now a strong and animated—sometimes an unthusiastic, and sometimes a religious feeling, against the existence of slavery. But persons entertaining such feelings and sentiments, as I think, disregard the line of their own duties, and adventure upon fields which are utterly forbidden.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there are in this country Abolition Societies and Abolition Presses; and it is no new thing for me to say—for I said it many years ago, and have ever since,—that, in my opinion, all these things have prejudiced the condition of the slave. Twenty years ago, a Convention of the whole people of Virginia was held upon this subject, and there was a free discussion upon the subject of hereditary the slaves, and of gradual emancipation. The subject was freely and openly discussed, and there was no fear, no reserve—following, in that respect, the advice of Jefferson and Madison and Marshall—with all of whom I have conversed on this subject—all of whom desired to see a way in which the gradual emancipation of the slave population of the South might be accomplished.

And, as I said, twenty years ago, that question was freely and openly discussed by Marshall and other persons in the Convention called by the people of Virginia. Every body knew what was going on, and it was perfectly safe to come out and maintain; as I argued proposition, that it would be for the benefit of the South to provide for the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

It was about that time that Abolition Societies were formed in New England; and in my opinion they have done nothing but mischief; they have rivetted the chains of every slave in the Southern States—they have made their masters jealous and fearful—and postponed far and far the period of their redemption. This is my judgment—it may not be yours.

Well, what has been the consequence? We have had occasions, in which, in our political system, questions have arisen on the extension of slave territory. At one time, in the case of Texas, and nobody found me then voting for the addition of one foot of slave territory to the United States! Ah! even before many persons, who now shout the loudest for freedom, know what liberty was, I declared, in the city of New York, in 1837,—and it has been of no record ever since, and you can all see it,—my fixed purpose, that under no circumstances, and under the pressure of no contingency, would I agree to take Texas into this country as a slave State, and as slave territory. From that position I have not departed, but your good representatives in the Senate and in the House of Representatives in the State of New-York—from the Empire State—voted for the admission of Texas, while I held up my hands against it in vain.

I state it not as a reproach, but as a fact, that some of the gentlemen from New York, then distinguished in the Congress of Congress, in spite of all I could say or do, voted to bring Texas as she was into the Union, as a slave State, and with the solemn stipulation of the privilege of making out of herself three more slave States.

What are they now—and where are they, now? They are Free Soilers of the first water, (applause,) and they loudly denounce Mr. Webster—I believe he has been denounced here. Is this not Syracuse? (Great applause and laughter.) I believe they hold conventions here, (laughter.) They denounce Webster as the fit associate of Benedict Arnold, and Prof. Stuart, Dr. Spencer and Dr. Lord, and others of that stamp. (Laughter.) I would be glad to strike out Benedict Arnold, but as for the rest, I in mend of their company.

That is the truth; and before the throne of God, and before the tribunal of an intelligent people, there is nothing valuable but *truth, truth, truth.* It is not glowing or commentary that is valuable, it is not that mean and paltry thing called eloquence—it is that which must stand the test of time and eternity alone—*truth.*

Now it is *truth* that from my first introduction into public life up to the present time, I never voted, I always refused to vote, for the acquisition of one inch of slave territory to the United States. (Great applause.) But that goes for nothing—for nothing.

It is equally true that the Constitution of the U. S., in so many words, does declare, that persons bound to service in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall not be discharged therefrom, but shall be delivered up to the person to whom such service is due.

Now, I have sworn, again and again, to support that Constitution, and no has every person who has held office under the State Government, as solemnly sworn before God to support that Government,—that is, so far as it depends upon him, to take care that no fugitive from labor, coming into a free State, be discharged from that labor, but shall be restored.

Well, what are we to do, then, as conscientious persons? How are we to treat this matter? Are we at liberty to say that all this is imagination, all nonsense, and that we will do as we please? Shall we say here is an obligation binding on our consciences? You might as well say there are no obligations in domestic relations. Our political duties are equally obligatory as any other, as the duties arising out of our domestic ties, and most enduring social relations. That is my opinion.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would wish that all the human race, of every color, were created as happy as we are, and as capable of self-government. So far as they are happier by being able to take care of themselves, so much the better. But we are to consider what we do, and are not to rush on under the influence of a false philanthropy and mistaken humanity. If you satisfy me that we can do any thing for the benefit of the Southern slaves, I will do it. I have said, and I say again, I would vote in Congress, were I in that body, to restore to Virginia all the public lands the general government has had for ten years, and all the proceeds of the same up to this time, if by that means it could enable her to provide some way for the emancipation of her black population. Can I do more? Can you do more? And if we cannot do that, can we do more than to leave it to an all-wise Providence to bring about the best result?

At the commencement of 1850, a year and a half ago, I was a member of Congress—I had been three a great while—perhaps most of you think quite too long—(laughter)—but there I was. We had acquired this new territory from Mexico—all against my wishes. I voted against every one and all of them. California had no attractions for me. I did not wish to bring into this government the agitating question about the further extension of slave territory. Your Senators from New York did wish it, and voted for it, against many votes of Southern gentlemen, who felt as I did, and who wished to avoid the controversy. Such were Berrien and Badger, Southern men. Their constituents wished them to vote for bringing in Texas and California, but they saw the evil of it, and they said, *No!* and voted against it. But the Northern States voted for it—very many of them—New York and Rhode Island, and even one half of my own Massachusetts.

They said, we will try an experiment. God Good! try an experiment to see whether it will dismember the Union! Make an acquisition which may destroy it! Try an experiment upon the nation with as much uncertainty as we try an experiment in chemistry!...

Well, this territory came in. It turned out as I foresaw. I will not say I foresaw the whole—I foresaw a part.

California was settled by a rush of people from the Northern and middle States, and they made that government free at once. So far, so good. California came in as a State with the star of freedom in her forehead, and I rejoice at it. But no doubt it was a serious disappointment to the Southern people, that some portion of California were not set apart for slave population and slave culture.

What next? There were these two territories of New Mexico and Utah, and a great conflict between the North and the South whether the Wilmot Proviso should be applied to New Mexico.

I examined that subject; I knew it was distasteful and repugnant to the South, and I asked myself whether any such provision was necessary—whether in the course of human events—whether in the geographical situation of the country, and the habits of the people, there was the least good to be gained by that New Mexico would ever be a slave country. I thought there was not—I thought that the law of nature, superior to all the Wilmot Provisos the world ever saw, that the mountains of New Mexico must sustain a free population. Therefore I would not consent, merely as a taunt and reproach, to apply the Wilmot Proviso to the mountains of New Mexico, any more than I would apply it to the Canadas.

Well, *that* is the burden of my offence. But throughout New York and New England, this refusal to apply the Wilmot Proviso is charged against me as a falsification of all the principles of liberty I have supported all my life.

I made that declaration on the 7th of March, 1850. You know the roused of reproach that rang through the whole country—you know how Webster, who was supposed to be the friend of liberty and of the Constitution, was reviled every where for his departure from that course.

In forty days from the time I made that speech, and expressed my opinion that it was not necessary to have any difficulty with the South upon that subject, because the law of Nature had established slavery from New Mexico, the people of New Mexico assembled and formed a Constitution which excluded it together...

Now, what have I to complain of—I do not mean to complain of any thing—but the truth is, that of all the presses in Western New York and New England, that reviled me so much and so violently, for affirming there was no necessity for applying the Wilmot Proviso to New Mexico, there is not one of them that has taken back the charge, when they saw the truth of my assertion verified by facts. Did they say Webster was right, and we wrong? No, not one of them.

Now, my fellow-citizens, we come down to the commencement of the year 1850. There was a general agreement—not universal—a general consent of the majority of Congress to bring in California under her Constitution of freedom. But what was to be done with those two territories?

There was a more vital question. You know Texas accomplished her independence by her revolution against Mexico; and afterwards, by her Constitution, as she said, Texas embraced all the country east of the Rio Grande. That was disputed. I do not say Texas was right. But that was her claim. Then, we had admitted Texas in '45 without any statement of her boundaries, but taking her as she represented her own boundaries to be. When she came into the Union under the law of '45, and when we acquired New Mexico, a question immediately arose as to whom New Mexico east of the Rio Grande belonged—whether to the United States or to Texas. This was very much a matter of dispute. Now, who should settle this question? Texas was an extreme Southern State, full of energetic men, ready for any enterprise for what they considered the support of their rights; who were going to maintain, by force of arms, of what they thought were Texas lands. At that time, there were six or seven States of the South that had passed resolutions of separation, or leading to separation, of calling conventions to consider the question of separation, and were ready to take up the cause of Texas, and assist in enforcing her rights. Such was the state of things.

I confess that, for one, I thought it a subject of the greatest importance to settle the question of Texas boundary by a just compromise—by any fair and equal arrangement, so that the peace of the Union might be preserved. Without going more at length into the matter now, I wish to say, that in my opinion there was great danger of civil war. From the condition of Texas itself, and considering the thousands upon thousands of persons in the Southern States, who were only awaiting an opportunity to make an outbreak, and were ready to join the standard of Texas, which would give them the chance for military display, I say there was the greatest danger of civil war.

I know, very well, had Texas taken the first step, the government of the United States would easily have subdued her. As a military matter, it was easy to foresee what would be the result; as a political matter, as a matter connected with the view which the Statesman should take of it, who can see the result of the shedding of blood by the government?

I thought, therefore, and still think, that every reasonable sacrifice should be made, to settle the boundary of Texas, and to take away that topic of disunion from among us, should be made.

But there remained other matters. I thought there ought to be a proper government for Utah and New Mexico. We have, in all such cases, established a territorial government. We did establish it, and that was one of the measures of that Congress, and, in my opinion, a very proper one.

And this leads us to the consideration of the question of the recent enactment of what is called the Fugitive Slave Law. I have said that you and I are not responsible for the existence of slavery in the South, no more than to the island of Cuba, and we have no more to do with the one than with the other. It is as far removed from all your political duties, and our political duties, as the slaves in the West India Islands. Well, here they are, and here is an original compact with the States that persons bound to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, shall not be discharged, but be returned.

Now, in Gen. Washington's time, in 1793, Congress passed an act for carrying this part of the Constitution into effect. It was thought wise at the time to leave the execution of that law pretty much in the hands of State tribunals. State magistrates, and officers and judges were authorized to execute this law. It was so administered for five years, and nobody complained of it. Things went on until this new excitement of the slavery question, this abolition question, was brought up, and then some of the States, Massachusetts, Ohio and others, enacted laws making it penal to execute this law of Congress.

Then the statute become a dead letter in this part of it; when, of course, it became a matter of necessity to provide for the execution of the Constitutional enactment by the authority of the Government of the United States, or give it up altogether.—Well, I made no question myself, that if we meant to fulfil the contract of the statute,—if we meant to be honest, it was our duty to make a provision, which, by the authority of the Government itself, should carry into execution the provisions of the Constitution. And that is the origin of the present Fugitive Slave Law.

I do not say the law is perfect. I proposed some amendments to it, but was called from the Senate before it was adjusted.

The law passed, and I have not yet heard the man whose opinion is worth a sixpence, who has said that the law is not perfectly Constitutional. The Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, of New York, of Massachusetts, all say the law is a Constitutional one, passed in perfect conformity to the requirements of the Constitution. What then? Is it not to be obeyed? Are not those who are sworn to obey the Constitution, to enforce that law? Is it not a matter of conscience—of conscience?

But what do we hear? We hear of persons assembling in Massachusetts and New York, who set themselves above the Constitution—above the laws, and above the decision of the highest tribunals—and who say this law shall not be carried into effect.—You have heard it here, have you not? Has it not been so said in the county of Onondaga? (Cries of 'yes, yes.') And have they not pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to defeat its execution? Pledged their lives, their fortunes and *sacred honor!* for what? For the violation of the law—for the commission of treason to the country—for it is treason, and nothing else. (Great applause.)

I am a lawyer, and I value my reputation as a lawyer more than anything else—and I tell you if men get together, and declare a law of Congress shall not be executed in any case, and assemble in numbers to prevent the execution of such law, they are *traitors*, and are guilty of treason, and bring upon themselves the penalties of the law.

No no! It is time to put an end to this imposition upon good citizens, good men, and good women. It is treason, *treason*, TREASON, and nothing else, (cheers,) and if they do not incur the penalties of treason, it is owing to the clemency of the law's administration, and to no merit of their own.

Who and what are these men? I am assured that some of them are clergymen, and some, I am sorry to say it, are lawyers; and who the rest are, God only knows.

They say the law will not be executed. Let them take care, for those are pretty bold assertions. The law must be executed, not only in carrying back the slave, but against those guilty of treasonable practices in resisting its execution.

Depend upon it, the law will be executed in its spirit and to its letter. (Great applause.)

It will be executed in all the great cities—here in Syracuse,—in the midst of the next Anti-Slavery Convention, if the occasion shall arise; then we shall see what becomes of their lives and their sacred honor. (Tremendous cheering.)

Do not debauch your own understandings, your own judgments,—do not falsify your own sympathy, humanity and philanthropy, by any such ideas.

The course of your duty toward all that are in bondage, within your power and influence, is plain. Happily, the teaching of the sacred book which is our guide instructs us in that matter. What we have to do, we will do to the oppressed go free, to succor the distressed, and to visit the prisoner in his affliction. We most do our duty, and we must consort ourselves with acting conscientiously in that responsible life in which we are placed,—politicians in their sphere—individuals in their sphere—and all of us under the deep, earnest sense of obligation that our Creator has impressed upon us.

I do not think it necessary to carry these remarks much further. One or two remarks for your consideration, and I will relieve you.

It is not enough that we, as a class of men to whom I have referred, that the Constitution is born of hell—that it is the work of the devil—and that Southern slavery was a miserable bloodhound, set upon the track of the African race. How far these words differ from language which has related your ears within yonder hall, you may judge.

Men who utter such sentiments are ready at any moment to destroy the charter of all your liberties—of all your happiness, and of all your hopes.

The question is, therefore, whether we will sustain the government under which we live—whether we will do justice to the Southern States, that they may have no excuse for going out of the Union.—If there is anybody that wishes to put out the South shall have a fair hearing, a fair trial, a fair decision upon what they think the Constitution secures to them. I cannot of that number.

Every body knows I am a Northern man, born in the extreme North, bred and brought up in notions altogether irreconcilable to human slavery—and why should I have anything in common with the South? But what am I to put up as a public man, whether the people of the South, under the stipulations of the Constitution, have not the right of a fair law from Congress for returning to them the fugitive slave, I say they have—I say it before God, and I say it before all my observers.

Ladies and gentlemen, you will pardon me for the gravity of these remarks. I had rather talk with you in public or private on other subjects—upon the prosperity and happiness we all enjoy—upon the growth of this beautiful portion of New York—and in short upon any thing, rather than upon the Fugitive Slave Law, or Texas, or New Mexico—but I came here at the solicitation of the people of your city, to speak upon public topics. You will accept my thanks for the kind manner in which you have been please to receive me on my coming here, and I wish you and your families all, life, happiness, and prosperity.

MR. WEBSTER'S ON THE 'HABAS LAW.'—At Batavia, Mr. Webster said:—

Gentlemen—We meet live up to the national compact. When a higher law takes place in one respect, it takes place in another. Something to the shape of a higher law has taken place in your State already. I have no right to complain; but I think moderation and forbearance—a resolution to do the duty we have undertaken to perform, to the existing law—is a higher law than a fight among the states, under a notion that there is a higher law than constitutional or expediency—a law or will that releases man's obligation to the law of the land.

CLERICAL POLITICIANS.

The firebrand threw into the 'Unitarian Association,' by Theodore Parker and Samuel May, was happily quenched. That bonfire of agitation did not succeed in excommunicating President Fillmore, Daniel Webster and other prominent men, and we are pleased to find the fanatic movement and its mad originators held up to scorn. The *New York Express* concludes a article on the subject in these words:

'We can hardly conceive of principles more bigoted or of an attack more shameful than these. If, too, the Religious Societies of the country are to be made the arena of the ferocious opinions of Parker and May,—men who teach the law of hate and not of love, though professing to teach the gospel of Christ, then farewell to everything like peace in the church or good will among brethren. We trust that every religious society will rebuke every like attempt to introduce alien matters among them, and stamp with a mark of general reprobation, the conduct of those who live and thrive by making war upon the country, and those who are called to execute and obey the laws of the land.'

We cordially second the remarks of our New York contemporary, for we have in this vicinity many sad examples of ministers of peace, exhibiting themselves as gladiators in the free soil arena, to the grief of all lovers of true religion, and to the disgrace of the clerical character. Palfrey, Parker, Emerson, Colver, and a score of their fellows, instead of promoting the cause of the 'Prince of Peace,' are busy in stirring up turbulent passions and preaching rebellion to lawful authority. Disregarding the injunctions of the gospel, which command subjection to 'principalities and powers,' and 'obedience to magistrates,' these black-coated gentlemen remind us of the days of Hudibras, so humorously described by Butler;

'Whom gospel trumpeter, surrounded
With long-eared rout, to battle sounded,
And pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
Was beat with fist instead of a stick.'

They denounce, (and in some cases connel resistance,) to a law enacted and approved by the highest 'principalities and powers' in the land, and yet hypocritically lay claim to the respect which belongs to them, (and those only) who abide strictly by the rules given by their Divine Master. Fond of 'marked attentions' and 'greetings in the synagogue,' and aware that boost citizens despise them,—they watch the popular breeze, and industriously turn their sails in such a manner as to be propelled into notice.

Some years ago, the mail-service was the especial bantling of this class of false prophets—then they sufisted, heart and soul, in a phantom crusade against Free Masonry, which only strengthened that time-honored institution. The temperance reformation—moral reform—Graham diet—each in its turn was a hobby upon which the zealots mounted, and bellowed forth as if their future and present weal depended on their success. Of late, however, did intetest in the public mind begin to flag and cool, than they began to relax in their efforts, and at last, when the popularity of their themes had ceased, their labors ceased also. Now, they are full tilt against the compromises, and they once imagined of so great amount importance to body and soul are now dropped. They either did not believe one word of what they said, or by their own conduct, they prove beyond a doubt that they are destitute of all philanthropy, notwithstanding the gushings of pity they occasionally from their hearts of overcharged sensibility for the 'poor fugitive slave.' Shame on such ministers—they merit contempt and scorn.

We use strong language, and we mean it. The collective of verbal garbage which is afterwards exhaled from the gewer-like columns of the *Commonwealth*, do it for money. It is their 'vocation,' and they do not sell the reputation of their fellow-creatures at Brighton, with whom public opinion associates them. But the ministers of Christ's gospel, who second there in their seditious calling, deserve the lash. They obtrude themselves in places unbecoming to their vocation, and furnish matter of reproach, not only to themselves, but to the holy cause which they pretend to serve. While they defame and slander the President and members of Congress for discharging a duty which they believed, upon their oaths, to be just and right, and hold them up to odium—they will rise up in public and in private places of worship, and unblushingly read from that 'higher law' which they profess to regard as supreme, *Let—thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor*—*thou shalt not revile the ruler of thy people*—*let every soul be obedient to the higher powers*—*whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God!*' and a great number of similar injunctions. These ministers not only openly violate Divine commands, but instigate others also to do so! When the present agitation shall have passed away, and the practical application of their teachings shall be made by the vicious and profligate to other laws, with what face will they dare to rise up and reprove them?

☞ We find the following piece of witless blackguardism in the Boston [Démocratic!!] Post.

AN ABOLITIONIST AT FAULT.

'I had a brether-in-law,' said Mose Parkins, 'who was one of the ravinest naddest, reddest-hottest abolitionists you ever see. I liked the peaky critter well enough, and should have been very glad to see him come to spend a day, fetchin' my sister to see me and my wife, if he hadn't 'lowed his tongue to run on so 'bout niggers and slavery, and the equality of the races, and the wickedness of the Constitution of the United States, and a lot of other things, some of which made me mad and the best part on 'em right sick. I puzzled my brains a good deal to think how I could make him shut up his noisy head 'bout abolition.

'Well, one time when brother-in-law cum over to stay, and ides struck me. I bired a nigger to help me in haying time. He was the biggest, strongest, greasiest nigger you ever see. Then he was blacker then a stack of black cats, and jest as shiny as a new beaver hat. I spoke to him, 'Jake,' see I, 'when you hear the breakfast bell ring, don't you say a word, but you cum into the parlor and set rite down among the folks and eat yer breakfast.' The nigger's eyes stuck out of his head 'bout a feet! 'Yo jokin', massa,' see he. 'Jokin' see I, 'I'm as sober as a deacon.' 'But,' see he, 'I shan't have time to cum rite off and change my shirt.' 'So much the better,' see I.

'Well, breakfast cum and so did Jake, and he sat down long side my brother-in-law. He stared, but he didn't say a word. There wasn't no mistake about it. Shut your eyes and you'd know it—for he was *loud*, I tell you. There was a fust-rate chance to talk abolitionism, but brother-in-law never opened his chow-hed.

'Jake,' see I, 'you be on hand at dinner-time; and he was. He had been a workin' in the medder all the forenoon—it was hot as hickory and bilin' pitch end—but I leave the rest to your imagination.

'Well—in the afternoon—brother-in-law cum up to me madder then a short-tailed bull in hornet-time.

'Mose,' said he, 'I want to speak to you.'

'Sling it ont,' see I.

'I hain't but a few words to say,' see he, 'but if that 'are confounded nigger cums to the table agin while I'm stopping here, I'll clear out.'

'Take sto his supper that night in the kitchen; but from that day to this, I nuvur heard my brother-in-law open his head about abolitionism. When the fugitive slave bill was passed, I thought he'd let out some; but he didn't, *for he knowed that Jake was still a workin' on the farm.*'

SELECTIONS.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

THE APOSTATE.

We have looked over with some care the published speeches of Daniel Webster, in bound volumes and in newspapers, and cannot but mark his wonderful increase of piety and solemnity, as well as of patriotism, since the 7th of March, 1850. Mr. Webster has probably never seen the day when his speeches did not show as much pretence of goodness as his private character would bear; but of late he is always abounding in what a vast number of saints take to be the most deeply religious sentiments. And worse than that, he pollutes and poisons the atmosphere of the free States by a most sanctimonious devotion to liberty. Look at the following from the lips of the man who supports a law which takes away the right of trial by jury in the free States, for the benefit of slaveholders. He is speaking to the young men of Albany:—

Go then—uphold the institutions to which you were born. You are manly, fearless, bold. You fear nothing but to do wrong—dread nothing but to be found recreant to patriotism and your country.

Was there ever such an instance of the power of assurance? One would think the traitor would have choked with the recollection of his speech at Plymouth Rock, and his reference to the religious nature of the anti-slavery sentiment in his speech at Niblo's. If there is anything proud and dear in the institutions to which we are born, it is that all men are equal in the eye of the law, and that they are alike endowed with certain inalienable rights. All this Mr. Webster has distinctly sacrificed to the Presidency. But in doing so, he has made up his mind to face down the people with *brass*. This is the key to his late speeches. They are examples of the most intense and stupendous dogmatism and unblushing cant. He presumes infinitely upon the swallowing power of the people. His flattery is laid on with a shovel, and his assumptions are unstinted.

The height of Mr. Webster's assurance—the golden splendor of his brass—is more evinced, perhaps, by his admissions, than by anything else. He seems to assume that his fellow-citizens are all blockheads; and that after he has thrust into their faces concessions which are fatal to his argument, they will never exercise their brains sufficiently to refute him. We have alluded to his concession at Buffalo of the true occasion of the constitutional provision of the reception of fugitives from service and labor. He makes the same admission in his speech at Albany, and mixes it with a farrago of irrelevance and sophistry, which shows his moral principle a mere wreck—his reason enslaved to his ambition. We quote at length this portion of his speech—a passage which will excite the astonishment of some men in other countries:

But, then, there was another subject, equally agitating and equally irritating, which, in its nature, must always be subject to consideration, and that is the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, passed at the same session of Congress. Allow me to advert very shortly to what I consider the ground of that law. You know, and I know, that it was very much opposed in the Northern States—sometimes with criminal, not only, but, often, by mere abolition of party, and often by those whirlwinds of fanaticism that raise a dust and blind the eyes, but produce nothing else. Now, gentlemen, this question of the propriety of the Fugitive Slave Law, or the unetimeness of some such law, is a question that must be met. Its enemies will not let it sleep or slumber. They will give neither sleep to their eyes, nor slumber to their eyelids, so long as they can agitate it before the people. It is with them a topic—a desirable topic—and all know, who have much experience in political affairs, that for party men and party times, there is hardly anything so desirable as a topic. (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, I am ready to meet this question. I am ready to meet it—I am ready to say that it was right, proper, expedient, just, that a proper law should be passed for the restoration of fugitive slaves, found in free States, back to their owners in the slave States. I am ready to say that, because I only repeat the words of the Constitution itself, and I am not afraid of being considered as a plagiarist, nor a feable imitator of other men's language and sentiments, when I repeat and announce to every part of the country—to you, here, and at all times—the language of the Constitution of my country. [Loud cheers.

Gentlemen, before the Revolution, slavery existed in the Southern States, and had existed for more than a hundred years. We, of the North, were not guilty of its introduction. That generation of men, even in the South, were not guilty of it. It had been introduced according to the policy of the mother country, before there was any independence in the United States—indeed, before there were any authorities in the colonies to resist it. Why, gentlemen, men's opinions have so changed on this subject, and properly—the world has come to some much juster sentiment—that we can hardly believe that which is certainly true—that at the peace of Utrecht, 1713, the English Government insisted on compensation from the Spanish Government, for having violated a contract by which the Spanish Government had established the unqualified and exclusive privilege to the British Government, of importing slaves into her West India colonies! That was not repugnant then to public sentiment; but it is now. I allude to it to show that the introduction of slavery into the Southern States, is not to be visited upon the generation that achieved the independence of the country. On the contrary, all the eminent men of that day regretted it. And you, my young friends of Albany, if you will take the pains to go back to the debates of the period from the meeting of the first Congress, in 1774—I mean the Congress of the Confederation—to the adoption of the present Constitution and the enactment of the first law under the existing Constitution—any body who will make that necessary research, will find that Southern man and Northern States, as represented in Congress, lamented the existence of slavery in far more earnest and emphatic terms than the Northern; for, although it did exist in the Northern States, it was a feeble taper, just going out—soon to end—and nothing was feared from it; while feeding men of the South—of Virginia and the Carolinas—acknowledged that it was a moral and political evil, that it retarded the arm of the free man, and kept back the progress and success of free labor, and said with truth—and all history verifies the observation—that, if the shores of the Chesapeake could have been made as free to free labor, as the shores of the North River, New York might have been free, but Virginia would have been great also. That was the sentiment.

Now, under this state of things, gentlemen, when the Constitution was framed, its framers, and the people who adopted it, came to a clear, express, unquestionable stipulation and compact. There had been an ancient practice for many years—for a century, for aught I know—according to which fugitives from service—whether apprentices at the North, or slaves at the South—that fugitives should be restored. Massachusetts had restored fugitive slaves to Virginia long before the adoption of the Constitution; and it is well known that, in the States herein—the centre where slavery existed—they were restored. And it was held that any man could pursue his slave and take him wherever he could find him. Under this state of things, it was expressly stipulated, in the plainest language—and there it stands; sophistry cannot gloss it—it cannot be erased from the page of the Constitution—there it stands, that persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall not, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor shall be due. Adopted without dissent—no where objected to, North or South—considered as a matter of absolute right and justice to the Northern States—concurred in everywhere, by every State that adopted the Constitution, and we look in vain for any opposition, from Massachusetts to Georgia.

Then, this being the case—this being the provision of the Constitution, soon after Congress had organized, in Gen. Washington's time, it was found necessary to pass a law to carry that provision of the Constitution into effect. Such a law was prepared and passed. It was prepared by a gentleman from a Northern State. It is said it was drawn by Mr. Cabot of Massachusetts. It was supported by him and Mr. Goodhue, and Mr. Sedgwick of Massachusetts, and generally by all the free States. There was not a tenth vote against it. It went into operation, and, for a time, it satisfied the just rights and expectations of everybody. That law provided that its provisions should be carried into effect mainly by State magistrates, justices of the peace, judges of State courts, sheriffs of State counties, and other organs of State authority.

So things went on without loud complaints from any quarter, until some fifteen years ago, when some of the States—the free States—thought it proper for them to pass laws prohibiting their own magistrates and officers from executing the law of Congress, under heavy penalties, and refusing to the United States authorities the use of their prisons for the detention of persons arrested as fugitive slaves—that is to say, as far as the States could go. Those of them to which I refer—not all, but several—totally fled the law of '93, entirely. They said, 'not execute it; no runaway slave shall be restored.' Thus the law became a dead letter—an entire dead letter. But how was the constitutional compact—here was the stipulation as solemn as words could form it, and which every member of Congress, every officer of the general government, every officer of the State government, from governor down to constables, had sworn to support.

Well, under this state of things, in 1850, I was of opinion that common justice and good faith called upon us to make a law—fair, reasonable, equitable, just—that should be calculated to carry this Constitutional provision into effect, and give the Southern States what they were entitled to, and what it was intended originally they should receive—that is, a fair right to recover their fugitives from service from the States into which they had fled. I was of the opinion that it was the bounden duty of Congress to pass such a law. The South insisted that they had a right to it, and I thought they insisted justly. It was no concession—yielding nothing—giving up nothing. When called upon to fulfil a compact, the question is, Will you fulfil? And for one, I, for my body, I will fulfil it by any fair and reasonable act of legislation. Now, the law of 1850 had two objects, both of which were accomplished by it. First, it was to make the law more favorable for the fugitive than the law of 1793. It did so, because it called for a record, under seal, from a court in the State from which the fugitive might be said to have come, proving and ascertaining that he was a fugitive, so that nothing should be left, when pursued into a free State, than to produce the proof of his identity. Next, it secured a higher tribunal. It placed the power in more responsible hands: The Judges of the Supreme and District Courts of the United States, and learned persons appointed by them as Commissioners, were to see to the execution of the law. Therefore, it was a more favorable law, in all respects, to the fugitive, than the law passed under General Washington's administration in 1793.

Now, let me say that this law has been discussed, considered and adjudged in a great many of the tribunals of the country. It has been the subject of discussion before Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States—the subject of discussion before County Courts—the most respectable in the States. Everywhere, on all occasions, and by all judges, it has been holden to be and pronounced to be, a Constitutional law. So say Judges Nelson, Woodbury, and all the rest of the judges, as far as I know. So says the unanimous opinion of Massachusetts—so expressed by as good a court as ever sat in Massachusetts—its present Supreme Court—unanimously, and without hesitation—and so says everybody competent for learning on Constitutional law, and good judgment, without obstruction, without prejudice, without intermixture of dissent of judicial opinion anywhere. And I hope that I may be indulged on this occasion, gentlemen, partly on account of a high personal regard, and partly of the excellence and ability of the production, to refer you all to a recent very short opinion of Mr. Prentice, the District Judge of Vermont. (Applause.) True, the case before him did not turn so much on the question of the constitutionality of the law, as on the constitutionality and illegality, and utter inadmissibility of private men and political bodies setting up their notions above it, as the idea of the higher law that exists somewhere between us and the third heaven, I never knew exactly where. (Great of 'Good,' and laughter.)

Mr. Webster begins by virtually acknowledging that all his talk against 'agitation' is a sham, for he says this Fugitive Slave Law will never cease to be agitated, but be more and more so, to the end. He concedes that the change in men's opinions that ensures this agitation is a 'proper' one. Then why fight against it? It cannot be put down, though opposition to it may make a man President. Is this the reason why Mr. Webster opposes it?

It is with amazing impudence that such a man as Mr. Webster insists on the *language* of the Constitution as the basis of the Fugitive Slave law. If the language of the Constitution is sufficient, why does he seek an interpretation of the language from history? Does he forget that Mr. Iredell, in the very Convention which drafted the Constitution, admitted that the language did not apply to slaves? Mr. Webster knows, and every man who can read English knows, that the language of the Constitution applies only to persons capable of making contracts, and cannot, without a construction forced upon it by history, apply to any others. By the very theory of written constitutions, and the great settled principle that every constitution or law is to be construed *in favore libertatis*—in favor of liberty—the language never could be and never can be rightfully applied to slaves, but only to apprentices, a class to which Mr. Webster admits it did in fact apply. It is not, as Mr. Webster himself proceeds to show, the written, but the unwritten, constitution which binds to the rendition of Fugitive Slaves.

Now, throwing away the written language, and going back to the contemporary history with Mr. Webster, what do we find? We find a stipulation between the adherents and the opponents of slavery to this effect, that slavery should gradually be brought to an end by State action in the end side, and that until such time as it was ended, no obstruction should be opposed to the recovery of fugitive slaves on the other. It is perfectly plain, from Mr. Webster's own statement of the history, that if Iredell and Pinckney had insisted that slavery should be perpetual, Franklin and Sherman would not have acquiesced in any tacit agreement for the reception of fugitive slaves. We say that this is obvious from Mr. Webster's own admissions above. Whoever consults the original sources will find that Mr. Webster has by no means overstated the history. The truth is, that at the date of the Revolution, the right of reception was distinctly given up. The Congress of 1774 entered into a solemn pledge to buy no more slaves; which was equivalent to an act of gradual emancipation. The Articles of Confederation contained no clause for the reception either of slaves or servants. The clause about fugitives from service or labor *made* in the new Constitution while men slept. It was *contested* at by the drafting Convention. There were two or three men in that body who would have put into the Constitution a direct, specific, competent provision for the reception of fugitive slaves. The majority of the Convention would consent to no such thing. But they, undoubtedly, were willing that during the *temporary* continuance of slavery, fugitive slaves, should be recaptured under the article regarding fugitives from service and labor, legally due. It does not follow, however, that the people who ratified the Constitution had any such understanding.

Well, one part of this unwritten, tacit understanding has been violated, to wit, the pledge that slavery should be temporary. The slaveholders now insist that it shall be perpetual. Therefore, the bargain, the unwritten bargain, which from its inherent vicissitudes could never have been binding, falls to the ground by a failure to fulfil the conditions.

As to the law of 1793, Mr. Webster most falsely and shamefully misrepresents it, from first to last. In the first place, in its *language*, it had no more reference or applicability to slaves, than the clause of the Constitution on which it was founded. In the next place, it was *not* passed with any practical reference to slaves, but as a mere counterpart to an act in relation to fugitives from justice. It was passed on the same principle that, the gardener stuck his little son at one of the garret windows of his lodge, whence he had put a vagabond poacher in durance at the other—for the sake of *symmetry!* For years nobody applied it, or dreamed of applying it, to the recapture of a fugitive slave. If it be not so, let somebody show us a case.

In the last place, it is not true, as Mr. Webster pretends, that the law of 1850 is more favorable to the person arrested as a fugitive slave than that of 1793 was. Why, he himself confesses that the latter was proverbially a dead letter. This law of 1850 tasked and exhausted the entire sagacity of the South, to make it as effective as possible. Proof taken *ex parte* in a slaveholding State, is made conclusive of the obligation to service; creatures of the Federal Executive are made the judges, and the purse and sword of the Federal government are put at the service of the claimant. This law is made so horribly energetic, that in a short space of time it has not only hurried members, some of them *white*, into bondage, but has shocked all the decencies of manhood, by sending into slavery the mother and her unborn child under the same certificate! In what age of eternity or corner of the universe was there ever such a mystery as that a great man should stand up in this land of professed equality, and pronounce a law which contradicts every principle, and nullifies every safeguard of liberty, a good substitute for another which died the death from its inherent iniquity? Not worse than the law of '93, Mr. Webster? Is not a live tiger more terrible than a dead wolf?

It is of very little use to the great apostate to pin his faith on the sleeves of the Judges of the U. S. Supreme and District Courts, who have so shamelessly volunteered judgment without hearing, in favor of this infamous law, when we can quote his own deliberate and well weighed opinion that in so doing they have misinterpreted the Constitution. Indeed, if the doctrine of the Prigg case is to stand as fundamental law, our written Constitution is a farce. It is not worth its parchment. The Constitution of the United States is nothing more than the arbitrary will, for the time being, of a body of men dependent on the Federal Executive and the Senate for their official existence!

INCIDENTS OF SLAVERY.

On the 1st of March, 1843, a small drawer disappeared from the secretary of Mr. Conrad, of Williamstown, Grant County, Ky. It contained money just received for a lot of cattle, and valuable notes and papers. It was supposed to be stolen, and the theft was charged upon Clary, a slave whom he had raised. Her master and mistress thought she showed signs of guilt, and threatened her, to extort confession. She did confess that she took it, and told successively different places where it might be found; but these latter statements proved false. Her master thereupon hire to Lexington, and had her sold. Nothing was heard of the money or drawer, till the 2d inst., more than eight years after, when Mrs. Conrad found the drawer, with its contents, behind some other drawers in the secretary, where it had slipped by accident. Mr. C. has published a statement of the facts, and says he has no doubt that he accidentally thrust the drawer into the place where it was found.

A planter named Clanton, in Providence parish, La., was killed by his bed, a short time since, by two of his own negroes, who afterwards carried his body out to a field, and burnt it on a log heap. The neighbors made them confess the deed, and then hung them on a tree.

☞ A black man, named Immanel Coine, died near Clayville, Ky., on Wednesday evening, the 16th inst., who was *one hundred and twenty-one* years old. He had been a resident of the county fifty-one years.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, Editor.
AMOS G. BEMAN, Correspondive Editor.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1851.

THE SCOTT CASE.

The law of Fillmore, Judge Sprague will enforce, if the thing is possible. We listened to his Honor's charge to the jury in the Scott case, last week, and we never heard so perfectly a one-sided charge in our life. Judge Sprague evidently labored to serve the pro-slavery government who pay him, regardless of the rights of the people from whose pocket the money must be drawn. The testimony for the defence his honor did his utmost to neutralize, by casting reproach upon the witnesses. A more miserable piece of judicial pettifogging against a prisoner, we never had the misfortune to hear. The jury could not agree, after all the legal and judicial effort to bias them. Thank God for that! The jury stood 6 to 6. The new jury had ten men who could swallow Sprague law, and Fillmore law, too; or, to speak more technically, Sprague's edition of *Fillmore*; but there were two men who had made up their minds that the Fillmore law was unconstitutional, and they were objected to by the government.

Some of the positions of Judge Sprague need only to be stated, we think, to meet with general reprobation. One is, that it is the duty of the jury to take the law as given them by the court. Contrary to this are some opinions of men at least as eminent as Justice Sprague. No respectable English lawyer will pretend, in modern days, that the jury are an to judge of both *law* and fact. Jury trial is of little value to us if the doctrine of Judge Sprague is to prevail. It were in the power of a court, according to this doctrine, to neutralize evidence, and law, too, and give such a charge as shall pervert justice as much as to annul the great ends and objects of jury trial. Another position of Judge S. is, that with the Constitutionality of a law the court nor jury have nothing to do. Were this so, how could it ever come to pass that a court should pronounce a law unconstitutional? A judge who thinks himself obliged to execute and administer a law because upon a statute book, is not a safe depository of the judicial rights of the people.

CONCERT OF PRAYER FOR THE SLAVES.

New Haven, June 2, 1851.

Bro. Ward:—Notwithstanding the unfavorable appearance of the weather, a goodly number of the friends of freedom gathered in the Temple street Church, last evening, to observe the monthly concert of prayer for the emancipation of the slaves, and for the mental and moral improvement of the nominally free.

Prayers were offered, I trust in sincerity, to that Being who has revealed himself as the God of the oppressed, and

'Who moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform.'

It is a source of consolation to know that His ear is open to the cries of the down-trodden, the scattered and peeled. A statement of those facts which have transpired since the last concert for prayer was held was presented.

To correct any false impressions which the reading of the statistics of the United States for the year 1850, just published in the papers, may induce, the following remarks were made. It is stated that 'the whole number of free colored persons in 1840 was 386,293, and is, in 1850, 419,173—showing an increase of only 32,880, or 7-84 per cent., while that of the slave population is 22 per cent.' The *increase* of the free population of the country is, including the 32,880 free colored persons, 5,259,466. At first, it would seem that the increase of the free colored population was comparatively very small; but a statement of *facts*, if they could be procured, would most materially change the aspect of things:

1st. Many of those who are slaves, and number with the slave population, are the children of white fathers; and, to say the least, half of them should be deducted from the number returned as the *natural* increase of the slave population.

2d. The large increase of the white population has been derived from several sources. For instance: The territory that was robbed from Mexico contained its thousands; then look at the importations of Irish, Dutch, Swiss, Germans, Jews, Hungarians, Poles, French and Italians. Deduct all those which have been landed in the United States during the last ten years from the ratio. of increase of the whites, and the difference of *increase between* the free colored people and that of the whites would be much diminished. Let it also be remembered that the Colonization Society has taken away some of the free colored people, but very few of the slaves. *Facts* do not prove that the free colored people are diminishing, or cannot increase in this country—none need say the flattering notion to their souls. We are here, for weal or wo, identified with all the interests of the country. Here we shall, under God, work out our destiny—here we shall do much to hasten the day when all our brethren shall be emancipated—we shall remember them in bonds, as bound with them!

The efforts of Rev. H. H. Garnet in the cause of Free Labor were alluded to, and the probable effect which the recent discovery of a mode to manufacture cloth from flax, by M. Le Chevelier P. Claesen, is to have on the slave-grown cotton of the South—an interesting statement of which you published in the Citizen of May 31st.

The election to Congress of the Hon. Charles Sumner and the Hon. Benjamin Rantoul from good old Massachusetts was duly noticed; also, the increase of anti-slavery which the speeches of the Hon. Daniel Webster at Buffalo and Albany evidently contain, showing that he feels the pressure, which not the genial soil of Virginia, with its October sun, can fully dissipate.

As you were born so recently, I need say no more of New Haven, and will therefore conclude by sending you the following notice of your lecture here on the 26th ult., from the *Morning Courier* of May 30th.—L. S. P.

[We have no room for the extract referred to this week.]

SPEECH OF S. R. WARD AT CINCINNATI.

Utica, N. Y., May 23.

Mr. Editor:—I had commenced to write out the speeches made in the Anti-Slavery Convention in Cincinnati, when I was attacked by an epidemic ophthalmia. If the following, which is but the commencement of a very able speech, can be given to the public, I shall be gratified in having aided to spread the light, although a press of business will prevent my compiling the report from my notes.

Yours for the slave,
EDWARD MATHEWS.

The resolutions being before the Convention, and a call being made from different parts of the hall for Mr. Ward, he rose and said—

I had hoped that my duties would not begin at this early period of the Convention, as they might prove severe should they be continued through the entire Convention.

I believe in the truthfulness of the resolution just read. It must commend itself to the conscience of all—'Slavery and liberty are a strong contrast.'

Men don't believe slavery to be right, but there are so many who are willing to make money at the expense of the labor and toil of their neighbors, and who, therefore, consent to their oppressment that they justify the accursed system.

I don't believe that the politicians of Ohio, or any other State, look upon slavery as right, but they expect, by yielding to it, to secure certain ends, and hence they yield to it, and defend the system.

I don't believe the clergymen of our land, of whatever name, or school, or tiegs, or dye, or sect, regard slavery as right; they, however, for certain considerations, and to accomplish certain objects, yield to it, and then proceed to defend it, and make it out to be all right.

It is not that these various classes of persons do not know their duty; they know it well enough, but they are not willing to do it. But let us look at these matters in detail.

The resolution declares liberty and slavery to be antagonistic. A very suitable declaration to be made by a convention, and, especially, a convention called by women, admitted to be the most sensible part of creation. Now, this resolution simply re-echoes the principle of the Declaration of Independence. It puts forth the same principle upon the banks of the Ohio river which was adopted in the ordinance of the North Western Territory.

Slavery and liberty can never be brought into friendly communion. The resolution announces a truism. And the fact that it is necessary to announce that truism *now*, is a fearful evidence of the degeneracy of the times upon which we have fallen. Sir, liberty and slavery never can co-exist. One or the other must perish. I know that we have had a sort of so idea that five-sixths of the people in our land are free, and one sixth are slaves. But, that this is not the case, proof can easily be adduced. It has been supposed by some that this question of liberty is a negro question. But we belong to the human family; as I told Capt. Bynders, in New York, I belong to the human race, and he that belongs to the same race is my brother, and he that don't, why he is no relation to me, that's all.

The question of liberty is not a negro question; and the state of things, as they now exist in our country, illustrates the statement of MacDuffie. He said that in every country the capitalists of that country would own the laboring classes. As we progress in this question, we shall see what the designs of slavery are. We have not begun to cipher in the notation of numbers on this question.

Before the Constitution was one hour old, slaveholders aimed to see it to uphold the system of slavery. They determined to endeavor to make slavery United States law. They have succeeded. And I am free to say, that the present state of things makes our prospects exceedingly gloomy. Our rights had been sacrificed so far to the slave power, that Thomas Morris found no one in the Senate willing to stand by him in defending the rights of petition. It was not a negro right. It was not the right simply of an abolitionist. The rights of all were sacrificed and trampled in the dust at the bidding of the slave power. Slavery lives only by such fearful sacrifices. You may boast as much as you please of liberty and independence, but when you have not the right of petition, you are not freemen. The laws of Congress have made the post roads the highway of slavery, and the postmasters the pimps of the slave power. The 120,000 postmasters in our land must be the spies of the slave power, or walk the plank. There is not an instance to the contrary. Not an officer, even in the smallest corner of the Territory of Oregon, where this arrangement is not carried out. All must play second fiddle to the tune given in Washington. Such, and such only, are appointed.

I hope in God the people who appoint the government will do better, and vote for men who love liberty and hate oppression. Why, if a postmaster prays for the removal of slavery, some one who wants the office will see to it that word be forwarded to Washington that such a one prays for the slave, and another is recommended whom it is known will be more servile, and a change is made. And yet the people who act thus, in subservience, appoint and pay the Administration. It is just there that we err. When the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, the Administration endeavored the numbers that would be submissive for the sake of office.

And in this matter, the wife of the office-seeker will sometimes be the first to watch and discover some anti-slavery sympathy in the office-holder, and aid in making it known at Washington. It is written in St. Paul, 1 Tim. 1: 14, that 'woman was first in the transgression,' and sometimes they have been first in reporting also are praying against slavery. The first indicident who claimed a human being under the Fugitive Slave Law was a woman. A woman, too, who could not write her own name. But she made a cross. How in the world she learned to make *that*, the papers do not inform us. And so poor Hamlet was sent South as the property of a woman who did not know how to write her own name. Now, we throw ourselves upon free Consti-

tution to this question, which declares that 'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.' When, in the case of Bima, we applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* to Levi Woodbury—who is not little like the Levites of the Mosaic economy, though much like the Levis of modern times—he said he should not grant it, for it would not do any good. Look at the principle. A man has your coat, but refuses to give it to you, 'for it would not do you any good.' What has that to do with the right in this matter? And so in Ohio, the colored man is robbed of his right to vote, on the ground that it would 'not do him any good' if he enjoyed that right. It is as vain to carry the case of a person claimed as a slave before a bench of United States Judges, as to carry it before the Emperor of Russia. The case is pre-judged. The judges are mortgaged, body and soul, to the slave power. They will give just such an opinion as the government holds. Our Constitution in this matter is treated as so much blank paper. Slavery says, 'I shall,' and the people say, 'so thou mayst.' The Fugitive Slave Bill says you must not aid the slave when he escapes; but God says, Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant who has escaped. God says you shall not deliver him up; but the Fugitive Slave Bill fines you if you secrete him. God says you must love your neighbor as yourself; the Fugitive Slave Law forbids your doing so.

Eldor Wasn here described the iniquitous treatment of some of the Boston citizens, for their acts of sympathy with the fugitive.

Why, sir, you are not allowed by this law to say 'Good-bye,' or 'God bless you,' as that is indirectly aiding a slave to escape. If you feed a slave and give him a night's lodging, and every true man will do it, you expose yourself to a fine of $2000, and the penalty of six months' imprisonment. If a man obstructs the slave claimant, and every true man will certainly do so, he runs the risk of another penalty of $1000.

My father is a fugitive slave. I would rather be strung up than see him taken into slavery. I should fight it out to the last against any man who should dare to lay hands on the sacred person of my father. The law, however, is so framed that a person may expose himself to four times six months imprisonment, and a penalty of $5000, for aiding one fugitive. Mr. Chairman, a free people never sit down contented under so despotic a law as this. A free people were never held down under such a law, and were we a free people, we should not rest till it was repealed. Had we been a free people, our rulers would not have enacted such a law. The slaveholders know that many, for the sake of some little nubbin out of the public crib—for the sake of a sixpenny office—will yield obedience to that law.

STATE CONVENTION.

To the People of the State of New York—

Be it hereby known that the undersigned Committee, by the expressed wish of the citizens of Troy and Albany, publish and apprise the inhabitants of the State, that a Convention is called and will assemble in the city of Albany, on the 22d day of July, 1851.

The paramount object of this Convention is to assemble the disfranchised and aggrieved portion of the people of the State of New York, to deliberate upon, and propose, then and there, the course to be pursued in the future and onward prosecution of our interests and rights.

We are not insensible to the fact that the public mind has been deeply aroused throughout the length and breadth of this great country, and that those important and agitating questions comprehend and involve our interests and the perpetuity of the government.

And most solemnly are we impressed with *this* truth, also, that the denial of our rights is the overthrow of the rock-foundation principles of the country; for the Declaration of Independence, in the language of the late and lamented John Quincy Adams, recognizing no despotism, monarchical, democratic or aristocratic, declares that individual man is possessed of rights of which no government can deprive him.

With this view, and understanding, two great questions present themselves for adjustment, the first of which is the recent edict enacted and sent forth by Congress, called the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' and the second in character, is the coercive and barbarous Colonization Scheme; either of which questions is characterized with infamy sufficient to libel Christianity or sink a nation. There are other questions of local and State character that demand our immediate attention, viz.: the School question; a system of law of the State for the general education of all classes of children, without distinction or proscription. This philanthropic and far-seeing law has been suspended to its natural and deficed course, and hundreds of children are thereby violently ejected from schools, and this in open violation of the law; and for no reason save that of God's giving them a different complexion from those in power.

A second subject for consideration, but first in importance, is the 'Suffrage question.' A special law of the State requires every colored voter to be in possession of two hundred and fifty dollars worth of real estate, as a qualification. These local and general subjects require the people to act with promptness, union and energy, to effect the desired ends.

Therefore, fellow-citizens, in consideration of these important subjects, however remote from the Capital, or humble and secluded in your position, we ask you, in the name of humanity, posterity and freedom, to stop and consider the importance of your presence and co-operation. Let it not be said that you are insensible and dead to all the interests and motives that stimulate and enhance life; but come up in your sturdy simplicity from the cultivated fields, from the workshops, and from all your different avocations, and make one great heart, whose pulse has the life and force of the whole people. Thus inseparably bound in interests, and standing upon the vantage ground of the declared principles of the government, we have nothing to fear; and are doubly armed, for our cause is just. Look forth upon the green and luxuriant fields, the embrageous forests, and mountains that aspire to arrest the sun in his downward effulgence, and then say, will you forsake these glories and blessings, hearth-stone and roof-tree, and deliberately give up yourselves as unworthy of these blessings? If not, then let there be but one expression, in multiplied force—omnipotent, because you are resolved, and let it be this:

NO PROSCRIPTION.—NO SLAVES—UNION —FREEDOM AND EQUALITY.

Wm. P. McIntyre, Wm. Rice,
Edward Fazeman, C. Edward Seye,
Hiram Johnson.

From the Liberator.

TRIAL OF JAMES SCOTT,

For Aiding, Abetting, and Assisting in the Rescue of the Fugitive Slave 'Shadrach.'

We are gratified to be able to say, that the jury, in the case of Scott, the colored man, charged with being a rescuer of Shadrach, has refused to convict him, notwithstanding the efforts of Judge Sprague and the Hunkers of Boston to secure a verdict of guilty. The case was given to the jury at half-past 12 Thursday noon, last week. The Commonwealth reports the subsequent proceedings of the Court with the Jury as follows:

At 24 minutes of six o'clock, Thursday evening, the Jury came into Court, and Judge Sprague said, Gentleman, have you been able to agree?

Foreman—We have not.

Court—Do you require explanation upon any points of law?

Foreman—We do not.

Court—I regret to put you to any inconvenience, gentlemen, but it will be necessary for you to remain together yet longer, in the hope that you may come to some agreement.

Foreman [leaning forward]—Did you say, your honor, that we should have to consider the case further?

Court—Yes, sir, the Court must so decide.

Foreman—It will be of no use.

Court—Oh, Mr. Foreman, I have often found it the case, that Juries have retired supposing they could not agree, and then have returned with a verdict.

The Jury then retired under instructions from the Court, that the case they agreed before the coming in of the Court, Friday morning, a sealed verdict should be returned to the officer in attendance, and they be discharged.

On Friday morning, the Jury, after being together twenty-one hours, came into court, and in reply to the inquiry by the Clerk, if they had agreed upon a verdict, the Foreman stated that they had not and could not agree, whereupon the papers were taken from them, and they were discharged from any further attendance at this term. We learn that they were equally divided.

☞ The case of our estimable colored fellow-citizen, Lewis Hayden, was then taken up, and the *packing of* a new jury commenced. Only nine persons having answered the questions satisfactorily, the court adjourned to Monday, at which time the jury list was completed. The trial is not yet concluded.—The Government have put in all their testimony, which is to the effect that Hayden was seen in the Court Room previous to the close of the examination before Commissioner Curtis, and that he told Shadrach that he would stand by him; that he was seen outside of the Court House, just previous to the rescue; that he was seen near Shadrach at the time the mob rushed Belknap street; and with a man supposed to have been Shadrach (he armed with a pistol) on the same afternoon, left the city in a cab for Cambridge.

From the same,

LETTER FROM A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

London, April 21, 1851.

My Dear Friend Mr. Garrison:

I hardly know how to begin a letter to you, being as I am such a poor scholar; but I hope you will excuse my poor penmanship. I arrived safe in Liverpool on the 26th of last month, and I thank God, for his kind mercy to me while crossing the sea; for, indeed, I had a very rough time of it. I was sick all the voyage over. I would have given any thing to have been at my journey's end before I was half way; but, withal, I thank God that I am a free man. I consider myself freer than I ever was before. I am call this, with safety, the land of the free and the brave. (*)

Your kind letter arrived a fortnight ahead of us. I have not language to express my thanks to you; for your letter has carried me fee in London and Liverpool; and, likewise, that from Capt. Reese to the Rev. Mr. Burnet. Mr. B. received me very kindly indeed. He took me to two noblemen's houses, to see if he could not get me a situation as waiter, and thinks he shall succeed in it; and he took me to the exhibition. I cannot give you any idea of the things I saw there: they were so many in number, I cannot remember all. And I have seen Buckingham Palace, but have not yet seen her Majesty. She was in town when I went to the Duke of Wellington's house, with a letter for a gentleman there.

I got to London on the 13th of April, and was very kindly received at the depot by one of the Rev. Francis Bishop's friends, of Liverpool. They took us to his house, and got us lodgings for that night; and the next day he took us to the house of a friend of his, and we were kindly congratulated by them also. The Bishop of London could not have been kinder to his own brother than to us.

I had some very fine meetings while we were in Liverpool. My friend that is with me gave a lecture. I could not put confidence in myself to speak in a public meeting. I expect to speak in London tonight, (if God spares me)—but, O! I wish I had words to speak my gratitude to you for your kind letters. But there is One who can reward you better than I can. I have not forgotten to praise his holy name. No—blessed be God, I will praise him while I have breath. Although the slaveholders would not let me have a place in America to rest the soles of my feet, yet, thank God! I expect one day to have a place of rest, both for soul and body. I know, when I get there, the slaveholders cannot chase me—I shall be free as any white man. Is it not a blessed thing, that the poor black men have got a resting-place some where? I can tell you, my dear friend Mr. Garrison, if we should never meet in the flesh again, I expect to meet you, by the grace of God, in bright glory. Tell the slaveholders to go on, for God is about to take the poor negroes home to rest. Please to tell all the poor runaways to serve the true and living God, for he is able to deliver them safe through all trials and hard crosses. Please remember me to all my friends in Boston; the blessing of God on them is the prayer of their humble servant. Please to remember me to Captain Reese. I thank him kindly for his letter. Mr. Burnet is well, and wishes to be remembered to him. Please to tell Captain Reese that Mr. Jones has left.

Your most obedient servant,
FRANCIS S. ANDERSON.

P. S. Mr. Duval desires his respects to Mr. May, and feels very thankful to him for a kind letter which he received from him, containing letters of introduction, and says he had a very pleasant passage over, not having had a day's sickness; and he desires that if any friends ask after him, that you will be so kind as to give his love to them, and tell them that he is quite as comfortable as can be expected under the circumstances in which, through divine providence, he is placed. And may the Lord bless the labors of the abolitionists!

(*) This is spoken like a true Yankee. Ed.

SCRIBBLINGS.

Judge Sprague, Commissioner Curtis, and Attorney Lord, of Salem, are about the hardest looking men in the State. God help a fugitive, if he fall into the hands of either of them!

The Editor is spending a few days in Maine and New Hampshire.

The friends of Mr. Rantoul had a pleasant time at Chelsea on Thursday of last week. Several Bloomers were there. J. B. Smith did his very best.

There might be a united public movement on the part of the colored people of our city, in reference to the education of their children. Were the right spirit exhibited, a select, or private, or high school, could be established and sustained, which, while it would secure the education of our children, would, at the same, discountenance the proscription of the School Board, *and the meanness of its* BLACK *instrument.*

Miss M. A. Garrison, No. 8 Southac street, continues to solicit patronage in her business of dressmaking and other sewing. Give her a call.

We are very anxious for a very great increase of our subscription list. We must have more subscribers; because we publish the only paper published by any black man in New England; and, because our is the cheapest anti-slavery and reform paper in the country.

A very cool summer, this.

The rescue trials are exciting the disgust of all who attend them, except those who are paid for having interested in them.

We supposed that in our absence the city subscribers were supplied with the Citizen. But this is but one of the many ways in which the 'former administration' neglected and injured our business. City subscribers will be regularly supplied at their houses, hereafter, unless any should prefer to call at our office.

Our letters—intended for us—on private and personal business, should be directed to S. R. Ward—not as the firm—marked 'Private,' and directed to No. 8 Southac street, Boston. Letters for Mr. Randolph should be directed to J. W. Randolph, marked 'Private,' and directed to Boston; letters on business should be directed to S. R. Ward & Co. 21 Cornhill, Boston, and *always post paid.* Do you understand, now?

Dr. Biss's Hair Restorative is *a little the tallest* out. There are other good tonics afloat, but Biss's Restorative is second to none in the country. It is to be found, wholesale and retail, at the Doctor's Drug Store, 189 South Sixth street, Philadelphia. There should be an agency for the sale of it in this city.

Let me have the call for the celebration at Geneva. Why has it not been sent me?

FUGITIVE SLAVE EXCITEMENT IN CHICAGO, ILL.

The Chicago Journal of June 6d, contains the following:

The city, for the last twenty-four hours, has been the scene of considerable excitement, occasioned by the arrest of a colored man claimed as a slave, by an agent for the alleged master, from the State of Missouri.

Yesterday afternoon, Deputy Marshal Barker, in the discharge of his official duty, arrested the man, named Moses Johnson, upon State street, and conveyed him to the United States Court Room, in the Saloon Building, but in consequence of the prisoner not being provided with counsel, Mr. Barker very properly postponed the examination until this morning at 10 o'clock.

Mean while the rumor of the arrest took wings, and a large number of individuals, including many colored persons, gathered about the entrance to the Saloon, and much excitement prevailed, it being known that the Marshal had decided to retain the alleged fugitive in the Saloon Building during the night, and that a suitable guard had been set over him. That several of the friends of the prisoner were invited to remain with him, is a sufficient evidence of Mr. Barker's disposition to do whatever might be desired in the case, consistant with the discharge of his official duties.

As evening approached, the crowd at the corner of Lake and Clark streets increased, until the sidewalks and a considerable portion of the street were filled. About half-past eight o'clock, the lower doors, leading to the saloon, were closed, and some attempt, was made to force them open, but the officers in charge prevented it, and no violence ensued.

The Mayor and the City Marshal, together with a number of the police as well as volonteers, were present to preserve order, and indeed, the prevailing feeling, notwithstanding the strong sympathy on the part of many in the prisoner's favor, seemed to be to await the result of the legal examination this morning. Parties of persons engaged in earnest conversation, were in the vicinity of the building during the night, and at an early hour this morning, the entrance to the saloon and the sidewalks were again filled.

The trial commenced at 10 o'clock this morning, in the U. S. Court Room, Falcon Buildings, before the Commissioner, George W. Meeker, Esq.

The alleged fugitive was brought into court in charge of Deputy Marshal Barker, and special assistants, among whom were Messrs. George Raikin, John A. Bross, J. L. Marsh, John Daly, Henry E. Seeley, S. W. Mattesen, U. S. Army, W. Hitchcock, U. S. A., and (strange to say) *Patrick Riley*, of the Army.

Messrs. Fleshman, E. Peck, B. S. Morris, and A. W. Windett, appeared for the claimant of the fugitive, and Messrs. Maniere, Larned, Freer and Calvin Dewolf, for the fugitive.

The Court Room was crowded to excess, hundreds were unable to obtain admittance.

Mr. Maniere, on behalf of the defendent, raised the question of the jurisdiction of the Court, and Mr. Peck was speaking when we left the Court Room.

The *finale* of the matter was are unable to give, as the examination was not concluded when we went to press.

From the Chicago Tribuna,

Later.—The Commissioner announced, that his decision on this point raised by the counsel for the defendant would be reserved for the time, and he requested the counsel for the plaintiff to proceed with the evidence, remarking that it might be of such a character, as to obviate the necessity of adjudicating on it.

Mr. Fleshman then produced a paper, purporting to be a certificate and recorded copy of an affidavit from Lafayette county, State of Missouri, in relation to the defendant.

The counsel for the defendant objected to its reception as evidence on a number of grounds.

The paper was then read, which set forth that a certain slave named William had escaped from Crawford R. Smith, of the county and State aforesaid, describing him as about 20 years old, and 5 feet 8 inches high, and of a copper color. Mr. F. was also offered the power of attorney, authorizing the recapture of said William.

The counsel for the defence objected to the power of attorney, and asked time to examine all the evidence offered in order to be able to meet it fully. The Commissioner on consultation with the counsel on both sides, adjourned the Court until Wednesday morning.

Quite an *emute* occurred yesterday afternoon. As the slave catcher was proceeding along Clark street, quite a crowd followed, some of whom shouted at and jostled him. He seemed to be a good deal frightened, and surrounded by constables who kept off the crowd, hastily took refuge in Justice Lowe's office.—Meantime, two men, one white and the other colored, were caught and dragged to the watch house, neither of whom, we are told, had anything to do with the disturbance. The white man was handled very roughly.

Second Day, Wednesday, June 4.

George Maniere, Esq., counsel for the defence, opened by stating, in detail, his objections to the reception of the record of proof offered by the claimant's counsel.

The Court decided that the affidavits were made for the purpose of procuring the writ, and were therefore not evidence on the trial.

Mr. Fleshman, for plaintiff, introduced two affidavits, the subject of which was to prove the defendant to be the identical person described in the record.

Mr. Maniere, for the defendant, objected to the affidavit on the ground that the affidavit of a person in Court could not be received, being in contravention of a well settled principle of the Law of Evidence.—Neither could oral evidence be introduced except as to identity, after it had been found that the defendant answered the description of the record.

The affidavits were ruled out.

James M. Burney (the person who made the affidavits) was then sworn. He was much excited and had a hang-dog look. He swore that he was in the employ of the plaintiff; that a reward of $200 had been offered; that he did not expect any compensation.

Mr. Larned impeached the testimony of the witness on the ground that a reward had been offered, and there was no evidence of its having been withdrawn, and that, therefore, the witness was interested in the conviction of the defendant.

The Commissioner ruled the testimony admissible.

The defendant was here brought forward and placed in front of the witness. Witness was asked if he knew him. He replied that he did. Defendant remarked, 'I don't know you.' Witness was then asked how he would describe the color of the defendant. He said he would call it a dark copper color. (He is very black.)

Mr. Sedgwick was sworn, and testified that he had measured the height of the defendant, and found him five feet and five and a quarter inches. (The record describes him as five feet and eight inches.)

Two other witnesses were examined to prove an error in identity, and then the Court adjourned. Thus the case stands, when last heard from.

The alleged fugitive gave his name as Moses Johnson. He appears a very inoffensive boy, with but slight indications of intellect, and of inferior physical development.

☞ We are happy to hear, by later intelligence, that the alleged fugitive has been set at liberty, his identity not being established.

BOSTON, June 8th.

A fearful tragedy took place last evening in Roxbury. A young man, representing himself as a stranger from Hope, Me., called at the house of Dr. A. J. Cummings, a very respectable physician, and requested medical advice. The Doctor being out, Mrs. C. invited him to step into the parlor, where he sat down, took off his cravat, and complained of pain in his side. At the moment, a little daughter of Dr. C. came running into the room, when the man instantly drew a razor from his pocket, and cut the child's throat from ear to ear! The mother sprang forward, and in her efforts to protect her child, was herself badly wounded in the hands. She then fled from the house with the servant girl, pursued by the assassin. The neighbors were alarmed and rushed to the spot, when the man cut his own throat, and fell dead in the street.—The little girl also died instantly; she was an only child. The man's name is supposed to be Ephraim O. Daggett. He was, doubtless, insane.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

GRAND CELEBRATION,

IN MASS MEETING, ON

INDEPENDENCE DAY.

The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in accordance with established usage, hereby notify the friends of impartial and universal liberty throughout the Commonwealth, that they have made arrangements for a GRAND CELEBRATION of the approaching Anniversary of American Independence, in the beautiful and spacious

GROVE AT ABINGTON,

having for its direct, appropriate and beneficent object, the liberation of the millions of slaves, who, on that day, will be clanking their galling fetters and sending their cries to Heaven, in this guilty land—and unannealed for its tyranny, and unparalleled for its hypocrisy.

A special train of cars will leave the station, corner of South and Keeland streets, ½ half-past 8 o'clock, A. M. Tickets half price.

☞ Fuller particulars in our next number.

FAREWELL SOIREE TO GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P.

In accordance with a vote unanimously adopted at the late New England Anti-Slavery Convention, the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society hereby announce a FAREWELL SOIREE and supper to be given to that distinguished advocate of universal freedom, GEORGE THOMPSON, of England.

The Soiree will take place at Assembly Hall, Albany street; (over the Boston and Worcester Railroad Depot,) on Monday evening next, June 16th, at 8 o'clk.

TICKETS, 50 cents each, will be for sale at the book-stores of J. P. Jewett, 19 Cornhill, and by R. F. Wallcut, 21 Cornhill.

☞ Immediate application for tickets should be made, that sufficient accommodations may be provided.

By order of the Board,

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
JOSEPH K. HAYES,
JAMES B. RICHARDS,
JOSHUA B. SMITH,
AUSTIN BEARSE,
} Committee of Arrangements.

NARRATIVE OF A MISSIONARY WHO WAS LYNCHED IN KENTUCKY.

Eld. E. Matthews, Missionary of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, who was lynched while prosecuting his labors in Kentucky, having been thrown ten times successively into a pond, on the 18th of February last, will give a narrative of his labors and sufferings next Sunday evening, June 15th, in the Tremont Temple, at 1-4 before 8 o'clock.

Will the pastors please give the above notice to their congregations?

EDWARD MATTHEWS.

HENRY C. WRIGHT AT HARWICH.

Henry C. Wright will lecture on Slavery and War in Union Hall, Harwich, on Sunday next, 15th instant, all day, at the usual time of service.

COMMUNICATIONS.

PROPOSED APPENDIX TO THE GATECHISMS.

MARRIAGE.

As we believe that the Domestic Relation in the 'Household of Faith' is an ordinance of God of the highest importance, for *building up* the Church of God in the world, and *establishing* His Kingdom among men; and that from the earliest times, degeneracy in the Church has been traced to the *unsanctioned* marriage alliances between the 'children of God and the children of men'—the godly and the ungodly; and that such connections are clearly forbidden in Scripture, as inconsistent, irrational, dangerous to the spiritual welfare and true comfort of the families of the Faithful, and inimical to the purity and peace of Zion; we do, therefore, withhold all assent and consent to such connections.

Q. 1.—How are believers to marry according to God's ordinance? *Ans.*—Only 'in the Lord.'

Q. 2.—Who are believers, in the New Testament sense of the word? *Ans.*—Those who 'believe on the Son of God with the *heart* unto *righteousness*,' and are the subjects of that change of heart, or 'new birth,' without which our Savior declares we cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

Q. 3.—May, then, a believer in one branch of Christ's Church marry a believer in another? *Ans.*—Assuredly, if there is no other hindering cause; *because* there is nothing in the word of God forbidding it.

Q. 4.—May a believer, or truly converted person, marry one who is not? *Ans.*—No. The word of God is clearly, expressly and entirely against it, and by the most forcible arguments and striking examples, warns and condemns such connections.

Q. 5.—Please to point us to such passages. *Ans.*—That awful and universal judgment, whereby the world was overwhelmed with the Deluge, and among the vast multitude of professors, but one family was saved, is traced to *this* cause as the fruitful spring whence wickedness and ungodliness so rapidly and universally overflowed the world. (Gen. 6.) 'The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose: and God said, My spirit shall not always strive with man; and, also, after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them, and the same became mighty men.' * * * 'Mighty men of blood and war.' * * * 'And God saw that the wickedness of man was great, and the Lord said, I will destroy man from off the face of the earth.'

Q. 6.—Who are meant by the sons of God, here? *Ans.*—Godly, or good people.

Q. 7.—Who, by the daughters of men? *Ans.*—Ungodly, irreligious people.

Q. 8.—Is there any other instance? *Ans.*—After the return of the Jews from the Babylonish Captivity, under Ezra, we find this irregularity to have been one of those evils which, amidst all the other confusions of those gloomy times, astonished and affected him most deeply. (Ezra 9.) 'For the holy seed had in this ungodly manner mingled themselves with the people of the lands; and when I heard this thing, I sat down astonished; I sat down astonished until the evening sacrifice.' 'Now, therefore, give not your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters unto your sons, nor for yourselves, nor seek their peace our their wealth, for ever, that ye may be strong.' And about twenty years after this, under Nehemiah, when the same abuse of their high and holy calling as God's separated, sanctified and peculiar people, had again been fallen into, Nehemiah took the same course, but with more severity, and solemnly cursed those who had thus profaned the crown of their separation, (Nehem. 13: 5—23, &c.,) and cites them to the case of Solomon, who, though so beloved by his God, yet even him did ungodly women cause to sin. Nehemiah went so far as to annul these mixed marriages.

Q. 9.—May not these prohibitions of mixed marriages refer only to the Jews as a nation? *Ans.*—No: for the first instance brought forward was long before the organisation of the Jewish Polity; long before even the birth of Abraham, the founder of that people; and, moreover, the reasons adduced apply equally to *all* times and *all* places, viz.: that ungodly companions entice to sin, not only by words and designedly, but by an unholy example, and a constant ungodly and worldly influence and example, *bearing affirm* God and His ways.

Q. 10.—Is there anything in the New Testament on this subject? *Ans.*—A great deal. 1st, generally: Christians are required, 'whatsoever they do, to do it unto the Lord,' and 'for the glory of God;' but to marry an ungodly person is not doing so,—and that, too, in one of the most important circumstances of a person's life. 2d, particularly: We are told to marry only *in the Lord*. And again, in the 2d Corinthians, 6th ch., the apostle expressly forbids it: 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers.'

Q. 11.—Does he give any reasons whereby to impress more forcibly the admonition? *Ans.*—Yes; for although a simple command or precept is sufficient, yet here, as elsewhere, God, the wise Father of His intelligent creatures, points out to us the folly, the inconsistency, the danger of disobedience and neglect. He asks—'What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? What communion hath light with darkness? What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?' 'The bodies of true Christians are the temples of the Holy Ghost,' (1st Cor. 6, 19,)—whereas, others are under the prevailing influence of some idol or other. 'For ye are Temples of the Living God, as God hath said: I will dwell in them and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people; wherefore, come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and my daughters, said the Lord Almighty. Having, therefore, these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord.'

Q. 12.—Why do you suppose the Apostle here to allude to the marriage connection, and not rather to business relations and Church fellowship? *Ans.*—1st, because it is usual to speak of the marriage connection as a yoking together, but not of other connections; 2d, though it may refer to Church fellowship, yet, as the reasons given apply equally to the marriage relation, it is fair to consider *that* as one of the connections alluded to, and so far as these reasons may be fairly applicable to business relations, *so far* they may also be included.

Q. 13.—But though Scripture forbids the marriage of the godly with the ungodly, does it forbid the marriage of the children of God with those who, though not positively converted, are yet trying to do their duty and to seek God? *Ans.*—It does. Scripture divides all mankind into two classes: if we are not godly, we are ungodly; if we are not the temples of God, we are the temples of idols; if we are not holy, we are unholy; if we are not 'heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ,' we are 'heirs of wrath.' If persons are seeking God and salvation with their *whole* heart, they will not be likely to bind trouble themselves about matrimony just then; and if they are so seeking, they will soon find, and then the barrier to their union is removed; and if they are not so seeking with all their hearts, they may never find.

Q. 14.—But neither we nor the Church can see the heart; we may be mistaken. *Ans.*—True; but we are to do our best, by prayer to Him who can search the heart, careful inquiry and examination, and then if, after all, we do mistake, we may, with humble confidence and a happy conscience, refer the matter to the great Overruler of all events.

Q. 15.—But does not the apostle encourage those who have unbelieving companions, when he says—'What knowest thou, O man, but that thou mayst save thy wife; and what knowest thou, O wife, but that thou mayst save thy husband?' *Ans.*—As the word of God never contradicts itself, we may be sure the hope here set before those so unhappily connected, contains no warrant or encouragement to form such alliances. The apostle, in that passage, is speaking of separations between persons already married. Now, it is frequently the case that individuals marry, both of them unconverted characters; afterwards one of them embraces the Saviour, and becomes the 'child of God.' Now, in this case, the marriage was formed according to the ordinance of God for the world of mankind: no law of God was violated thereby. Then shall such a marriage be broken in case of one of the parties becoming truly religious? God forbid! and the hopes above referred to are set before the Christian companion to encourage them in circumstances so distressing, by a pleasing expectation that it may eventuate in the salvation of the other party.

Q. 16.—But do we not find, in many instances, that a converted character marrying an unconverted one has been the means of the conversion of the latter? *Ans.*—And what though we do? Yes, tho' the whole economy of grace, we do find glorious manifestations of that Gospel mystery—'where sin abounded did grace much more abound.' But, 'shall we therefore dare to sin that grace may abound?' 'Their judgment is just who do so,' saith the apostle. And, moreover, we hesitate not to say that such instances are very rare exceptions to the general melancholy fact, that the godly companion is much more injured in personal piety, and hindered in domestic and public usefulness, than the ungodly one bettered.

Q. 17.—Will you point out some of the disadvantages accruing to the family of the Christian by connections of this nature with the ungodly? *Ans.*—They are very many and very great. To the Christian companion, there is the want of all that makes such a relation desirable in a religious point of view:—want of sympathy on subjects felt to be of supreme importance to themselves, and to every member of their family and household; and, consequently, want of counsel and co-operation in the things of God, both in the family and in the Church and in the world; want of countenance and support in maintaining the honor of God in the family, and in training children and domestics; want of that great lever whereby to 'remove mountains,'—entire prayer: 'Whatsoever *two* of you shall agree together to ask, it shall be done;' and want of spiritual comfort and support in times of sadness and sorrow. But besides these negative disadvantages, which must always accrue, most generally there are yet many still more formidable in positive opposition and counteraction. Then the children lose more than half the advantages of a pious home; because not only they have not one instead of two parents to pray for them and teach them the good ways of the Lord,' and not them a pious and godly example; but the instructions, influence and example of the one is in a very great degree paralyzed and effaced by that of the other. And how is family religion to be kept up, if one of the heads has a disinclination to it, considers it no lost time, allows every trifling matter that comes across to be reason sufficient for omitting the duty, and entirely disusteems and disregards the privilege? Then what becomes of pious, serious, godly conversation, so much the life of religion in the soul?

Q. 18.—Is it consistent with our Christian covenant to unite ourselves in marriage with those who are not God's people? *Ans.*—How can it be? Do we not, when uniting ourselves to the Church, heart and hand, devote ourselves entirely to the Lord and to *His* people?—to Christ the head, and to the Church, his mystical body? How, then, can we afterwards give our heart and our hand to the world, the great enemy of Christ and His cause? To do so is, evidently, a breach of that Covenant; it is robbing the Church of all her property in us and in all our services.

Q. 19.—What is the duty of parents and guardians inwards the young under their charge, in this particular? *Ans.*—To point out to them in due season their duty in this matter, before their affections get entangled, that the first solicitation may be met by well-grounded, firm, and steady principle; that her young people, if real Christians, may never think of giving themselves away to the world; and, until they are of age, they may not seek alliance with the children of God; and assuring them that their consent to such a marriage would never be given.

Q. 20.—What is the duty of ministers herein? *Ans.*—To instruct the people, especially the young, on this subject, and when required to solemnize a marriage, to inquire honestly whether the parties are of one heart and mind as to this matter? Whether both know and love the Lord Jesus Christ, and are engaged to serve Him, lest they become instrumental in giving up a child of God to the embraces of a worldly mind, and of joining together what the Lord commanded to be separate.

Q. 20.—What is the duty of the Church herein? *Ans.*—To be watchful over young Christians; to be careful to discountenance the indiscriminate and needless intercourse of her children with the 'children of disobedience,' and to set her face steadily against the forming of such injurious and onsuthorized connections, whereby, as much as by anything, —as through some 'sweet root of bitterness,'—her beauty is marred, her wine mixed with water, and her strength paralyzed; her hedges thrown down—the sacred enclosure of the Lord thrown into common.

L. P. C.,

With and for many who say 'Amen.'

From the National Era.

MOLOCH IN STATE STREET.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

The moon has set! while yet the dawn
Breaks cold and gray,
Between the midnight and the morn
Bear off your prey!

On, swift and still!—the conscious street
Is paused and stirred;
Tread lightly! that half of serried feet
The dead have heard!

The first-drawn blood of Freedom's veins
Gushed where ye tread:
Lo! through the dusk the martyr-stains
Blush darkly red!

Beneath the slowly waning stars
And whitening dawn,
What stern and awful presence bars
Your way with scorn?

What faces frown upon ye dark
With shame and pain?
Come these from Pilgrim's Pilgrim bark?
Is that your Vane?

Who, dimly beckoning, speed ye on
With mocking cheer?
Lo! spectral Andros, Hutchinson,
And Gage, are here!

For ready mart or favoring blast,
Through Moloch's fire,
Flesh of his flesh, unsparing, passed
The Tyrian sire.

Ye make the ancient sacrifice
Of Man to Gain,
That Trade may thrive where Freedom dies,
Beneath the chain.

Hush step, speak low! ye hide not so
Your rite of hell!
By heaven above and earth below
Ye've heeded well.

Ye sow to-day; your harvest, Scorn
And Hate, is near;
Haw, think ye, freemen, mountain-born,
The tale will bear?

Thank God! our mother State can yet
Her fame retrieve;
To you and to your children let
The scandal cleave.

Chain Hall and Pulpit, Court and Press,
Make gods of gold;
Let honor, truth and manliness
Like wares be sold.

Your hoards are great; your walls are strong,
But God is just;
The gilded chambers built by wrong
Invite the rust.

What! knew ye not the gains of crime
Are loss alone—
Doomed ventures, which the waves of time
Have darkly strown!

Thank God! the Pilgrim State remains
What she hath been!
Her inland hills, her seaward plains,
Still nurtured men!

Nor wholly lost the fallen mart—
Her olden blood
Through many a free and generous heart
Still pours its flood.

That brave old blood, quick flowing yet,
Shall know no check,
Till a free people's foot is set
On Slavery's neck.

Even now, the peal of bell and gun,
And hills aflame,
Tell of the great great triumph won
In Freedom's name.

The long night dies: the welcome grey
Of dawn we see;
Speed up the heavens the perfect day,
God of the free!

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*It would have been impossible for the United States marshal, thus successfully to have resisted the law of the State, without the assistance of the municipal authorities of Boston, and the countenance and support of a numerous, wealthy and powerful body of the citizens. It was in evidence that fifteen hundred of the most wealthy and respectable citizens,—merchants, bankers and others,—volunteered their services to aid the marshal on this occasion. . . . No watch was kept upon the doings of the marshal, and while the State officers slept, after the moon had gone down, in the darkest hour before daybreak, the sacrilege was taken out of our jurisdiction by the armed police of the city of Boston.—*Report in the Senate of Massachusetts, on the Case of Thomas Sims.*

From the Liberator.

WOMAN'S CONVENTION.

ABSON, May 28th.

The morning on which the Convention met was exceedingly inauspicious; from a very early hour, the rain descended in torrents. Notwithstanding this, before the hour of meeting, many began to assemble at the Universalist Church, so that when the Convention was called to order, a large assemblage of the friends from different parts of the country were in attendance.

The Convention was called to order by Mary Ann Johnson, who read the call; when Committees were appointed to nominate officers and to prepare business.

The following are the permanent officers of the Convention:—

President—FRANCES D. GAGE.

Vice Presidents—L. A. Hine, Mrs. Swift, Mrs. C. Bare, Mrs. Whiting, Mrs. Ackley, Miss Webb, Mrs. Mary Corner, Mrs. Whiting, Mrs. Severance.

Secretaries—Mrs. Tracy, Marian R. Robinson, Sallie B. Gove.

Business Committee—Mary Ann Johnson, Dr. A. Brooks, Mary Stanton, Rev. Mr. Webster, Jane Swisshelm, Jacob Heston, Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Townsend, E. G. Thomas, L. A. Hine, Maria Giddings, Mary Gilbert, Betsey Coles, J. W. Walker, Cordelia Smalley.

A beautiful, though short, address was read by the President.

Letters were received and read from Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, Mrs. L. J. Pearson, Mrs. L. N. Fowler, Religious Meeting of Congregational Friends, Ohio.

An article written by Charles Alcott for the press was read by L. A. Hine. The object of the article was to show that, both from Revelation and Nature, women have the same right as man to the right of suffrage, but not to the holding of office. It is a queer document—a compound of wisdom and folly, of self-evident propositions and monstrous absurdities.

Adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The church is crowded to overflowing. The Hutchinsons are present and preparing to sing. The clouds and rain have passed away, and hundreds are pouring in from all parts of the country. The glorious mountain singers have just finished one of their inimitable songs, infusing into the hearts of all a foretaste of the time 'that's coming right along.'

Among the, mass of reformers present is Joseph Barker, of England, whose labors in the cause of liberty are so well known.

Sarah Coates is now addressing the meeting in a most clear and impressive manner. It will not be necessary to give an outline of this address, as it will undoubtedly be published.

This much may be said, that the object of the address was to induce women to take higher and broader ground than they had hitherto done. The author thinks that caring only for woman is selfish; that they ought to seek the elevation of all. That this movement seems to set the sexes in antagonism. Man love woman, and are not to be charged with being her oppressors. The great cause of all the evils under which we groan, Miss Coates contends, grows out of the perversion of the *Love* principle; and even in this, she thinks that women herself is mainly to blame. Woman's influence over man is all but infinite, and she thinks that men are ready to do all that woman asks.

Many of the thoughts of this lady were very beautifully expressed, and seemed to produce quite an effect on the audience; although there would be many present who would think they lacked point and radicalism.

The resolutions presented by the Business Committee were read.

Mrs. Swisshelm took the floor, stating it was the first time she ever spoke in meeting, and did not know how. She took strong ground against the idea that men and woman are alike in their moral and intellectual natures. She contended that there is a difference in their physical organization, and therefore in their intellectual; and, growing out of this, a difference in their duties. Mrs. Swisshelm is an odd genius. She lives amid opposition, and seems to have a constitutional tendency to antagonize. The seems to be the case in her present speech. She is saying all manner of things *about* the question; but it would be difficult to tell which side she is on. She protests against hard language, and thinks man never intended to tyrannize over woman.

Joseph Barker spoke on the difference existing between men and woman. He recognised a difference, yet he did not see that that ought to be a reason for depriving her of her rights. He spoke forcibly on the inequalities of the sexes, and demanded that woman be relieved of her oppressions. Mr. B. was very happy in many of his remarks, and elicited frequent applause.

Mrs. Cox next took the floor, and in a brilliant speech thrilled the audience. She maintained, and that very successfully, the equality of the sexes. She asked, with great effect, 'Where has man obtained his right to exercise authority over woman? No where, either in nature or reason.' She is a splendid orator.

EVENING SESSION.

The church is a perfect jam. Every place where a human being can be packed was occupied. All are in high spirits. The resolutions before the meeting in the afternoon are again taken up.

Mr. Howell, of Pa., is now speaking on the equality of the sexes—a thing so self-evident that I am astonished that people find any thing to say on the subject.

J. W. Walker next addressed the Convention, contending that the equality of the sexes was self-evident, and that it was a waste of time to discuss it. The questions were—What are the *wants* and *necessities* of woman? What are the wrongs of which woman complains? How are these evils to be remedied? These questions were urged at considerable length.

The Hutchinsons then sang a beautiful song, which was londly cheered.

Mrs. Cox then addressed the Convention on the legal condition of woman. She ran the analogy between the condition of woman and that of the slave. Admitting, of course, that the condition of the slave is incomparably worse than that of woman, still, in some particulars, their condition is strikingly similar. She read many of the slave laws and the laws pertaining to woman, producing a powerful effect on the audience.

Mrs. Swisshelm spoke in reply to the remarks of Mr. Walker and Mrs. Cox, contending that the resolutions were too harsh, and not strictly true.

Dr. Brooks made some remarks showing the gross injustice of the legislation of the country in reference to woman.

Jacob Heston made some brief remarks.

Mrs. Swisshelm read a series of resolutions expressive of her own views on the subjects before the Convention.

THURSDAY MORNING.

Convention was called in order by the President, when several communications were read. Some Committees which were appointed last year to prepare addresses reported, the first being on Education by Emily Robinson.

These letters are marked by deep sympathy with the cause, and also breathing the most elevated sentiment. The addresses, as you will see, are in all respects what might be expected from the parties to whom those duties were committed.

The church at this moment presents a glorious spectacle. Crowded to its utmost capacity with an audience of the most intelligent and earnest men and women, all faces beaming with joyous gladness, in anticipation of the glorious future. In fact, the 'good time' is already realized by the pure in heart, as they mingle their sympathies and loves.

Mrs. Coe addressed the Convention with her usual power, on the wrong of woman being taxed in numerous ways to support the literary and other institutions of the land, and then being deprived of all their benefits. Her speech was brilliant.

Mrs. Tracy spoke on the necessity of a high and thorough education, showing that education was the foundation upon which all reforms must be based. She spoke with clearness and force, making a good impression on the audience.

Sojourner Truth spoke in her own peculiar style, showing that she was a match for most men. She had ploughed, hoed, dug, and could eat as much, if she could get it. The power and wit of this remarkable woman convulsed the audience with laughter. I wish I could report every word she said, but I cannot.

Mr. Sliter made some observations on the intellectual equality of the sexes.

At this stage of the meeting, a Committee on Finance, composed of Dr. Brooks, Mr. Baker and Mr. Heston were appointed for the purpose of defraying the expenses of publishing the proceedings of the Convention.

Miss Giddings presented and read an elaborate report on the Common Law.

Marius Robinson spoke on the constitutional right of women to the elective franchise, urging the women to offer their votes at the next Presidential election, and if refused, to appeal to the Supreme Court.

Mrs. Swisshelm showed that the States had the constitutional right to determine who should vote, and they had determined that male citizens alone should vote, preventing the right of appeal.

Mr. Pease spoke on the wickedness of the Mormon laws.

A poem was read by Marina Robinson, written by George W. Putnam.

The 'Good time coming' was sung by the Hutchinsons.

AFTERNOON—SECOND DAY.

Convention called to order by one of the Vice Presidents, when letters were read from Elizabeth Stanton and others. Letters were received from a large number of persons, which were not read, for want of time, but were referred to the Business Committee.

A report on Labor was read by Betsey Cowles.

The resolutions were thoroughly discussed, and a difference of sentiment was freely interchanged, and they were carried with great enthusiasm.

This meeting has never been surpassed or equalled in point of talent and importance. The woman have grown vastly during the past year, and bid fair to occupy a very different position in society ere long. It seems to me that no person could have attended this Convention, and then said that woman was unequalled to sustain an equal position with man. The Convention closed most gloriously, by several able, though short speeches.

W.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

Inasmuch as it is self-evident that Woman has been created with as high intellectual and moral endowments, and subjected to similar necessities as Man, it is also self-evident that she is possessed naturally of a perfect equality with him in her legal, political, pecuniary, ecclesiastical and social rights; therefore,

1. Resolved, That the inequalities which manifestly exist in the privileges of the sexes as bestowed or allowed by institutions or customs, demonstrate in their creation and perpetuation the practice of criminal injustice on the part of man, and in her unresisting toleration of them, a reprehensible submissiveness on the part of woman.

2. Resolved, That as the unjust distinctions between the sexes, which vitiate all known civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and so large a proportion of legislative statutes and social usages, have received an apparent consecration in the opinions of a majority of mankind by their antiquity and the binding influence of custom, we can rely alone for their correction upon such means as will enlighten public sentiment and improve public morals; and this we can only hope to achieve in a gradual manner, though in a constantly increasing ratio.

3. Resolved, That as the religious instructors of the people exercise a most potent influence in moulding public sentiment, we call upon them, as they would desire to promote a religion which is pure and undefiled, to afford special instruction in those principles of natural justice and equity by which alone all true religion rests, and to point out the violation of them in those oppressions which are endured by the female sex.

4. Resolved, That as the periodical press possesses an equal if not superior influence to the pulpit, in giving shape to that public sentiment which sustains all our political, ecclesiastical and educational relations, and general usages, we ask the conductors thereof, if not only to tolerate, but to promote and urge, through their columns, the investigation of this subject.

5. Resolved, That as the main hope of beneficial change and effectual reform of public evils depends upon the direction given to the mind of the rising generation, we call upon all teachers, upon parents, and especially upon mothers, the duty of training the mind of every child to a complete comprehension of those principles of natural justice which should govern the whole subject of Human Rights, and, of course, Woman's rights, and to an accurate perception of those departures from them in human institutions and laws, which necessarily oppress the female sex primarily, and thereby injure man as well as woman ultimately.

6. Resolved, That we demand an immediate modification or repeal of all constitutional provisions and legislative enactments which create a difference in the privileges of individuals in consequence of a difference in sex.

7. Resolved, That Labor is a physical and moral necessity, binding upon all of both sexes; but as many females—especially the seamstresses—might improve their condition by the formation of Labor Partnerships, in which each can obtain all that their labor can command in the markets of the world, we earnestly invite their attention to this subject, and solicit on their behalf the sympathy, encouragement and patronage of the public.

8. Resolved, That as in the pecuniary oppressions to which woman is subjected are to be found the principal reasons for any deficiency of feminine purity and virtue, we call upon the philanthropic among mankind to unite in the effort to give woman the same opportunities to labor which men possess, and the same reward for its performance.

9. Resolved, That we recommend the women and men of Ohio to meet in convention annually, to concert measures for the promulgation of truth and the adoption of corresponding action in the various relations of life.

10. Resolved, That we recommend the formation of District Societies throughout the State for discussion and action in reference to the rights, duties, and relations of the sexes.

11. Resolved, That we will not withhold the means.

12. Resolved, That a committee, consisting of Sallie B. Gove, Marius R. Robinson, Caroline Stanton, and James Barnaby, be appointed to prepare the proceedings of the Convention for publication.

The Impartial Citizen.

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PRO-SLAVERY.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Extract from Judge Peleg Sprague's Charge to the Jury, on the trial of James Scott for aiding in the Rescue of Shadrach, and its Vindication of the Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Let me next consider what is the force of the contemporaneous construction of the Constitution. Here we must remember, that in construing the fundamental as well as any other law, the sole inquiry is, what was the intention of those who established it? The real intention of the people who adopted the Constitution is to be ascertained. If, in sixty years, language has been deflected, or acquired new shades of meaning, still our inquiry is, what was the sense in which it was originally used? How did those who adopted the Constitution understand its language and provisions?

Had the Congress, who passed the act of 1793, the means of knowing the views and intentions of those who adopted the Constitution and amendments?

The Convention that framed the Constitution closed their labors in September, 1786. The government went into operation on the 4th of March, 1787. Nearly the whole of the intervening time, and especially of the year 1788, was spent in earnest discussions of its provisions by the people and conventions in the several States. The amendments were framed and adopted by the first Congress, under the lead of Mr. Madison, and subsequently established by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. The act we are now considering was passed by the second Congress, in February, 1793; that Congress met on the 24th day of October, 1791, and its members must have been elected some time previously. In 1788, therefore, when the Constitution was before the people for adoption, and subsequently when the amendments were submitted to them, every one of these members must have been of sufficient age, ability and distinction to take a prominent part in the discussions and action which preceded and attended the adoption of the Constitution and amendments; and they had been selected by the very people who adopted both, for the purpose of presenting their views and intentions in carrying the Constitution into effect by practical legislation.

More than one-third of the members of the convention which framed the Constitution were members of Congress in 1793, and a still greater portion of the members of the first Congress which adopted the amendments were also members of the second Congress when this act was passed. The act of 1793 bears the signature of Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, as Speaker, and John Adams, as Vice-President, and George Washington, as President. Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton and Henry Knox were Cabinet advisers; and among this member of Congress at that time were Caleb Strong, Elbridge Gerry, George Cabot, Fisher Ames, Theodore Sedgwick, Artemas Ward, John Langdon, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth, James Hillhouse, Rufus King, Robert Morris, James Madison, and James Monroe. George Cabot was one of the Committee of Conference, reported the bill, and it was subsequently sent to a committee of which Roger Sherman was also a member. Such men were members of the Congress which passed the act of 1793 as being in accordance with the Constitution.

It was immediately sent forth and put into actual practical operation amongst the same people who had no recently established the Constitution. Was it a violation of that instrument? No motion was made nor voice raised for its repeal in either House of Congress; no movement against it in any State legislature or popular assembly; no petition or remonstrance from any source whatever. No one appears to have doubted its constitutionality, and it was received, so far at least as the public records and the history of the times show, with the general if not the universal acquiescence of the generation which adopted the Constitution. And it was not until years afterwards, and when a new generation had arisen, that its constitutionality was questioned.

It is now insisted, that by this act Congress was guilty of so unauthorized assumption of power, and a violation of personal liberty, by subjecting the party to a trial by an unconstitutional tribunal, and by depriving him of the right of a trial by jury as secured by the seventh amendment. How could this have happened? Was it a time of apathy and indifference? So far from it, the spirit of liberty was never higher or more vigilant in any people. They had just fought for it through a seven years' war, and endured extreme privations, sufferings and sacrifices. Apprehension of abuse of power by the national government was not only keen, but almost morbid, producing the utmost vigilance and suspicious scrutiny. Let us recur to a few historical facts.

The Convention that framed the Constitution closed their labors on the 17th day of September, 1787; and it was soon after submitted to the people for adoption, by conventions chosen for that purpose in the several States. The States came into it slowly and reluctantly. Eleven only acceded to it before it went into operation on the 4th of March, 1789. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not accept it until November, 1789, and May, 1790. During the whole year 1788, the question of its adoption was pending. Discussions before the people and in their conventions were able, earnest and thorough. The objections to it all arose from the apprehension that the powers conferred on the general government would be so exercised as to endanger the rights of individuals and the States. Many of the States, in adopting it, recommended some further guarantee for liberty, and several would not have acceded to it but for the confident assurance, that amendments would be made for that purpose. In this spirit the first Congress assembled, and soon afterwards framed and adopted twelve amendments, all designed to be further securities for the rights and liberties of the people, and to make more explicit the powers of the general government. These amendments were submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification. The only objection made to them was that they did not go far enough—that there should have been other and further guarantees for liberty. All but two, however, were ratified by the States, and those two related merely to the compensation of members of Congress. Ten amendments were thus adopted by Congress and the States, and among them the seventh, which, it is now insisted, was violated by the statute of 12th of February, 1793, passed only a short time afterwards.

The second Congress assembled on the 24th day of October, 1791, and most of its members must have been chosen during, or immediately after, the discussion of those amendments in the States, and as true representatives to carry out the intentions of the people in adopting them.

The spirit of the times may be still further illustrated. In this very year 1793, exhausted as the people had been by their protracted struggle, prostrate as they were, authentic news, without creeping, of a large portion of them were ready to rush into the vortex of the French revolution, and wage a foreign war for liberty; and it required all the wisdom, firmness and popularity of Washington himself to maintain his proclamation of neutrality, which was issued in April of that year.

Jay's treaty, made in 1794, new so universally approved, was then, from the mere apprehension of its being ever so little favorable, met with the most vehement denunciation, not only by the press, but by public meetings from one end of the country to the other, and in Congress produced one of the warmest contests and most memorable debates ever known in the halls of legislation. During the administration of the elder Adams, the single case of excitement which has been referred to, that of Robbins, produced violent attacks upon the President, both in and out of Congress. The passage of the Alien and Sedition laws, of 1798, intended to protect the government, were deemed assumptions of power, so dangerous to freedom as to throw the nation into a ferment, and arouse State legislatures to pass the celebrated resolutions of that year. Soon afterwards, the administration was overthrown by one of the most vehement contests for political power that was ever waged, during which, every measure of the government from its organization was severely scrutinized, and many of them unsparingly assailed, as inviding or dangerous to the rights of the people. Yet, during all this time, and for many years afterwards, while the love of liberty was most fervid, watchful and jealous, the constitutionality of this law was never questioned.

Indeed, it has been acquiesced in by the whole people for fifty-seven years, during all which time not a movement has been made, in or out of Congress, to repeal or impair its provisions. It has been carried into actual, practical operation in most, if not all, the free States which were original parties to the Constitution. In this State, one of the most remote from the slaveholding, it appears in 24 Pickering, page 11, that both my excellent and able predecessors have had occasion to give construction to the act, and there are those who recollect that Judge Davis, so justly revered for wisdom and conscience, in several instances delivered opinions pursuant to its provisions. This he did, not by holding a court, for no entry or record was made, and no decree of judgment entered; but by acting as a judge or magistrate, summarily granted a certificate which was merely a warrant to convey the person to a certain place, and then, being *functus officio*, had no further legal efficacy.

The rejection of those who adopted the Constitution most govern. It is their views which we are endeavoring to ascertain, and to that end what can be more satisfactory than such contemporaneous expositions, such practice and acquiescence of the fathers of the Constitution, and all those who participated in its adoption, and their successors for more than half a century?

Those who, impressed only with the feelings of the present time, find it difficult to believe that our fathers in the Revolution could have intended to render persons of color liable to be carried out of the State as slaves, without trial by jury, and with a hearing only before a magistrate, will find it useful to go back to the period when the Constitution was established, and see the actual condition of things at that time. Then all States, with the exception of Massachusetts, were to a greater or less extent slaveholding, and in this State it had been abolished only in judicial decisions a few years before. Connecticut and Rhode Island had, in 1784, passed laws looking to its ultimate extinction by providing that children born after that time should be free. All the men of that day had been born in the midst of that institution, and had been accustomed to its practical operation. Runaway negroes were taken back to their masters, generally, it is believed, by mere reception without legal process, certainly without trial by jury, or formal, protracted proceedings before a court of record.

Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on the 7th of February, 1788. She was the only free State, and the views and purposes of this Commonwealth with respect to Negroes coming from other States, may be fairly presumed from the fact, that on the 5th day of March of the same year, that is, within fifty days of her adoption of the Constitution. That act is as follows:

Section 6. "*Be it further enacted*, &c. That no person being an African or Negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of *Morocco*, or a citizen of some one of the United States, (to be evidenced by a certificate from the Secretary of the State of which he shall be a citizen,) shall tarry in this Commonwealth for a longer time than two months; and upon complaint made to any justice of the peace within this Commonwealth, that any such person has been within the same more than two months, the said Justice shall order the said person to depart out of this Commonwealth; and in case the said African or Negro shall not depart, as aforesaid, any Justice of the Peace within this Commonwealth, upon complaint and proof made that such person has continued within this Commonwealth two days after notice given him or her to depart as aforesaid, shall commit the said person to any house of correction within the county, there to be kept to hard labor, agreeably to the rules and orders of the said house, until the Sessions of Peace, next to be holden within and for the said county; and the master of the said house of correction is hereby required and directed to transmit as attested copy of the warrant of commitment to the said court, on the first day of their said session; and if, upon trial at the said court, it shall be made to appear that the said person has been continued within the Commonwealth contrary to the tenor of this Act, he or she shall be whipped, not exceeding ten stripes, and ordered to depart out of this Commonwealth within ten days; and if he or she shall not so depart, the same process shall be had, and punishment inflicted, and so, *toties quoties*."

Thus it appears that Massachusetts at that time made all negroes from other States, whether bond or free, as well as those recently liberated by her ownership was produced, liable, after remaining here two months, and a notice of ten days, to be sent by a single magistrate to the house of correction to hard labor for the next General Sessions of the Peace, which was held by Justices of the Peace, and then liable to be sentenced by that court to punishment by whipping, and ordered out of the State; and if this order were disobeyed, the same confinement in the house of correction and punishment by stripes might be again inflicted, and for every successive neglect of ten days to obey the order to depart from the State, the same proceeding might be repeated indefinitely. The reason why a certificate of citizenship protected the holder from being thus dealt with, was doubtless because the constitution which she had just before sanctioned, declared that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States."

Verily, since the year 1788, when the Constitution was adopted, we of Massachusetts, and the North have undergone a change, but this cannot alter the pre-existing facts. If from the progress of benevolence we have acquired a stronger sympathy for the African, a more zealous desire to aid and protect him, our views cannot recount, so as to change the views and intentions which actually existed at the time the Constitution was adopted.

Let us now examine the opinions and decisions of Courts and Judges, State and National.

The State Courts have, in several instances, affirmed, and in no one denied the constitutionality of the act of 1793. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, with Chief Justice Tilghman at its head, in the case of Wright vs. Deacon, 5 Serg. and Rawle 62, after full consideration decided that the act of 1793 was constitutional, that the party claimed as a fugitive was not entitled to a trial by jury, but the proceedings were to be summary, and that the certificate of a State Judge, pursuant to the act, authorized the removal, and could not be intercepted by processes from the State Court, and a writ *de homine replegiando*, which had been issued under the State Law, was quashed. Here the authority of the State Magistrate, and the legal effect of his certificate, were directly in issue, and the pivot on which the decision turned. This was in 1819, more than thirty years nearer to the adoption of the Constitution than the present.

The next case was that of the Commonwealth vs. Griffith, 2 Pich. 11. This was an indictment for assault and battery and false imprisonment against an agent who had seized a fugitive slave, in order to carry him before a magistrate pursuant to the statute. The court unanimously affirmed the power of Congress to legislate upon the subject, and the constitutionality of the act of 1793. But Thacher, J., thought that by the true construction of the act, a trial by jury or arrest was required. The purpose of the arrest was to carry him before a magistrate, pursuant to the statute, yet the constitutional authority of the magistrate was not discussed or questioned. This was in the year 1823.

In Jack vs. Martin, 12, Wendell 311, a certificate had been given by the Recorder of the city of New York. A writ *de homine replegiando* was afterwards sued out. Several questions arose, and among them this question of the authority of the State magistrate. The Supreme Court of New York in their opinions delivered by Nelson, J., page 328, use this language: "The question of slave or not, according to the laws of the State from whence the fugitive fled, belonged to the magistrate, under the law of Congress, to decide, and his decision is conclusive on the matter, so far as the State Courts are concerned." And again, page 329: "The decision of the magistrate and certificate, in conclusion upon the fact as to the State Court." This was in 1834. This case was carried to the Court of Errors, where an opinion against the constitutionality of the act of 1793, was delivered by Mr. Chancellor Walworth, but it does not appear that any other member of the Court concurred with him. In another case before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in April last, these very questions of the power of the Commissioner, the right of a trial by jury, and the right of Congress to legislate, were fully argued and fully considered, and the constitutionality of the act of 1850 unanimously affirmed. The very able opinion of the Court, delivered by Chief Justice Shaw, is so recent that it need only be referred to. The same result is ably sustained by the opinion of Mr. Commissioner Curtis in the same case.

Let us next look at the opinions and decisions of Judges and Courts of the United States. In ex parte Simmons in the year 1823, 4 Wash. C. C. R., 396, Mr. Justice Washington, of the Supreme Court, heard an application under the act of 1793, and discharged summarily, without any question of its constitutionality. He refused the certificate on the ground that the alleged fugitive was free.

In Hill vs. Law, 4 Wash. C. C. R., 327, which was error from the District Court, the constitutionality of the act of 1793, and the right of the State magistrate to grant a certificate, seemed to have been conceded without question, the points raised being only as to the construction of the act.

So in Worthington vs. Preston, 4 Wash. C. C. R., 461, where a certificate had been granted by a State magistrate, no question was raised as to the constitutionality of the act of 1793, but other grounds of defence were successfully relied on. See also Kimberson vs. Tompkins, 1 Baldwin's R., 579, and Jones vs. Vanzant, 2 McLean's C.C. R., 506 and 611.

Judge Story, in his work upon the Constitution, vol. 3, page 677, referring to the fourth article, says: "It is obvious that these provisions for the arrest and removal of fugitives of both classes contemplate summary ministerial proceedings, and not the ordinary course of judicial investigations, to ascertain whether the party is well founded or not in the claim of ownership be established beyond all legal controversy."

We now come to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the year 1842—16 Peters, page 539. In this case the court emphatically affirm the act of 1793. In the opinion of the court, as delivered by Mr. Justice Story, page 622, we find the following decisive language: "We hold the act to be clearly constitutional in all its leading provisions, and, indeed, with the exception of that part which confers authority upon State magistrates, to be free from reasonable doubt and difficulty, upon the grounds already stated. As to the authority so conferred upon State magistrates, while difference of opinion has existed, and may exist still on the point in different States, whether State magistrates are bound to act under it, none is entertained by this court that State magistrates may, if they choose, exercise the authority, unless prohibited by State legislation."

The question of the power of Congress to legislate was an essential and turning point in the case. It is true that the question of the power of the State magistrate to act summarily was not necessarily raised by the record, but the court nevertheless purposely and deliberately decided it. What they say is not to be classed among obiter dicta. It was not an argument or opinion not tending to the conclusion to which they had arrived, but is itself a conclusion which they take that occasion to pronounce, and meant to establish by all the authority of the court. In this all the judges seem to have concurred. Mr. Justice McLean, in a separate opinion given by him, held that State magistrates were not only constitutionally authorized, but bound to act under the statute. Since that decision was pronounced, there have been three changes in the members of the court, all in the free States, Justices Grier, Nelson and Woodbury, having succeeded Justices Baldwin, Thompson and Story.

In the case of Garnett, brought as a fugitive before Judge Grier at Philadelphia, in October last, he expressed his determination to the strongest manner to enforce the act of 1850. Its constitutionality was not discussed. A letter, subsequently written by Judge Grier, holds this language: "A person held as a fugitive under the certificate of a judge or magistrate, under this act, is legally imprisoned under process from a court or magistrate having jurisdiction." And again: "Those who believe that the Constitution and laws of their country should be regarded and obeyed, have no ground of complaint." Here the constitutionality of the act is assumed as unquestioned.

Judge Nelson, in a charge to the Grand Jury in March last, takes occasion, in very decided language, to affirm the constitutionality of the act of 1850 without hesitation. Mr. Justice Woodbury has also expressed his concurrence in these views.

We have thus not only the decisions of the highest judicial tribunal in the United States, which alone would be conclusive upon all subordinate courts, but the opinion of all the members of the court in 1842, and all its present members, in support of the constitutionality of the act. Against all this, not one decision of any court, State or National, and not one opinion of any judge of the United States, can be produced.

These questions must now be considered as settled by contemporaneous exposition, by practice and acquiescence, for more than fifty years, by the opinions and decisions of courts and judges, State and National, and especially by the Supreme Court of the United States. To overturn the construction of the Constitution so established, would be a most dangerous violation of principle and duty. It would be to do this, it may overturn established rules of property, of personal rights, and of evidence upon which the community have for a long time acted, and thus shake every man's title, put in jeopardy every man's liberty, and render the law an uncertain text, not as counsel could advise, and no man act with safety.

☞ We call the special attention of American slaveholders and their abettors—Clay, Butler, Foote, Fillmore, Webster, Stuart, Dewey, and all their subordinates—to the following scathing article from one of the leading and most influential journals in England.

From the London Morning Advertiser, May 15.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Among the classes of men attracted from all countries and all climes to witness the World's Exhibition, there is one in whom we feel a deep interest—not the interest of sympathy or regard, certainly; but just the opposite. Ours is the interest which is felt in great moral delinquents,—in men whose criminality is of an enormous kind, and which is made all the greater and more glaring, by reason of accidental circumstances.

The class to whom we allude, are the American holders of slaves, and the American abettors of slavery. And, above all, those of their number, who, along with their "property" in men and women, and their zealous maintenance of slavery, make a great parade of their regard for the principles of evangelical religion.

Some of those men have already landed on our shores. Others will immediately follow. Every succeeding arrival from the other side of the Atlantic will bring new importations for some time to come of these proprietors of slaves and abettors of slavery.

We publish to-day an address from the Anti-Slavery Society to the people of these realms, under the head of "The Great Exhibition and American Slavery." The Anti-Slavery Society reasons on the subject. In this we think that excellent and philanthropic body greatly erra. There are certain subjects on which it would be a misappropriation of the reasoning faculty to call it into exercise. 'And this is of that class. We do not reason in reference to crimes of the most colossal proportions. We resign ourselves to those impulses which are innate, and which have been implanted in man's nature by the Great Supreme for the wisest and most beneficent purposes. Nothing is needed to convince mankind, that the person who is guilty of murder, of frightful cruelty, of robbery, of seduction, or other flagrant crimes, has committed an offence of the first magnitude, both against the eternal principles of morality and religion, and of the interests of society. Men's natures revolt against such atrocities; and they turn away with loathing from all contact with the criminal.

And this is precisely what all good men ought to do—all who have the feeling of humanity in their bosoms,—with regard to the practices and petrous of American slavery. With respect to those of them who know nothing of the religion of the Bible, and who do not profess to know anything, though in the simplest extenuating circumstances; but for the avaogelical holders of slaves and abettors of slavery, not one palliating consideration can be urged. They are delinquents of the deepest and most heinous sin of colossal proportions, alike against the dictates of humanity and the dictes of religion.

We may feel appalled at the fact, that there should be found men professing the name and avowedly regulating their conduct by the precepts of the Divine Founder of Christianity, who are nevertheless holders of slaves. But more appalling still is the fact that ministers of religion, those who are the daily preachers of Christianity, should be found among the 'proprietors' of slaves, and be by far the most zealous of all the abettors of slavery in the American States. If regards are susceptible of emotions of surprise, they must feel amazed at this; if they are so constituted as to be accessible to feelings of sorrow, they must shed copious tears at so horrible a sight, as that of ministers of the Gospel buying and selling their fellow men, and applying the lash to the slaves, or, which is the same thing, causing it to be done by those in their employ. American slavery, be it remembered, is slavery in the very worst form, exhibited in which that terrible enemity ever appeared in the world. West India slavery was bad enough, no doubt, but it was a mild and modified type of human bondage and human degradation, compared with the slavery which is promoted and practised by the evangelical presbobs of Christianity in the United States. In the West Indies, medical attention was accorded to the slave, and in his old age his owner made provision for him. Let them be, if they will, his seasons of rest from his labors, and his life could not be endangered with impunity. In the condition of the American slave, there are none of these modifying circumstances. He is not only hunted and scourged with the mark of his 'proprietor,' like the beasts of the field, but he may be either worked to death, or shot, or murdered in any other way that may best suit the fancy of his owner. With, indeed, the exception of the Southern States, the sole question in his mode of treating his bondsmen and bondswomen, is how shall he extract from them the greatest amount of work, without killing them altogether. The whip is applied to their backs without mercy, and without mercy. And the poor female slave is lashed as remorselessly and brutally as the colored slave of our own sex.

Will it, then, be believed that high professors of evangelical principles, and, above all, the systematic preachers from the pulpit and the press, of the mild and merciful religion of Jesus,—are by far the most earnest, zealous, and untiring advocates and abettors of American slavery? And, as if it were not enough to display a more than apostolic zeal for this horrid domestic institution, some of the most distinguished divines in the United States must needs mingle downright blasphemy with their advocacy of it. Who, for example, can read the following sentence, first spoken and afterwards written by the Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring, of New York, without feeling the blood tingle in his veins:—*If*, says this Presbyterian minister, '*if by one prayer, I could liberate every slave in the world, I would not dare offer up that prayer.*'

We might quote from other evangelical divines passages no less daring, no less audacious, and even more blasphemous; but we single out the name of this preacher of Christianity, because he is so well known in this country. They, one and all, speak of the slaves as property,—just as a man's cattle are his property. And they treat them with much less humanity than they do their horses or their dogs. They will pat a horse on the neck or shoulder, and fondle a dog, but they would do more think of coming into personal contact with a slave, than they would with a leper.

Nor is their cruelty to their bondsmen and bondswomen limited to the present life. It extends to the world to come. They care as little for their souls as their bodies. Both are equally sacrificed, as far as they are concerned.

It is a remarkable fact—and one which it is awful to contemplate—that among all the religious denominations in America, those who make the greatest pretensions to personal piety, are the most deeply involved in the terrible guilt of slavery. The Baptists and the Wesleyan Methodists stand out, in this respect, in terrible relief among the religious bodies in the United States. It is not long since a Baptist minister seeing a slave in the act of attempting to escape, pursued by a man who was lying by his side, and firing at at the poor fugitive, killed him on the spot just as if he had been a dog. And yet, not only did none of the local papers make one single observation condematory of the horrible deed, but, so far as we have seen, none of the brethren in the ministry' ever expressed their disapproval of the conduct. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose, that they considered he had performed a meritorious action.

In the presence of such frightful facts, it behooves the friends of freedom and humanity to ask themselves what sort of reception they ought to accord to those evangelical practisers and promoters of slavery in the Southern States of America; now that they are about to arrive in large numbers on our shores. They we regard them as being just as bad, and in some respects even worse, than Haynau, we should be sorry if they were to meet with any rough treatment of a physical kind. And, indeed, there is no ground for any apprehension of this character. But we do say that it behooves all who regard the colored race as members of the great family of man—who look upon them as made of the same blood as others—who feel that they are endowed with the same intellectual qualities—though, from their circumstances, undeveloped, and possessed of the same imperishable spirits as themselves—it behooves all such men, and especially the evangelical denominations of the land, to raise a loud and uncompromising protest against the conduct of these ministers and others of them, men whose garments are dyed in the blood of the slaves, and at many of whose doors, it is to be feared, lies a more fearful guilt than the virtual destruction of the bodies of the poor colored race.

It was one thing which we always admired in the character of Daniel O'Connell, that he would never allow a slaveholder to enter his house. Let the friends of the slave, and the foes of slavery, imitate, in this respect, the example of Daniel O'Connell. Let no man who condemns and abhors the conduct of the American slave-owners—especially the religious portion of them, associate with them in any way now that they are about to appear among us. Let us shun their society. Let us refuse to have friendly intercourse with them, as with men whose hands are stained with the blood of their fellow-creatures. And let there be no concealment as to the reasons why we refuse to open our houses to them, or to invite them to partake of our hospitality. Let them be told that it is because they are traffickers in the bodies and souls of their fellow-men—traffickers in souls as precious, in the sight of the Great Creator as they are.

We say this much with regard to Transatlantic slave-holders in general, and we say it to every opponent of slavery. With regard to the evangelical denominations of this country—all who have been made free by the truth—we would impress on them this great fact, that on them rests a special responsibility. Let them refuse to have church fellowship with men as deeply implicated in the guilt of slavery. They are not persons with whom to sit down at the Communion table, so long as they are living in the practice of so great a sin. No Christian would have church fellowship with a felon, or with the receivers of stolen goods. These men are guilty of both those crimes. They are felons, and they are receivers of that which is stolen. They have been baptized spiritually as excellent as themselves, and they retain the 'stolen property,' and, therefore, they are now with whom it would be morally criminal to communicate.

Let no one be deterred from entering in the way we have indicated, his energetic protest against the guilt of American slavery, because it may be said that the act to that way would be to arrogate to ourselves the proper office of the judging of their Christianity. We say nothing of their conduct in other respects. That may be consistent with the claims and obligations of Christian duty, but *this* is not. There they are notoriously guilty of a sin—not committing it occasionally, but daily and hourly practising it.

All the religious denominations of this country regard slavery, as one of the unfruitful works of darkness; and they know the authority which enjoins upon them to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. With all those who were less guilty than those who practise, sanction, and uphold slavery, Christians were told, nearly eighteen hundred years ago, not even to eat. And shall the Christians of England, at the present day, sit down at the holiest of all banquets with men whose hands are rech with the blood of their fellow-beings,—and on whose consciences there rests a load of guilt, which, if it be what we hold it to be, would crush them to the earth?

The duty, therefore, of the religious denominations of England is clear. They are now imperatively called on to make the decided protest we have suggested, against the enormities and iniquities of American slavery. The time for compromise has passed away. Conciliation, kindness, and mild remonstrance, have been tried too long. They have signally failed. They have produced no effect. Something more, some more emphatic appeal. We must not any longer indulge in a false delicacy. If she who allows oppression shares the crime, we should be involved in the criminality of transatlantic slavery, unless we permit this opportunity to pass without raising, in trumpet tones, our protest against it.

If the religious part of our countrymen only do their duty in reference to the matter, the American slaveholders and slavery supporters will return with very different views and feelings, from those with which they landed upon our shores. It is now in the power of English Christians to strike a blow at transatlantic slavery, which will shake the diabolical system to its centre, and eventually lay it prostrate in the dust. We, at least, shall not fail to do our duty in a matter so momentous and urgent.

The Impartial Citizen.

If we have respect of persons, we commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.
AMOS G. BEMAN, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1851.

THE NATIONAL LIBERTY PARTY CONVENTION.

It was a mistake, we think, that nominations were made last fall. Mr. Smith will not run, and Mr. Ward still resides in New York State; that is, Mrs. W. resides there. Then there are abundant reasons, as numerous as need be, why the latter should not be a candidate. We hope, most earnestly, that Mr. Smith will have conquered his prejudices before the 18th of September, so as to allow us the honor of presenting his name to the voters of the nation, in the ensuing campaign. The fact that Mr. Smith is considered too radical to receive either the nomination or the votes of the Free Soilers of New England, is one of the reasons why we desire his nomination. The Free Soilers of New England need a party like the Liberty Party, and a candidate like Gerrit Smith, as a sort of vanguard or pioneers. They are, yet, too much given to shifting, shuffling expediencies and compromises, Yankee bargains, splitting differences, &c. They are too lax in their views of the Anti-Slavery character of the Federal Constitution, too little prepared to drge this great vital point "as a test" in voting and in nominating; and with all the clearness of vision with which they see the abominatioos of the cottonocracy, they still vote, with a death-like tenacity, to tiriffism, which is the great governmental support of the cottonocracy; they are not yet sufficiently aroused to view aright the glaring enormity of the appointing power of the general Government; in the States of New Hampshire and Connecticut, they are as silent as the tomb of Joseph, about the civil rights of black men. In New Hampshire, a black man can't hold office—in Connecticut, he can't vote—in Maine, he must carry recording to white men's notions. Free Soil, in all or these States hardly says so much as *'It's too darnaal bad, anyu.'* The same is almost true in the Western States. Besides, the Rights of Women, and the Freedom of the Public Lands, are matters which Free Soil here in New England don't bother its head enough about to make it right.

Hence the necessity of a party that shall keep up the public agitation of these questions; and a candidate who is a full, fair, practical representative of these great reformatory ideas. GERRIT SMITH, in our opinion, is the man for that purpose, exactly; and while we are at it, we will just say that JAMES H. COLLINS, of Illinois, is our choice for Vice President. In 1852, though we live, we and our son Sam could give a good, old-fashioned, healty hurrah for

SMITH & COLLINS.

DR. BAILEY, OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

FRIEND WARD:—An article, from your pen has recently appeared in your paper, reflecting very severely upon Dr. Bailey, editor of the *National Era*. Believing that it does him great injustice, and being desirous, as you are, or should be, to have the truth placed before your readers, I request you to admit into your columns these remarks.

You say, Dr. B. turned 'a cold shoulder' upon Chaplin while he was in prison, and that he wrote a 'cold-blooded article' respecting him. I know that both of these assertions are untrue. Dr. B. has never withheld his sympathy from Mr. Chaplin, while clearly stating his own views respecting the expediency of going into Slave States for the purpose of abducting slaves, and Gerrit Smith and others tried to persuade Mr. C. not to do it; he was at pains to vindicate his character as a philanthropist and a brave man, though, on the first-named point, as he thought, an erring one. The article styled by you 'cold-blooded,' was not written by Dr. B., but by the temporary editor to his absence. The moment Dr. B. read it, he wrote an editorial for the *Era*, repudiating it; and in this editorial was so emphatic affirmation of the paramount claims of the Divine Law. Did you not read Dr. B.'s article repudiating the sentiments of the period he left in charge of his paper for a few weeks, while he was with his family in Massachusetts?

When I first read the article against Mr. Chaplin, by the editor *pro tem.*, I said, Dr. B. never wrote it; and the moment he sees it, he will be grieved and denounce it. So he did; and I wondered that Mr. Gerrit Smith, yourself, or any one else, should have supposed, for a moment, that Dr. B. could have written such an article. Instead of feeling or exhibiting any hostility, towards Mr. Chaplin, Dr. B. has shown his sympathy and friendship towards him, in the most substantial manner. Without his efforts and his pecuniary obligation, the five thousand dollars necessary to complete the bail of Mr. C. in Baltimore would not have been raised. This I happen to know.

You speak of a 'reprophetin article,' in a recent number of the *Era*, with much severity. Now, I am not going to vindicate everything Dr. B. writes, and have had occasion to differ from him in some things. In the article in question, I thought he had not expressed himself lucidly or wisely. At least, I judged he would be misunderstood and censured. An editor who writes so much end so fast as Dr. B. does, may be pardoned if, occasionally, he commits an error in thought or expression; and even if he is not 'up to the mark' in everything, shall any friend of the colored man stone him? Will you, or I, or any of our people, chase a man who has done, and is doing, so much, with honest, zeal and a benevolent heart, for emancipation? God forbid!

Very lately Dr. B. has written for the *Era*, as you have doubtless seen, three articles, to reply generally to the strolous letter of Dr. Drake on Colonization, in which he insisted, with energy, upon the policy and duty of emancipating the colored people from slavery in the South, from degrading disabilities at the North—indicating them against the charge of their ancestry—asserting their rights and the duty of repealing all disabling legislation in regard to them. In closing that article, he remarked that it is very sad affection, whether the race should be introduced into this country, there would be no difference of opinion. Those who know Dr. B. as well as I do, know he meant not that we would pass laws to prevent their ingress, or making any discrimination between them and other foreigners; but that all of us would oppose their introduction—even slaveholders themselves—that is, their introduction in masses, as slaves or laborers. No one, I think, who read the three articles could misunderstand Dr. B.'s meaning. I have read these articles, consider them admirably written, and believe that they contain truths that should be acceptable to every enlightened and good man, though I am not disposed to subscribe to every opinion advanced.

Now, brother Ward, although you may wish that Dr. B. would feel and write more as you feel and write; although our friend Gerrit Smith may wish the same; and though I might desire that he should be a little bolder in some things, and a little less bold in some others, yet he thinks and acts for himself. He is not Samuel R. Ward, not Gerrit Smith, not Lewis Tappan, but Gamaliel Bailey. He has his own views, his own train of thought, his own style, and so have you. You and I, and G. Smith, show him to be a benevolent man, a friend of the people of color, an enemy of slavery. Let us, then, respect him as such, rejoice that he does so much good, while we lament, if we choose, that he does no more. What! write bitterly against a brother abolitionist—one who has devoted himself to the cause—who is identified with those who advocate it—whose press was mobbed at Cincinnati and threatened at Washington—who means to sink or swim with the cause—he is far from you, my friend and brother! Say to such thoughts, 'Get thee behind me, Satan.'

Yours truly,

LEWIS TAPPAN.

P. S. Since writing the above, I see, what I had overlooked, that you speak of Dr. B.'s repediation of the temporary editor's remarks, as she 'still wores Lyonfield explanation.' Is it possible? Wherein was not that explanation full and satisfactory? I am truly sorry that you have allowed yourself thus unjustly, as I conceive, to hurl your shaft at Dr. B. colored men thus treat white abolitionists, because they are supposed to be, or really are, deficient, in principle and feeling for them and the cause, who is safe? I may expect my turn soon, for I have not done or felt what I ought to have done.

LEWIS TAPPAN'S LETTER.

We had no idea that our strictures upon Dr. Bailey would attract the least attention. We welcome the disappointment. We always desire Bro. Tappan, and everybody else, to feel perfectly free to use our columns in dissenting, however strongly, from any of our ideas.

We said what we did about Dr. Bailey, because we believed it. We see no reason to modify this belief in any respect, whatever. In 1842, the famous Petersboro' address, to the slaves was adopted. It simply advised the fleeing fugitive to aid himself in his flight by the taking of a horse, a boat, or any instrumentality needed for his successful escape. Dr. Bailey then edited a paper, with his accustomed and almost unequalled ability, in Cincinnati—in Cincinnati, divided but by

'A narrow frith'

from the land of whips and chains—Cincinnati, of all places in the Union, *the* place where *correct*, radical doctrines were most needed. But the editor of this anti-slavery paper, in Cincinnati, wrote one of the most able and most ingenious articles *against* this wholesome and needed advice to our crushed and outraged brethren, that appeared in the columns of all the papers in the land. We venture to say, that there is not a judicial decision on record, nor a legal decision extant, condemnatory of the doctrine of this address. So were every one of the practices of the Revolutionary fathers of this country, during our first struggle with King George. To do as this address advises, in like circumstances, is a right which every *white* man calls his own, and accords to his *white* neighbor. But when the poor, dumb, scarred, unpaid, robbed, outraged, half-murdered slave girl comes to the Ohio river at Covington, and can make good her escape by taking a boat moored on the Kentucky side, and rowing across the stream, seeing Dr. Bailey upon the Cincinnati side, and asking him whether she shall or shall not use, unasked for, this means of perfecting her flight, his answer is, 'No!' God forgive us when we shall call that man an abolitionist!

Well, in 1848, some seventy odd slaves sought a refuge from their many troubles and sorrows, by escaping on board the schooner Pearl. They are pursued, overtaken and sold. The question arises as to whether Dr. Bailey sided in this matter of the escaping of these unfortunate men and women—men fleeing from a system of unrequited toil, and women from universal ravishment and barbarity. The question was asked of Mr. Hale, in the Senate. Mr. Hale answered by reading from the *National Era*, an editorial article, and endorsing it as his own sentiment. That article did not merely deny Dr. Bailey's having any connection with the flight of the Pearl passengers. No—that yes not enough. He must give tongue and language to his inner heart, by declaring solemnly, deliberately, that he had an instinctive abhorrence for these secret measures by which slaves are sided in their escape. Now, secret measures are the only measures that can effect the escaping of a slave, and to instinctively abhor *secret* measures is to instinctively abhor *all* measures for that object. Nor even Lewis Tappan's endorsement can give currency, with us, to such abolitionism as Dr. Bailey's.

In 1850, on the 8th day of August, William Lawrence Chaplin was seized by a band of armed ruffians, on the public highway, without warrant or authority, and after the most inhuman treatment, was brought by brute force and lodged in a jail, belonging to 'We, the people, by the grace of God, free and independent.' Dr. Bailey, it seems, about, or a little before that time, came here to Lynnfield, in our own good Bay State. Immediately upon the occurrence of this affair, the cold-blooded article to which we referred appeared in the *Era*. It did, as we predicted before we saw it, and as we said after we saw it, and as we say still, give the cold-shoulder to the outraged Chaplin. Soon after, another article appeared in the *Era*, in which, Bro. Tappan says, Dr. Bailey disclaimed—no, *repudiated*—the former article. Now, mark, the former article made distinct allusion to the article written by *Dr. Bailey himself*, in Cincinnati, in '42. It avowed and repeated the identical doctrine of the article of '42. And, what is more, it took, to all practical purposes, the very same ground as the anti-Pearl article of 1848, quoted with approbation by Senator Hale. Will, brother Tappan allow us to say, that Dr. Bailey *never repudiated this*. He did object to and protest against a *certain portion* of an abstract, though an important doctrine of the temporary editor; but he has yet to embrace the doctrine of equal and inalienable rights of all men, as applicable to fugitive slaves; we mean, in the particulars above alluded to.

We learned, from what we deemed reliable authority, that Dr. Bailey did refuse to become one of Mr. Chaplin's bail. If we are mistaken, right glad are we to record the fact, and we thank Bro. Tappan for the information he gives.

Brother Tappan rps us over the knuckles for speaking of we do of Dr. Bailey, considering how much good he is doing, how much he has sacrificed, and how he has been mobbed, threatened, &c. We thank Dr. Bailey for all the good he is doing. We bless God that such talents are used, devoted and consecrated to the cause of freedom—*cap partially*. What we desire is, that by, as Bro. Tappan calls it, 'coming up to the mark,' Dr. Bailey may do still more good. Is it not strange that Lewis Tappan, who has frown as from our boyhood, should misapprehend us on this matter? Did any body ever know us to forbid any man's eating out devils because he followed not with us. Gerrit Smith's name is used by brother Tappan; does not Lewis Tappan know that gentleman's eminently catholic spirit? Am I dispensing a man's doing *some* good, by pointing out to him how he may do more, even though I *blame* him for not doing more? Would to God that Dr. Bailey were slender and altogetter as abolitionist! But till he shall become one, no man shall surpass us in admiration of his talents, and in welcoming what good he does consent to do. 'Mobbed and threatened' don't always commend a man. It is much more commendable to be *worthy* of such treatment. Most freely do we confess—nas, boast—that the *time was* when Dr. Bailey honestly earned this sort of regard at the heads of pro-slavery men. Our belief is, that he has made no progress since, and is not disposed to make progress now. If brother Tappan pleases, we will frankly own, that *this*, in our esteem, is Dr. Bailey's great fault. Aye, the mischief of such a man is, that they grow weary and look for ease, as Stanton has done. And when that is the case, former ill-treatment for *former* adhesion to principle—*for he only adheres to principle who followeth it whithersoever it leadeth*—is not to be pressed into the service of his *present* justification and praise.

As to Dr. Bailey's *sacrifices*, we believe that they are like Latin sounds and English verbs, sometimes in the *past* tense, or the *vocative case*. The owner and publisher of a weekly, of the size of the *Era*, at two dollars a year, having a list of 15,000 *cash* paying subscribers, constantly increasing, and *growing* in popularity, need not thank his friends to talk of his *sacrifices*, unless he mention them as mere reminiscences. We have been a printer a little too long to feel rebuked by that allusion. No, now a man, in Dr. Bailey's conservative position, need not make sacrifices. The radical, anyialding, progressive, aggressive, and therefore unpopular, abolitionist, has to do it; but not he who couples with his anti-slaveryism enough of conservatism to command his anti-slavery to pro-slavery men.

But we must close. Brother Tappan will excuse us for saying to him, that we black men must be judges, for ourselves, of the tone and type of a man's friendly regard for us. We must be allowed, with becoming deference, but with manly boldness, to utter our own views and convictions on any man's course. It must not be expected of us that professional, and some service even, shall blind our eyes to the glaring faults and inconsistencies of our professed friends. And, when they shall say such things as Dr. Bailey said, in the article alluded to, about the introduction of negroes into our country, we are justifiable in regarding something else than 'haste' as the cause of such sayings. And, when men of anti-slavery professions wound us, we must be expected to call the wounds they inflict—the outkindest cut of all!

Brother Tappan will accept our thanks for the fraternal spirit in which his letter was written, and he will please be assured that we reciprocate that feeling with all our heart, and we hope that now, as here-tofore, our differences in regard to men and measures will not be in the way of our being true and cordial yoke-fellows in the great cause of Equal Inalienable Rights.

TROUBLE AMONG COLORED MEN.

A sad without reflection to side time, is a sentiment which in early days I used to find in the school books—and in truth is the, and observation, as well as the bitter experience, which every day's report bears to heaven. The highest state of perfection, claimed by the advocates of slavery—the almost pure bliss into which it introduces its victims—is that of a state of *thoughtlessness*, and this, to a reflecting mind, is the severest condemnation which can be pronounced against the whole system, and all who uphold or apologize for it. Man was made to think, to reflect, to revolve in his soul ideas of truth and sublimity—of Love and Justice. He was endowed with faculties but a little lower than the angels, that, by their right use, he might be crowned with glory and honor, immortality and peace. Slavery prevents this. All opportunities for self culture it denies. What right have you to think?' said a slaveholder to his slave in New Orleans. Thought among them is feared more than guns or swords. Repress all thought, put out the light, and then, put out the light, its language and practice, just so far as an immortal spirit can be darkened and dissed in night. The very lowest possible degree of intelligence, consistent with their utmost value, as chattel beasts of burden, is all that may be permitted or endured, lest they should apply their thoughts and reflection to the stern work of *self-emancipation*. This direful influence of slavery shows itself among the free colored people of all the States in the Union to a greater or less extent. Having never been trained to thought—their mental powers having never been developed and strengthened, it is not to be expected, by any reasonable mind, that there should be that state of consecutive thought—that deep reflection—which seeks and grasps and holds principles as with hooks of steel, applying them to all the noble purposes of human existence. But notwithstanding all the unfavorable circumstances under which we have labored, and which still like a sombre night, hang around us, there always have been those who have thought and reflected, and the number is rapidly increasing, in all parts of the country. There are those among us who take the liberty and exercise the right of observation and thought, and with voice and pen *give* utterance to the burning ideas within them. This is well. It is the dawn of a better and brighter day. All such minds are tokens and pledges that slavery shall end. Intelligent men and women cannot always be kept in the prison-house of bondage. All such minds must see these things, which, accomplished, will secure our elevation and happiness.

I have been led to these thoughts from reading the following letter from one who has long toiled for the best interests of the people—who has endeavored to encourage them, by his deeds and his words, to be an *example* of industry and integrity, of progress in all those things upon which our highest and permanent prosperity depend.

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H———, N. Y., May 25, 1821.

DEAR BROTHER:

I take my pen and sit down to write you. A moment to have written you before; I have not forgotten you; I have your excellent and kind letter before me every day, for which I heartily thank you.

My wife tells me that you are doing a good work in the way of informing the people, for which I truly rejoice. As to myself, I do not enjoy the situation in which I am now placed. I am shut out from gaining that information which I desire. I hear preaching on the Sabbath, but it is not like being at home, to mingle our prayers, our songs and our tears together: 'How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?' I do not know that I feel right, for I do not put much confidence in the white people—their preaching and praying, it does not effect me much. In C. I began to be quite attached to the minister. I thought he was quite a feeling man—he seemed to be engaged in the subject of religion. Well, I had an opportunity to converse with him on the subject of slavery, and I improved it, as I had never heard him mention the subject in any way or form; when, to my surprise, he took the ground of Dr. Taylor, and was in favor of sustaining the Fugitive Slave Bill—though *he was opposed to slavery as much as any body!* After that, his preaching and prayers, to me, were like pouring water on the back of a goose.

When I read the speech of Dr. Taylor, I was shocked and surprised. What are we to expect when such man turs against us for the sake of Southern patronage to Yale College? Who would have thought that poor fugitives from slavery could have been taken from New York and Boston, and sent into perpetual bondage? Who would have dreamed that professed teachers of the Gospel of Christ would so far have departed from its spirit, and stooped so low, as to advocate slavery and oppression? the sending of the poor panting fugitive back to keener tortures and more cruel stripes? I think there is but little sympathy for us. 'Multitudes speak of us simply for political purposes, not that they care any thing for our welfare or the emancipation of the slaves. Some are appeasing their consciences by supporting the Colonization Society—that all their poor black brethren may be sent back to Africa.

But, my brother, I still, as ever, think that if the colored man is ever to be anything, either in this country, or in Africa, or in any place on the face of the globe, he has got the work of self-improvement to do for himself and for his people. Whoever has an eye to see, or a mind to read the 'signs of the times,' can perceive that wealth, politics and power, are the great objects for which the white toil. As you have often told us, time and time again, we must get property and education, and be men of integrity and honor. We must improve our condition. We must have more colored men to plead our cause. We must support the press, and be in earnest in the use of all those means which rightly employed, will achieve our elevation. We must fight our own battles; it may be slow, it may be hard, but the victory is sure. We must have that 'knowledge which is power.' I have had the pleasure of hearing, for the first time, the noble, the eloquent, GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P. He spoke with the tongue of an angel; none could gainsay or disprove his arguments in favor of universal freedom, guarded and protected by righteous laws. But I must close. Go on, be faithful with death. Yours, truly, L.

Would that all men were as faithful and true to the best interests of the people; then would the days of slavery be numbered—then would the moral improvement of all be secured.—A. G. B.

CASTE.

The Industrial Congress of working men, now sitting in this city, at the rooms of the Court of Appeals, in the Capitol, is quite a dignified body, and though not a very large one, it is represented by delegates from States as remote as Virginia and Wisconsin. One of the delegates is a highly respectable, prepossessing young lady, named Miss Eliza Evans, from Pennsylvania. Mr. Bowers, the colored delegate, whose admission caused so much debate, and at one time it was feared might lead to considerable unpleasantness, though dark-skinned himself, is a man of considerable talent, and speaks very forcibly. The delegates who are here represent a large number of voters who are strongly attached to the principles of Land Reform.'

The above is taken from the Albany Knickerbocker, a paper which now belongs to the higher law portion of the Whig party. The Mr. Bowers, of whom the editor speaks, is a gentleman of talent and position; and is much appreciated by a very large circle of friends, whose good fortune it is to enjoy his acquaintance. How humiliating it is, in these days of progress and reform, to see that color and not respectability, is made the test of admission to Industrial Congresses and Literary Societies! It will not be so always.

☞ The *Boston Post* claims the Fugitive Slave Bill as a Democratic measure. We hope the Democrats, every where, will sing the same tune. We shall be pleased to see the result of such an avowal upon and among the people. Is Governor Boutwell of the *Post* school?

THE UNION PRO-SLAVERY.

BOSTON, June 10th, 1851.

FRIEND WARD:—I find that I shall have to give up the idea of finishing what I have to say in two or three articles. The subject is so vast, and the field it opens before me so extensive, as to preclude the possibility of any such thing altogether. And even if it were not so, I should be compelled to write at greater length than I can find time to do, amid the multiplicity of business at present demanding my attention. So that I must be content to become one of your regular correspondents, writing little and often—a result to which I am not sorry to be obliged, for I wish to be considered *identified* with the papers published by colored men.

Colored men! How I hate to use the words! I hate to say anything but *men*. I hate even to speak of a colored man, though it should be for the purpose of praising him, for it implies that he is *different* from other folks, and that is a lie. Why, we are *all colored—flesh-colored*—and we all have the same human hearts, and feelings, and sympathies; and there is no more difference between us on account of our varying complexions, than there is between a man in a drab coat, and the same man in a coat of pea-green; or between two costly diamonds that happen to be kept, one in a bag and the other in a wicker basket; or between a dozen grains of sand, half of which could be discovered by the microscope to be rougher, that is, to have more prominent features than the others. A man is a man, and that is all there is of him; he is never anything worse, he never can be anything less. He is a man, and these other things are merely his accidents. A man's a man for a' that, despite these accidents, and unaffected by these circumstances. Out upon the doctrine which says, we may regulate our actions towards our fellow-men by the complexions which it has pleased their Creator to bestow upon them! Out upon the mean, cowardly distinction of color! And out upon the slavery which creates it! I thought I hated this idea of there being any possible distinction among men on account of their hide before, but I find what I have just said has deepened that hatred, till now, I am positively ashamed of having spoken of you as a colored man at all; and so if you will only forgive me this time, I will promise never to offend in that way again. Henceforth, I will try never to speak of color in connection with any human being. I will try never to say one word by which it could ever be told whether a man was black or white, or whether he had any color. I will speak of men as men, and, so far as this subject is concerned, only as men. Will you go with me there, friend Ward?

Before entering upon the consideration of my new argument against the Union, I wish to make two or three remarks to tell the one I presented is a profuse number. I did not make them then, because I had not spoken in your paper. But now, let me correct an error into which your printer falls. He makes me say that the Southern States of the Confederacy ought to be 'rated.' I did not say so; I said 'shanned.' I do not go in for *hating* men nor for *rating* any *bodies* of men. I hate their crimes, but for them I know no feeling incompatible with love. But that very sentiment of love, which we ought to entertain towards our fellows is the same feeling which should lead us to rebuke them, for their faults—to bear testimony against them—and, if need be, to separate ourselves from them, *whenever these so we would a very sweet*. And we ought to treat Slave of men, in the same manner. So that little word which the printer changed, contains the pith of my whole argument—that we ought to shun these *Free States!* The Northern States ought to avoid them. The people of the old world ought to shun them. All the nations on the face of the globe ought, to shun them. They ought to be shunned by every *body*, but first and most of all by those who have been so long in alliance with them. They should, then, cut loose from them, come out, from among them, dissolve the Union with them, and have nothing to do with them. And we can do all this and yet love the slave-owners, and do to them, what we would have them do to us, if we were in their place. And what excuse have we to render to God, when will consider what we do to them and done to Him? What reason can we give our brethren for not treating their oppressors like the pirates both we and they know them to be; and for not treating them as guilty of crimes which ought to put them out of the pale of the sympathies of the whole Christian and civilized world? In one, when they say, why we do not cast the Slave States out of our communion, or cut ourselves off from them, what can we say? Say? What *should* we say, if we were the slaves? In the unutterable agony that was rending our hearts, and the deep and terrible despair that was crushing our souls, should we not feel that we had a right to demand, in the name of the great Jehovah, and with the authority of God, that the North-ern States should lift up their voice like a trumpet, and cry out—shriek out—against the monsters who were imbruting us, should do a new and a strange thing to mark them and make them scorned, and should hold their characters and actions in such utter detestation, that they would no more play with them, that they would stay in Pandemonium with devils and devils damned? I know that this is strong language; but I also know that it is not half so strong as it ought to be. No language can be strong enough to characterize the guilt of remaining in a league with such fiends and pirates! Before heaven I declare, that if that precept of Jesus Christ—'Do unto others as you would that others do unto you,' one by any possibility stood us to do *anything*, it does bind us to cut our ties of the American Union, and if it doesn't, then there is no use in having any such precept! And, therefore, I

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

believe that to be in the Union—simply to be a member of this Union—is an *unchristian act*, and indeed more so, than either adultery or murder. I do not believe a man can belong to this Union a single *hour*, without sin—no, nor a single minute—and God knows I would lay my head on the block a thousand times before I would do it! I no more believe that if Jesus of Nazareth were living in this country, he would belong to this Union, than I believe he would fall down and worship Satan himself, as he was once asked to do! *No!* and again I say, *no!* It must be a *crime* to be a partner in this Confederacy. It always has been. It has always been inconsistent with loving our neighbor as ourselves—always been inconsistent with loving the slave—with doing to him as we would like to have him do to us. Not one man has ever been a citizen of this great co-partnership of kidnappers and pirates, who has not been guilty of the sin of inhumanity to his brother! Not one man has ever died a member of it who has not passed into the spirit-land, and taken his place at the bar, with the stain of *murder* on his soul! Yes, the blood of murder of millions and millions of slaves in this land! Duty to the slave, then, demands that we shun the Southern States—that we get away from them—that we refuse to touch them—and that we make haste to flee out of the Union, as Lot fled out of Sodom.

Why are you not willing to treat the slave-owners as pirates? You know they are pirates, and the worst and most bloody ones in the world. You yourself say so. And you perhaps think you are willing to *treat* them as pirates. But you are not. Gerrit Smith is not. The Liberty Party is not. Not one single man among you is. I know, you want to get the power into your hands, and then you will make these monsters let the slaves go free—You will make them, by using the cartridge-box and the bayonet. Indeed be—you will make them, by *killing them if they don't*; that is, if it shall be necessary, you will go to war with them, and fight it out. Well, that *will* be treating them like pirates. But don't lay the flattering unction to your souls that you have manifested your course! Never a poor fellow will more niggers than this are you, if you think so! You have only shown that you are going to treat the slave-owners as pirates, by and by—when you get the power; why don't you treat them so now? Ay, why don't you treat them, so these long years before you get the power? You do not! You know that you do not. You will not pretend that you do. If you did, you would fight now—you would declare war now—you would shoot and kill and destroy now. You would go and form a Union with these men, and agree not to do all these things, to them till you could get the Constitutional power to do them; that is, get a majority of both parties in favor of it; but you would do them without their consent, and against their consent. And if you were already in such a Union, (as you are in this one with the slave-owners,) you would not require out of it, so that you could fight. You would not remain in the pirate society, as being members of it, but you would stand outside of it, as its deadly enemies, and from that position outside, you would throw your bombs and hot shot in, to break up the association and to scatter it to the four winds of heaven. You wouldn't go to Congress and sit with the pirates, (as Liberty Party men are all willing to do, that is, till they get the power,) but if you went there at all, it would only be to draw a dagger and kill the vile wretches. New York Whigs were converted to Liberty Party doctrine, instead of staying in the Union and waiting to convert the other Northern States, that she might then confound against the South, would instantly issue a formal declaration of war, and with army and navy march against Virginia and levelate her plains and burn her cities, (well and made her give up her slaves, and then whip out Carolina in the same manner, and then Texas, and so on, till there was not a pirate State left. No, gentlemen, you none of you treat these wicked slave-owners as pirates, that I had power to, that with your views of Civil Government, you dare treat them so without doing all that I have said. I think at that, *you are not willing to treat slave-owners as pirates!*

The only possible objection which you can make to what I have said is, (and you will see that it is not an objection to anything I have said, but only to something else,) that when you get the majority, there will be no need of killing, and of course there will be none. I grant it; but that does not alter the matter as to your not treating the manthieves as pirates *now*. Perhaps, however, you may think of one more objection, namely: that you do treat the slave-owners as you would regular sea-pirates, if you only were, and always had been, a part of a Confederacy with them, (as you now are of a Confederacy with the others,) because you could not do any better. Well, all I have to say is, then, you do better, and that if you really would treat sea-pirates so, you would be pirates yourselves, for you would treat them as you ought not to—you would not treat them according to JUSTICE, it is in reality, worse than pirates, treat them in the manner you do, that it ever could be to treat sea-pirates in the same way.—When, therefore, you say that you treat the slaveholders of God's poor as you would pirates, remember that that is a very different thing from treating them as pirates, that is, as you ought to treat pirates.

So that it is still true, as I said at the close of my article last week, that the only way to treat the slave States, and those who compose them, like the Shakespeardian fellows that they are, is to come out from among them—to cease from keeping their company, to shun them as you would a devil, to *dissolve the Union!*—And this is to love, to dwell in love—love to the slave, and no less love to the shelver. It is to love the slave enough to free him, and it is to love the manstealer so much that he, to love him enough to kill the shelver out of him, and leave him what he was before he became one—a man—a friend—a brother, to whom we can say, 'God love you!' Let us do this!

Yours for such love,

JOSEPH TREAT.

☞ The *Portland Mirror* is one of the most abominable of pro-slavery papers in New England. Mr. Chickering, the editor, is a man of the Moses Stuart stamp of Human Freedom. What better is such Portlandism than Popery?

THE CONSTITUTION.

KINGSTON, June 10, 1851.

Mr. WRIGHT:—In your remarks on the Constitution in the Commonwealth of yesterday, is the following: 'Every person, on reading the Constitution, will be struck with the fact that neither the word *slave*, nor any clause necessarily meaning slaves, occurs in the Constitution.'

In the third clause of the second Section is found the following language:

'Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.'

Will you show in what class the words 'other persons' can be made to apply, except to slaves?

B.

We do not question that 'other persons' includes slaves where there are any, for it includes all human beings, but it has no such meaning by the necessity of the language. The word 'free' was invariably used in the old charters to designate persons enjoying political rights, in distinction from aliens and non-voters, and who knows but it is so here? However, we have not the slightest disposition to deny that the drafters of the instrument *meant* to have the words 'other persons' apply to slaves. This was the compromise; and the slaveholders having got the representation and escaped the taxes, ought to be contented with it. What we call attention to is the use of the word 'persons' instead of *slaves*. There is but one possible explanation of it. The framers of the Constitution designed to avoid sanctioning *the claim of property in man*, and they did so.—*Commonwealth.*

The meaning of the drafters, however, is not binding on us. The language of the instrument, alone, is law, irrespective of any intention of those who wrote it.

But the compromise, in our opinion, does not in the least favor slavery, admitting the meaning of the drafters to be binding; for direct taxation is hereby ordained upon 'three-fifths of all other persons,' they are to be added, &c. Very well, levy a direct tax upon three-fifths of all the slaves, which tax, of course, the masters must pay, and you kill slavery as dead as a mackerel that was salted last June. Direct taxation would destroy slavery in ten years. This is one of our reasons for opposing a tariff, and advocating direct taxation. Let the very worst possible construction be put upon 'three-fifths,' &c., and it still remains that they are to be taxed directly. A more fatal chisel to slavery is not to be found in all the Constitution; if we could only have a Congress that would faithfully carry out this clause according to their Constitutional oaths.

It is because of our belief in this that we never can consent to vote for a tariff candidate. When they tell us, about the benefit to manufacturers arising from a tariff, we turn our attention to this clause and its legitimate results.—Ed. Cit.

☞ The following is the article referred to in the letter of the corresponding editor, last week, in reference to Mr. Ward's recent lecture in New Haven. It is copied from the Journal and Courier, of that city:—

MESSRS EDITORS.—We were among the very few white persons who listened to a discourse by the Rev. SAMUEL R. WARD, on the Colonization scheme, in the Rev. Dr. Beman's Church, on Monday evening. Although we differed in some respects from the Rev. gentleman, yet it must be confessed we never listened to a more able exposition of the motive power that governs the leaders of that movement. Mr. W. proved most conclusively that the foundation of the plan lay imbedded in the deep and growing prejudices of the white against the African race. It sought to remove them out of sight, but did not assert their claim to respect and confidence here in our own country. The sentiment of the Colonizationist is, says Mr. Ward, that the colored race cannot rise here, and by well founded sympathy they would transfer them to a soil more congenial to their development. Mr. W. insisted that they could rise here, and by incontrovertible facts demonstrated that the race was rapidly but silently improving. He paid a well merited compliment to the people of color in New Haven, by contrasting their condition with what it was twenty years ago, when he first visited the place. Then, they were poor, miserable, degraded—now they were possessed, many of them, of houses and lands—churches have sprung up, and the people were rapidly improving in intelligence and usefulness. This may be new to many of you, said he, but it is nevertheless true, and is accounted for by the fact that, as the race increase in knowledge, their self-respect increases, which would necessarily lead them to shrink from those who in their best estate would treat them with contempt. Consequently, the whites are ignorant of their progress, to a great extent. Altogether, Mr. WARD is an extraordinary man. He is evidently a leader born to command, and with such men in the forefront of the army, we see no reason why the race will not eventually become a refined, intelligent and virtuous people. His appeal to his countrymen to assert their right to manhood, to equal social and political privileges with the whites, was one of the most eloquent and forcible appeals to which we ever listened. There was a becoming enthusiasm on the part of the congregation, highly gratifying, indicating, as it did, the stirring up of the 'deep within.'

We sincerely hope that more will avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing a man who is a man, in spite of the obstacles opposed to his claiming a right to manhood.

C—

'Because his patriotism is as broad as the Union, and he will never permit the Constitution to be violated, to favor one portion of the country for the benefit of another.'

The above is one of the reasons assigned by the spontaneous nominators of Daniel Webster for the Presidency, for their course. They circulate a paper privately, begging signatures, and the above is among the reasons they give for the sort of 'spontaneous' nomination.

Daniel Webster has been in public life more than thirty years. During the whole of that time he has seen and permitted the Constitution to be violated, to favor one portion of the country for the benefit of another.' When Carolina and Louisiana trampled upon the Constitution in respect to black seamen, what word did Webster utter against it? Where was he when the Constitutional right of petition was floored in the Senate?

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ Webster said, in his drunken Syracuse speech, that the Kidnapping act should be enforced in Syracuse, at all hazards. Unless the people of Syracuse are now very different from what they were a few weeks since, 'all hazards' would be made to mean something. Our wife writes us, that a noble, eloquent fugitive, J. W. Loguen, well and widely known in Central and Western New York, feels himself in danger, the new bloodhound Marshall declaring his intention to fall on the track of any one upon whom he may be set. It should be distinctly understood, by every fugitive, as declared by Mr. Giddings, on the floor of Congress, nine years ago, that a fugitive pursued is in open contest with his pursuer, he slaveholder, or slaveholder's, paid or unpaid, hired or quadroped bloodhound, and that resistance, even unto death, on the part of the slave or fugitive, is justifiable, by all the principles of warfare, self-defence, or natural right. We hope that neither Jarmin, W. Loguen, nor any other fugitive, will suffer himself to be taken alive, and leave his captor alive. We have suffered, and our fathers have suffered, long enough. We have borne and forborne. No other people on the earth have suffered so much and so patiently as have Africo-Americans. Surely, if constant patience under the most abominable treatment is productive of good to the sufferer, we ought to have been very much *blest* by this time. But while we suffer unexplainingly, the Anglo-Americans become more and more devilish towards us. May no black man of Syracuse suffer himself to be betrayed, at by the Fillmore sub-bloodhound of that city, without resistance! and should he dare to carry his overgrown puppyism too far, may his life, worthless as it is, pay the forfeit. We advise no man to do what, God knows, we should not do in the same circumstances. Ten thousand fold would we rather see our only son dangling in the agonies of death on the gallows, for having cost the man who sought to enslave him to, than to know that he, for one moment, submitted to his fiendish claim. Thank God, our venerable father is beyond the reach of slave-catchers of the genus Fillmore and Webster!

☞ The progress of the Rescue Trials is a continued series of the developings of the Slave Power's control over the people. The trouble of it is, that the people have to pay for it all, even those who must be tried by a packed jury, to whom law must be dictated by a despotic Judge, are obliged to pay Lunt, Lord, and their abominable associates, for their work of judicial tyranny.

☞ How many people there are who want a fellow to lecture, who know nothing about computation, except 'God bless you, brother Ward!' Pretty good coin to go to meeting with, but it isn't worth a great to go to mill or to market with!

☞ There is a black barber in Carnbridge street who *does*, and another who does not shave black men. The latter is named Williams, the former Murray.

☞ A fugitive was lately arrested in Chicago, but the Commissioner discharged him for want of evidence to identify him. Do you suppose *and of the* CHAIN would have done so?

☞ Peleg Sprague, the District Judge here among us, the Judge who packs jurors, dictates law to them, witnesses prosecution testimony and petitioners against testimony for the defence, and denies the writ of habeas corpus, is a native of Hallowell, Maine. Our sister State may have joy of her son.

☞ Rev. C. W. Gardner is preaching to the colored Congregational Church, in Hartford, Ct.

☞ Lewis Tappan wrote us the other day, that he had seen the deed of Dr. Pennington's body, and said it cost one hundred and fifty dollars. Every body may know the price of a Doctor of Divinity. Still, we presume Dr. P. will continue to belong to slaveholder's General Assembly, as the new School General Assembly certainly is.

☞ Maine has a law that a negro or a mulatto shall not marry a white person, and that all such marriages shall be invalid. The trick about that matter is, that marriage is a civil contract, and any persons of mature age are capable of making such a contract; and the Federal Constitution says, 'No State shall pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts.' So the law of Maine referred to is not worth a two-string.

☞ Mr. Hale's remarks in respect to the unconstitutionality of slavery, and his bold declaration that no law could make a man a chattel, show him to be both a Lawyer of sound head, and a Reformer of pure heart. Would to heaven his Free Soil Party of New England were literally and practically believed as Mr. Hale does!

☞ Elizur Wright and E. W. Bird have ceased to be editors of the *Commonwealth*. The rich, spicy character of that paper is over with, we doubt not. J. L. Loring, Esq., and Hon. J. G. Palfrey are the editors now. Still, we think all will regret not to see the hand of Elizur in the paper. We fear the *Commonwealth* has lost its *Wright* hand. Mr. Wright is still interested in the paper; but it will be more conservative without doubt.

☞ Peleg Sprague, our District Judge, threatened the arrest of any one who should upbraid Mr. Hale's forensic effort. Sure enough, what right have the people, from whose pockets Judge Sprague's salary comes, to upbraid a lawyer for uttering sentiments which His Honor, and every part of the Government, including George Lunt, are seeking to crush?

☞ Our friend, William C. Nell, has recently published a work entitled, 'Services of Colored Americans in the Revolutionary and the last Wars with great Britain.' The book abounds in facts which every black man ought to have at his tongue's end. The pamphlet can be had for 12 1-2 cents. We would not part with our copy for twice that sum. They can be had at 21 Cornhill. We hope several editions will be sold.

☞ The black people of Portland, Maine, and of New Haven, Ct., have made greater improvement during the last ten years, than any other people of the same crushed class we know of. Great credit is due to their Pastors, Rev. Messrs. Freeman and Beman.

☞ Can any one tell us what has become of our old friend and valued correspondent, 'J. R. J.'

OUR TERMS.

We shall be obliged to insist upon our published terms. Those who, through choice or negligence, don't pay in advance, must pay *one dollar and fifty cents*, and when a paper is stopped, *three cents a week* will be charged for all the time it is not paid for. The price of the paper should be nine Yankee shillings, anyhow. But if were paid strictly and invariably in advance, we could get along somehow. We shall send bills to all who owe us, and each subscriber to whom a bill is sent in an envelope may deduct the postage and remit to us the remainder. All who will pay before the tenth of July will not be charged the extra 50 cents. All who will not, must be so charged.

From the Liberator.

TRIAL OF LEWIS HAYDEN.

After a very able and eloquent defence by his counsel, Richard H. Dana, Esq. and the Hon. John P. Hale, the case of our worthy colored fellow-citizen, Lewis Hayden, for aiding in the rescue of Shadrach, the alleged fugitive slave, was given to the Jury at 1 o'clock on Monday last, who came in at 8, unable to agree upon the evidence. Judge Sprague directed them to retire, and report the next morning.

At 9 o'clock on Tuesday, the Jury reported that though entirely agreed as to the law, they were unable to agree upon a verdict, in consequence of some division as to the facts in evidence. As they had been out nearly two hours in all, and there appeared to be no prospect of unanimity, they were discharged from further consideration of the case. It is understood that nine were for conviction and three for acquittal.

In the course of the examination, Mr. Jackson, a member of the Suffolk bar, testified that the person who made the exclamation in the Court room, 'Don't be afraid, we will stand by you!' on the day of the Shadrach rescue, was several shades lighter than Hayden; upon which 'port Mr. Lunt inquired 'if he did not know that the complexion of colored man changes one or two shades lighter *when they are mad?*' to which the witness made a negative reply. Mr. Dana, junior counsel for the prisoner, being desirous that this world should not lose the benefit of such a remarkable physiological fact, proposed to Mr. Lunt that he should confirm it by his testimony under oath, which Lunt declined to do, amid the laughter of the spectators.

The case of Robert Morris, a black member of the Massachusetts bar, was next taken up. The form of the indictment does not vary from those of the previous cases. After some discussion, the following gentlemen were duly empanelled as jurymen: Eliab Leighton, Foreman; Charles T. Lovett, Moses Carr, Thatcher Clark, Jr., John Stearns, Jr., Dana B. Walker, Dudley F. Holt, Nathan Feastenden, Jr., Francis Wellington, Lambert Bigelow, William More, 2d, Bradford G. Hathaway.

The counsel on each side are the same as in the former trials.

As the remaining jurymen were discharged from further attendance, it seems probable that no other trial of these cases after the present, is intended this term.

ANOTHER TREMENDOUS CONFLAGRATION AT SAN FRANCISCO!

NEW ORLEANS, June 17.—The steamship Alabama has just arrived with two weeks later advices from California, the dates being to May 16th. She came via Acapulco.

A terrible fire occurred in San Francisco, laying in ashes property to the amount of $13,000,000. Among the buildings destroyed are the Custom House, the United States, Parker, Nation, New World, City Hotel, Exchange Hotels. Also, Rosee' Buildings and the Offices of the Steamship Company. The fire also spread to the shipping, consuming a large number of vessels which were lying at the wharves.

San Francisco presents a sorrowful and heart-sickening picture.

The fire was first discovered in Clay street, and ran through about one dozen blocks, quickly spreading to other parts of the city, the greater part of which lies in heap of ruins. Hunter, George, Main, Contra, and Eldorado streets are completely gutted. The utmost consternation prevailed during the fire, and thousands were turned out of house and home, having lost their all.

The news from the mines continues of a cheering character. New discoveries were being daily made, and the prospects of the miners were highly favorable. Instance instances the average per man was $30 to $50 per day. Those working with quartz crushing machines were reaping a rich reward.

Lynch law is still in force, and several new examples have been made.

National Reform Mass Meeting.—One of the largest and most respectably attended meetings ever held in Albany was held by the National Land Reformers at the City Hall on Monday evening. The large County Court Room was filled very early, and hundreds were unable to obtain admittance. The meeting was organized by calling our respected citizen, James Gray, Esq., to the chair; and on motion, Dr. J. W. Young was appointed Secretary. The nomination of Isaac P. Walker of Wisconsin, as the Land Reform Presidential Candidate in 1853, was enthusiastically sustained and approved of. Mr. Power, of Philadelphia, one of the most stirring and eloquent delegates to the Industrial Congress which has been in session in this city, made an excellent speech which was received throughout with the warmest approbation. Mr. Hine of Cincinnati, Ohio, also made a glorious vindication of the doctrines of the Land-Reform Party, and several other talented gentlemen ably addressed the meeting. A series of resolutions were adopted, favorable to the position of the National Land Reformers, and the meeting broke up at a late hour, the best of feeling prevailing. There was to be another mass meeting last evening.—*Albany Knickerbocker.*

MACKINAW, June 8.

Tragical Occurrence.—The captain of the deep Planet, who arrived here this afternoon from Beaver Island, reports that the Mormons yesterday murdered one of their brethren, and dangerously wounded his brother Samuel. He says the excitement among the rifles (all who are not saints) at this cold-blooded murder of peaceable and industrious citizens is fearfully alarming; and that nothing short of a general fight and massacre can allay their rage. At the time he left, the fishermen and Indians were collecting at McKinzie's Point, preparatory to an attack upon the Mormons who were also mustering their forces; and while I am writing, the work of death may be going on. The plan set up by the Mormons in justification of this sanguinary murder is, that the Bennetts offered resistance to fifty or sixty Mormons who came to serve them with warrants, on the charge of having said that they would not recognize Mormon law.

After they had ridiled the body with bullets, they broke in the door of his cabin, and dragged the corpse by the hair of the head to the lake shore, and put both brothers in their own fishing-boat, one dead, and the other, nearly so, and carried them before the Mormon Justice who issued the warrants.

These are the men whose houses they burned last winter, and who lives the King doomed to destruction; they had said they would give their lives to the saints, and leave the island.

Great Fire at Newbury, Vt.—Two-thirds of the village of South Newbury, Vt., was destroyed by fire on Saturday afternoon.

☞ Having returned to our office, we resume the weekly publication of the amount of

CASH RECEIVED.

W. H. Woods,	New Bedford, Mass.,	1.00
R. Goldsbury,	"	1.00
Mrs. R. T. Scott,	"	1.00
J. West,	"	1.00
Mrs. M. Shepard,	"	1.00
Sarah Ludbury,	"	1.00
J. E. Woodis,	"	1.00
Parker & Hatten,	"	1.00
Mrs. J. Piper,	"	1.00
Mrs. E. R. Johnson,	"	1.00
N. A. Brown,	"	1.00
I. Flood,	"	1.00
C. A. Harrison,	"	1.00
Rev. E. Kelley,	"	1.00
J. Goings,	"	1.00
D. W. Ruggles,	"	1.00
Miss A. Toleson,	"	1.00
Mr. James,	Providence, R. I.,	1.00
J. Hazard,	"	1.00
Rev. J. N. Mars,	Springfield, Ma.,	1.00
J. L. Coon,	New York city,	1.00
Miss E. Richards,	Bridgeport, Ct.,	2.00
W. Powell,	New York,	1.00
C. S. Cesse,	New Haven, Ct.,	1.00
Mrs. Livingston,	"	1.00
D. V. Johnson,	"	1.00
E. A. Degraeres,	"	1.00
H. S. Merriman,	"	0.50
Rev. J. Prince,	Hartford, Ct.	1.00
S. Woffley,	"	1.00
G. A. Badger,	"	1.00
M. Robinson,	"	1.00
Mrs. J. Burgitt,	"	1.00
J. Davis,	"	1.00
Miss S. J. Douglass,	Providence, R. I.	1.00
Mr. Hill,	"	1.00
G. N. Gears,	"	1.00
C. Robinson,	"	1.00
Biles, Potter & Co.,	Pawtucket, R. I.	1.00
J. King,	"	1.00
E. Albro,	"	1.00
R. Hills & Co.,	"	1.00
Sarah M. C. K. Watson,	Dover, N. H.	0.50
J. Foss,	"	1.00
J. M. Haynes,	"	1.00
J. C. Hutchings,	"	1.00
A. Champion,	"	1.00
J. G. Farnham,	"	1.00
A. Folsom,	"	1.00
Ithiel Philbrick,	"	1.00
J. Brown,	Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
Miss A. James,	"	2.00
Mrs. M. Fowles,	"	1.00
J. Prosser,	"	1.00
T. M. Keenard,	"	1.00
S. Nickless,	"	1.00
H. Gordon,	"	1.00
Mrs. L. S. Douge,	Albany, N. Y.	2.00
J. Pickard,	Hemingville,	3.00
Mrs. J. Taylor,	Sodus Point, N. Y.	1.00
J. Hapgood,	Portland, Me.	1.00
I. B. Morse,	Great Falls, N. H.	1.00
P. B. Pierce,	"	1.00
D. S. Dean,	Shingle Creek, N. Y.	1.00

SELECTIONS.

From the Liberator.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

At the last evening session of the N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention, in Cochituate Hall, May 29, 1851.

[PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.]

Mr. Garrison, in behalf of the Business Committee, having submitted the following resolution—

Resolved, That we regard the visit of George Thompson to these shores as having been singularly well-timed, and already productive of the most cheering results; that we rejoice at his presence on this occasion; that, in view of his approaching embarkation for England, this Convention tenders to him its profound respect, its warm admiration, its sincere gratitude, and its fervent benediction; and earnestly expresses the hope that he will soon be with us again, not as a transient but as a permanent laborer in the sacred cause of universal emancipation:

Mr. Thompson responded in substance to the following effect:—

Mr Friends—

This is just one of those occasions when I feel least able to acquit myself in a manner at all creditable to myself, or satisfactory to those whom are the honor of listening to me. I hold in great dislike any reference to myself in any meeting whatever, and I should, on my own behalf, willingly forego the observance of the custom, perhaps too common, of offering resolutions of commendation to public meetings. My friends, I have been a thousand times fully rewarded for having come amongst you. I have enjoyed some of the most blessed moments of my life since I visited these shores. I have had the delight of meeting many whom I knew in years gone by, of renewing friendships that I will not say had been suspended, but the enjoyment of which had been lessened by separation, and have had the unspeakable pleasure of forming new and imperishable alliances; and when far away from this country, I shall look back with delight to hours spent with those whom I did not know before, but whom I shall never cease to love, now that I do know them.

I shall leave your country, sir, satisfied, and more than satisfied, with my reception amongst you. Is is true, I have not been a guest in the White House at Washington—I have not been permitted to deliver orations before historical societies in South Carolina or Maryland—I have not been bidden to city feasts, or been the favored guest of Government officials: but it has been given me, by a severe but invaluable touchstone, to discover the truest and noblest spirits you have amongst you. (Cheers.) I am satisfied with my acquaintances and with my friends. I am satisfied to have been received to the homes and hearths—end, I trust, to the hearts, too—of many of the sons and daughters of the Pilgrim Fathers—(cheers)—and I go from these shores, when I shall go, with the satisfaction of knowing that I have not touched the flesh of a slaveholder, nor given my hand to one who is his friend. (Great applause.)

But, sir, what would America be without the men with whom I have associated? What would this country be but the scorn of the civilized world, if it were not for the men with whom it has been my high honor to unite? Slavery then would be universal—the darkness intensified; it would be a mass of putrescence, without a single grain of salt. I go to tell the people of England that there are more than seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. The Boston that sent back Sims, that enchained its own Court, that made its Chief Justice to crawl like a serpent to his own bench, and draggle his ermine in the dust—that Boston has yet ten righteous men and women within its borders, to propitiate the clemency of heaven, and save themselves and their city from the brimstone and fire that consumed the cities of the plain.

I say, Mr. President, that I rejoice that I have been permitted to mingle once again with the abolitionists of America; and I confess to the conviction, that a band of purer, more earnest, more self-sacrificing reformers does not exist in the world, never has existed, and never will exist, than the abolitionists of this country; and that their triumph is decreed, I feel certain. I know that many a Balaam, tempted and bribed by the Moabites, has gone up to curse them; but I also know that there is One that sitteth in the heavens that hath said, 'they are blessed and they shall be blessed.' I know the curse shall not prosper, but shall recoil upon themselves, and that the blessing which has been promised shall remain unto the end. (Great cheering.)

Sir, my stay in this country has been lengthened beyond the period I had originally intended. Some may ask why I have remained so long? Let the mob-Scribe of Faneuil Hall answer! (Applause.) I have stayed to rouse the Mr. Clay, who could not avoid invoking aid on the floor of the Senate House, assisted by the Dodges and Cooes around him. You will find the reason of my stay here in the attempt of the Slave Power, and its minions and myrmidons throughout the country, to prevent me from speaking in America. I have remained here to test the right of free speech. (Cheers.) I have conquered—(renewed cheers)—but it has not been because of the faithfulness of officials to their oath or to the principles of freedom. I have conquered, because the children of the Puritans have not forgotten their ancestry, and will not yield the right of free speech themselves, nor the right of listening to a man who is determined to speak for himself. I have been heard gladly in various sections of the North; nor have the rank of property and standing even of that distinguished town in your Commonwealth, (Springfield,) who sought to gag my lips, been able to prevent my speaking to approving and applauding audiences among them. I say that I gather from my own experience sure indications of the coming triumph; and I cannot look around this assembly without drawing from it an augury of the success of the great principles for which we contend.

But, my friends, you have watchful eyes over you. The world will know of the sentiments that be've been uttered in this place to-night. There are no real enemies to this cause—there are, at least, no professed enemies to this cause. Were the people of this country true to themselves, and true to the principles of Liberty, then, Slavery would vanish like the mists of the morning. This mighty nation fears to put forth its strength. The Church of America is free to grasp the salvation of the world, with the exception of three millions in the Southern States. They have faith for China, faith for Japan, faith for Hindostan, faith for the islands of the sea; but they cannot trust God's reference to the slaves of their own country. The 20,000 ministers of this country dare not be true in regard to Africa. Why, my friends, the Christian churches of this country have deliberately avoided the question of the abolition of slavery, and turned it over to the vain and tragedy of the land! It is deliberately put out of the churches; secured from religious assemblies; set aside in conferences; slighted in Presbyteries; not permitted to enter Associations; —always arrogant, always impertinent, always officious, always coming to stop revivals;—and so the question of slavery, with the destinies of its three millions of victims, is handed over to canting scapegracks, or any body else who chooses to care about such a matter. A Samaritan, passing by this nation of captives, wounded, bleeding, robbed and lifeless by the wayside, may therefore be permitted to stoop down and speak a word of comfort to the victims, and a word of rebuke to those who have wronged them.

Mr. Phillips has truly styled this a great work. There can be no greater work than the delivery of an entire nation from the chains of slavery. Their God is the same God who heard the cries of the children of Israel in the land of Goshen—is the same God who said, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me'—is the same God that overwhelmed Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and, with cloud of smoke and pillar of flame, led his children through the wilderness. The American Church believes that this God still lives and reigns, and that He—like Mr. Webster—is without variableness or shadow of turning. (Laughter and applause.) If the American Church believes this, then what are we to think of this Church? I ask, my friends, that I have said hard things of this Church, for I know no guilter portion of the American people that those professed Christian denominations who have not yet declared on the side of the bleeding slave. (Loud cheers.) Glad am I to see the popular sentiment of my own country determined to cast out such men; and, however they may be looked upon here, to regard them only as polluted and pestiferous men, on the other side of the Atlantic. They have sent their Presidents of Colleges, and their divines, from half the States of this continent, to ask the money of England to aid the work of the gospel in this land. I think they will not come on such an errand again. I wish them to know that when I return to my own land, it will be to rouse the Christianity of the British islands—the land of God's Britain—from the polluting touch of the Coxes and others who went there to make shipwreck of our faith. (Tremendous applause.)

This question of slavery involves mighty issues. We have been accustomed to look only at the present evil, without calculating its results. There are those who say that this state of things is to be eternal—that this institution is to live and flourish as long as tyranny shall desire or a slave can be bought. Well, then, we have not yet to contemplate these three millions in their chains alone; but generation after generation yet unborn. You have your gatherers of human flesh, your speculators in woman's virtue, who seek by every means to wound the purity of 150,000 females in this country, who are waiting until a male child is born that they may write beast upon its forehead, and register it in their ledgers. There are 600,000 human beings in this country, good enough to call Christ their elder brother—good enough to declare that they are the adopted children of the Lord God Almighty—good enough to be inhabited by the Holy Ghost—good enough to anticipate the day when they shall walk in white in the courts of heaven—yet not good enough to be American citizens. They may enter into the covenant of Christ's glorious gospel—they may be kings and priests of the Lord Almighty—they may call him Father—they may walk in rags here, with assured faith that they shall walk in robes hereafter; but they are not good enough to be admitted into your churches—not good enough to dwell on this soil—not good enough to go into your city schools—not good enough to have a seat at the dinner-table on board of a steamer! The temple of the Holy Ghost sold with swine—the temple of the Holy Ghost kept to bring salvas to market!

O, my friends, there is something involved in this question beyond the redemption of this bruised people. It is a struggle for religious parity. I hesitate not to say that America is the direst enemy of revealed religion in our own or in any times. If I drew my ideas of religion from this country, I should curse religion, and believe in annihilation. What idea must I form of God? I am to believe Dr. Dewey or Moses Stuart, who took through an American Dollar to a Scripture that upholds and defends slavery? You have three millions of people in your country—sentient and immortal beings, with souls capable of infinite progress—and your Doctors of Divinity teach a God who bends them over to their brother mortals, and says, 'Take them, do with them as you will!' I will not believe in such a God. I choose the God that buried Pharaoh under the waters of the Red Sea. I choose a God that said, 'If any man taketh his brother, and soleth him, he shall surely be put to death.' I choose a God who says, 'Bewray not him that wandereth.'—'Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee.' I choose the gospel which says, 'Do unto others as ye would that others should do to you.' I believe in that gospel which is written down in Ra by the practice of the American people.

I am told that the men of this country are free, and that they love liberty. Well, I do not know that there is any virtue in being free, or in loving freedom. There is not a man in Leverett street jail tonight who does not love liberty as much as Daniel Webster—and perhaps deserve it as much. (Great burst of merriment and applause.) The man who is continually boasting of his own liberty, telling how his fathers fled to gain it, how it is blood-bequeathed, and how he would not part with it but with life, and yet uses this freedom to oppress and enslave his fellow-man, is a hypocrite, and every true republican community should spit the monster forth, to be the scorn and derision of the world. (Loud cheers.) You would treat such men so if they were upon any other shore. Let any man come to this land, and direct your attention to three millions of slaves in another quarter of the globe, deprived of their personal liberty and freedom of conscience, and ask the influence of the American clergy in their behalf, and they would find anti-slavery blazing on every page of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation. But American carries two bags—one before and one behind. In the one behind she puts her own sins, and turns her back upon them; in the one before she carries the wrongs of other countries, of which she has ever a full appreciation and a virtuous abhorrence. (Laughter and cheers.)

I have heard more about the slavery of England since I have been here, than I ever heard during the forty years I have lived there. I never saw a slave in England. Poverty we have, injurious competition to labor we have, criminals we have, paupers we have—but they are free. (Cheers.) Let the proudest South Carolinian lay a finger upon the wife or daughter of the humblest man in England, and he would soon find that he was not a slave. The Englishman would not wait for the courts to avenge the insult; he would avenge himself. (Cheers.)

I am here to declare, that within the reach of British laws, within the British dominions, there is not a chattel slave. Even the pauper can bequeath that liberty to his son, of which you have deprived three millions of your fellow-beings. You justify, and glory in, your revolutionary struggle, but you were in no more danger then than the slaveers now. You were then 3,000,000 in number. The census just completed shows the number of slaves to be 3,200,000; and they are just as good as the nation that freed itself from Great Britain in 1776. You may remind foreigners of your Washingtons and Jeffersons, but, if I may judge from the specimens I have seen who have run away from the principle house, there are Washingtons and Jeffersons—yes, and Franklins too—still in bondage. Yet if I dare to speak of rescuing property such as I have seen and heard here at the North from the chains of slavery, I am hooted at and insulted by politicians and the patriotic of the land. America is glad to stifle the voice of the man who speaks against a system, the guilt of which no man's imagination can grasp.

I shall return to my own land to set before my countrymen the true state of things in this land. I do not disguise from Americans my intention to do this. Your public men shall have justice at my hands. I owe them nothing, (laughter,) and if I did, I would settle the account before I sailed. I say, my friends, I will endeavor to tell my countrymen the condition of things in this country. I think I understand them. I may not talk so fluently about your local matters as some of yourselves, but it is not because I do not understand them, but simply because I am not familiar with your nomenclature. I think Mr. Bancroft himself, well as he understands English affairs, would find himself embarrassed in attempting to speak on political matters upon a popular platform. But I think I comprehend what is meant by your various terms, Whig and Democrat, Free Soiler and Barnburner, Hunker and Silver Grey, Liberty Party and No Party man, etc., and I shall endeavor to simplify your nomenclature to my countrymen, that they may know where you really stand. If they ask me if the abolitionists are really respectable and decorous people, I will them that they are. If they ask me with whom I had the honor of sitting down to dinner—whether I was entertained by the Mayors of cities or by wealthy merchants—I shall say no. But I shall say I have had the high, the inestimable honor of laboring with men, any one of whom it is a privilege to know, and against whom all the shafts of calumny and hatred are toweed in vain and do but recoil upon the adversary, or fall pointless and harmless to the ground. (Long continued cheers.)

I would just leave a word of caution behind me. Let not the people of this country send any more falsehoods about the abolitionists to us across the water. We are getting more and more infidel as to such statements; and by and by, no American will be received as a Christian there, who is not regarded as an infidel at home. It is somewhat strange, that what you call infidels here, are our Christians in England.

The houses of worship in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland are more free than those of New York. In that city, with its many churches and public halls, with its gross idolatry of the dollar, (to its everlasting shame be it said,) not a place could be found for an anti-slavery meeting. And here in Boston, in which the swallows may build their nests in the churches from Sunday night to Sunday dawn, no house of worship is open to the friends of the slave; and its Faneuil Hall, once sacred to the liberty of speech, to the infamy of the city of the Puritans, is closed against the preaching of the doctrines you have heard here to-night.

The abolitionists of this country have been vilified and calumniated. The devoted leader in this sacred cause has been denounced as an infidel and blasphemer; and some in England, because they could not imagine that he would be wrongfully accused of every crime, simply because he turned a pitying eye on three millions of neglected slaves, have believed these calumnies; but the time is coming when the ministers of this country will have to bring a certificate signed 'William Lloyd Garrison,' to be admitted into the pulpits of Great Britain. (Prolonged cheers.)

I have been greatly refreshed by my visit to this country. I shall return with a vast accumulation of facts upon the subject of slavery, and illustrations of the universality of the slave power. These facts and illustrations, I shall, whenever I have the opportunity, spread before my countrymen, with such commentaries as will enable them to understand the true position of the great question. Though the truth will compel me to draw a mournful picture of the state of this land upon the question of slavery, I shall yet speak with hope and confidence of the final issue. I will try to make the people of England understand the nature of the bonds which this discussion is conferring upon those who embrace sound views:—how such persons are coming to the appreciation of great truths, long corrupted or concealed by slavery;—how they are beginning to walk in a clearer light, and to regard man and things from a higher point, and through a purer medium;—how, whilst promulgating purer doctrines, they are daily gaining knowledge and experience, and are exercising fortitude, and faith, and perseverance. I will endeavor to give the people of my own country some idea of that comprehensive, the magnitude, and the grandeur of this question. How it is linked, not only to the fate of millions on this soil, but to the fate, through all coming ages, of the human race throughout the world. How it has to deal with a mighty aggregate of immortal mind and physical energy, now implanted and kept down by slavery; and how it seeks to lift off the weight, and say to a nation, 'Be free!' How the cause of abolition here is the cause of Christianity itself, and aims to rescue this nation from a reproach, which even the heathen nations of the world are free from. How the discussion of slavery is probing to the very core of the national Constitution, and bringing to light those original errors, from which a long and hideous train of calamities and curses have issued; and how this cause is fraught with the destinies of this continent, and is destined to usher in the reign of true and impartial liberty! And, further, how this question is running like a burning fire through the church—revealing its rottenness, exposing its hypocrisy, causing its ministers to stand out as the guilttest accomplices of the man-stealer, and its professions to appear hollow and false, while its practice is impious and atheistical. To those before me, who are laboring in this cause, I would say,—You are not laboring for your country alone, but for the world. Make haste to free this land from the pollution of slavery, and your character from the stain it has cast upon it,—then shall your righteousness go before you, your influence, like another atmosphere, shall encircle the globe, and you shall be the heralds and the instruments of freedom to all the nations of the earth. (Loud cheers.)

LUTHER'S HYMN.

Translated from the German, in the same stanzas as the original.

BY JAMES MACBETH.

A strong-hold is the Lord our God;
A good defence, and armor true;
The darkness scatters at his nod,
The blinding mists he leads us through.
The wicked fiend of hell draws nigh;
In might and craft he takes the field,
In efforts dread to make us yield;
And on the earth no match hath he,
Our sworn and earnest enemy.

* * * * *

Though bended devils throng our path,
Like beasts of prey to work our ill,
Why should we greatly fear their wrath,
If Jesus makes us victors still?
This world's dread king, with vengeful frown,
Marshals his demon hosts in fight;
We calmly bide his fiercest might;
Doomed soon to lose th' usurper's crown,
Christ's slightest word can strike him down.

Through storm and change Christ's word endures;
Why should hell's power our hearts appal?
God's firm decree nor sants ensures;
His Spirit's sunbeams hourly fall!
Ours is the conquest—ours the gain,
Driven homeless far from child and wife,
And spoiled of fame, of goods, of life;
Still Christ's banner's bowers for us remain—
A Father's smile—a deathless reign.

From the Worcester Spy.

MR. WEBSTER'S SPEECH AT BUFFALO.

Mr. Webster's speech in the rain at Buffalo was a master-piece. We do not think he would be able, in a sober revision of it, to improve on the sophistry contained in it; nor with all his intellectual force and logical acuteness could he conceal, by dilation, the sophistical element which flows through every sentence of it. It is sly and *spiritual*, from its absence of peroration; and it is continent of sparkles from every attribute of Daniel's forensic genius. Solemn religious appeals and allusions are mixed up in it with the most profane sophistical quirks and purient indecencies. It is an honest speech in one sense, however, for it undeniably demonstrates, to the most superficial observer, the length and breadth of Mr. Webster's appreciation of principle. It was spoken as a defence of his apostacy, but it only shows the hollowness of his former and present professions of love of liberty.

The trial by jury has always been esteemed the palladium of Anglo-Saxon liberty; and against no institution have unprincipled despots and their unscrupulous instruments waged a more implacable war. Yet Mr. Webster was of opinion, that in a case involving the most serious issues, this blood-bought, imperscriptable right 'might be bad,' not to protect his own countrymen and peers from a fate worse than a thousand deaths, but to satisfy the *fanatics of the people*. It will be seen that Mr. Webster does not esteem the trial by jury to be a right, but a capricious fancy of certain persons called fanatics. We knew not how far the purity of that sacred institution would be maintained under his administration.

The terrors expressed by Mr. Webster, at the admission of Texas in 1850, in reference to her unsettled boundary, and his defence of the course pursued towards the brigands there, by Congress, are very significant items in his exposition, when viewed in connection with the treatment of the Northern States. He pretends to believe that Texas, backed by a Southern confederacy, would have appealed to arms to sustain a claim which the most eminent lawyers in the United States declared to be untenable; and then he defends the miserable political trick by which the money of freemen was voted to extend and perpetuate slavery in that region, and satisfactorily act to prevent a civil war. Yet this man, who knows that Massachusetts freemen are dragged from their wives and children and lodged in Southern jails, in spite of the provisions of the Constitution of Texas, that Northern men dare not express honest opinions within the limits of certain parts of what he facetiously calls 'our country,' terms would to the North and defend to act out her Christian professions, because they are in opposition to a pro-slavery editor, which he supported to the fullest extent.

Mr. Webster tootled out, upon this occasion, on a larger scale than usual, the dough-face scare-crow, the 'Union in danger,'—that eternal apology for the consummation of the only act that ever, in the most distant degree, menaced the stability of the Union; and he went into an elaborate argument to prove that great Texas, with contiguous South Carolina and other Southern States, so frightened Uncle Sam, that he found it to be necessary to buy peace with million millions of dollars, and the cession of a vast territory to slavery.

Next in importance to the Texas boundary question, according to Mr. W., was that affecting fugitive slaves; and in defending the pledges he gives in supporting this act, which he says has 'reconciled the country,' he uses the following solemn language:—

'I, therefore, gentlemen, in the face of all circumstances and dangers, was ready to go forth and do what I thought my country—your country—demanded of me.' And, gentlemen, allow me to say here to day, that if the name of John Rogers had been presented to me—if I had seen the stake—if I had heard the faggots crackling—by the blessing of Almighty God I would have gone on, and discharged the duty which I thought my country called upon me to perform! I would have become a martyr to save my country.'

The issue of South Carolina secession has shown how eminently ridiculous are Mr. Wb's Messrmean stories about danger to the Union; and the present attitude of the South towards the North, and vice versa, in relation to this Fugitive Slave Law, shows how willing he is to be scoured, or deceived.

A martyr, too! Martyrdom is made a lower stuff than Daniel Webster. It is the cloak of humanity, not the dough, that heaves the stake. The spirit of martyrdom does not dwell with those who love voluptuous pleasures. The spirit of martyrdom comprehends the names of none that were not superior to the world and its mean attractions. Mr. Webster's speech at Buffalo, viewed in connection with the character of the man who uttered it, must leave a very profound impression of disgust upon every honest mind.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE NEW COSTUME.

I am much pleased with the spirit of progression which is manifesting itself in almost every sphere of human action, and especially in the tendency, of late, to the thought of health, comfort and convenience in woman's dress, instead of compression, bustle, or show of vanity; manifestly indicating the 'good time coming,' when good sense shall have the supremacy over the vain tyrant, fashion.

I am happy in being able to say, that there are a few of the *truly modest* residing in the young State of Wisconsin, who think it not unbecoming to let it be known that they have legs, and that they are not roughly shielded by dress as their partners; and that the burdensome fetters of the long skirt has encoyed them long enough, and to be free and active can be no disgrace, but well accords with the spirit of the age.

A. B.

Wisconsin.

Short Dresses.—We shall hail the advent of short dresses with delight, and propose a vote of thanks, by universal acclamation, to the women who had the moral courage first to adopt the appropriate costume. Our theory has been for a long time in affirmation of the practice, and we have been unintiously looking for the debut of some bold spirit attired in this sweet comely garb. Now the fashion has been fairly started, let all follow it as speedily as possible. We do really hope that no ridiculous notion of propriety, of the exposure of feet and ankles, of how Miss or Mrs. Such-a-one would look, will for a moment deter any woman from adopting this most convenient form of dress. Any sensible man or woman will perceive at once the militarian character of the new fashion, and certainly the superior elegance of the oriental costume over the draggling European fashion has never been questioned. But we dare affirm that four-fifths of the masculine gender will go in for the reform, and will hail with joyful exclamations the day when their wives and daughters, hunting from their shrouded-like sicklooms, shall stand unencumbered by their swaddling garments, clothed as becomes those who are ready to start up the race of life. We repudiate the notion, put forth by some journalists, that none but the small-footed of the fair sex should be the advocacy of the Turkish mode. We happen to know a lady, a jealous advocate of reform in this particular, who, notwithstanding she is blessed with a 'large understanding,' is nevertheless perfectly willing to hazard her reputation for 'delicate' feet and proportions, by the adoption of a costume so conducive to the real benefit of her sex. Female ingenuity, never at a loss for expedients to cover personal defects, will very soon discover some elegant method of obviating the difficulty, without injuring the efficiency. To the timid of the sex, who are always frightened at a change, be it what it may, we would suggest the propriety of their calming their fears by quietly surveying the wardrobe of a lady who twenty years ago, had by carefully contriving to keep the fashion now as vogue. If the change is not admitted to be as marvellous as the one now proposed, we will give it up, and stick to the bewildering petticoats.

Be candid, and the hour of consumption is at hand!—*New Haven Journal.*

☞ Passing up Broadway recently, to take the cars for New Haven, my attention was drawn to a couple of ladies (not in fashion) who, by the singularity of their dress, instead of the long, sweeping robes now in vogue, the ladies in question were habited in modest silk dresses, the skirt of which stopped short of the pavement nearly the distance of four inches. Long trowsers of the same material as the dress were neatly gathered to a plain band about the ankles, and completed the equipment. I was struck with the neatness and modesty of the whole arrangement, and so lady, I asked to me, could see such a dress in use without feeling it to be a very desirable improvement upon the present very cumbersome and inconvenient style of dress.—*Cor. New Haven Courier.*

☞ We have seen a young lady dressed in 'the new costume.' There was nothing in the appearance of the garments at all immodest, but, on the contrary, they were evidently convenient, and appeared becoming and graceful. We took upon the new dress as a decided improvement upon the old.—*Hartford Times.*

SONNET.

BY HAZELET COLERIDGE.

Rest then not soon an aged, timid, weary,
Meet habitation for the Ghost of Time,
Where fearful rage makes decay sublime,
And destitution wears the face of power?
Yet is the fabric dock'd with many a flower
Of fragrance wild, and many-dappled hue,
Blind crystal'd, with iron brown and nodding blue,
Making such a unique patch, a mass so rare,
Even such a thing methinks I fain would be,
Should Heaven appoint me to a lengthen'd age,
So old in look that Young and Old may say
The record of my closing pilgrimage
Yet, to the last, a rugged, wrinkled thing,
To which young sweetness may delight to cling!

American Slavery Assaied.—Fifty one ministers, educated at the colleges of Sydney, near London, Bristol and Bradford, met at the Guildhall Coffee-house last week, and unanimously opposing their abhorrence to the Fugitive Slave Law, as opposed alike to every principle of humanity and religion. Non-intercourse with American christians of the Gospel, who supported the Law, was resolved upon.—*Foreign Cor. of the N. Y. Independent.*

The Impartial Citizen.

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ENGLISH UNITARIANS AND SLAVERY.

The following resolution was recently adopted by the Lewin's Mead Congregational Meeting, Bristol, England.

"That this Congregation would respectfully but earnestly solicit the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, to embrace the occasion afforded by the annual meeting in June, for testifying the sorrow which other religious bodies have emphatically expressed at the present attitude of the Slavery question in America, and especially at the countenance it is receiving from the churches of that land; and further, to take such steps as they may deem most expedient, for appealing to their brethren in the United States to redeem the honor of our Unitarian name, by henceforth dedicating the weight of their influence to the overthrow of that debasing institution, which, so deeply sullies their nation's fame.'

At a Full Meeting of the Cairo street Christian Congregation, Warrington, England, held in the Chapel on Sunday, May 25th, 1851, Mr. William Robson, Postmaster, in the chair, it was Moved by Mr. Alderman Allan, Seconded by Mr. Thomas Davies, Chapel-warden, and unanimously

Resolved, "That feeling most strongly the intense and aggravated evils of Slavery, especially as it exists among our professedly Christian brethren in the United States; and having observed with profound grief the passing and carrying out the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act; we feel it our duty as a Christian Community to protest against the sanction attempted to be given to Slavery by Ministers and Disciples of that Saviour, who came to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke. They feel peculiarly grieved that the members of the Unitarian body, who make it their peculiar boast that, being unincumbered by dogmatic ties, they are left free to develope the practical results of Christianity; and who have had such noble examples set before them by the late lamented Follen, Channing and Ware, as well as by many living witnesses; should not only have done so little in the great cause of Abolition, but should so often have actually lent their talents and the advantages of their position to strengthen the hands of the oppressor. They call upon all their brethren in this country, in whatever communication they may have with the people of the United States, to express clearly, and keep firmly to their abhorrence of the traffic in human beings: and they trust that all who visit this country from America will return strongly impressed with the abhorrence of the English people to the system of Slavery; and determined to use their influence, more than they have yet done, for the emancipation of their unhappy brethren in bonds."

(Signed by request, and on behalf of the Congregation.)

PHILIP P. CARPENTER, *Minister.*
CHARLES BROADBENT, *Treasurer.*

From the London Inquirer.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

On Friday evening, May 16th, pursuant to a notice from the pulpit on the preceding Sunday, this Society met together to consider its duty in reference to American slavery, and particularly in connection with the Unitarian ministers coming to this country from the United States. The Rev. Edwin Chapman, Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following preamble and resolution was passed unanimously:—

'Esteeming the whole system of slavery to be in direct violation of the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and observing with sorrow its rapid extension in the U. S. where the Federal Government has taken part with the slaveholders, and pledged itself rigorously to assist in oppressing three millions of its people; having long witnessed with deep regret that the Unitarian denomination has never given such evidence of practical vitality as to rescue it from the charge which rests upon all the Churches of America, of affording the main support to the demoralizing institution of slavery; being especially grieved that since the passing of the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law, the *Unitarians*, as a body, have uttered no protest against this cruel enactment;

'Resolved, That we desire to express our cordial approval of the determination of our respected ministers to ascertain, if possible, from such American clergymen as may visit this city, whether they are laboring, in any way, for the overthrow of slavery; and to invite none to their pulpits who have directly or indirectly, by speech or by silence, given support to this outrage on humanity, or who have failed to raise their voices against the unchristian law for restoring the fugitive to his oppressor.'

Another resolution (proposed and seconded by the ministers of the Congregation) was as follows:

'That while we feel bound by reverence for our common Christianity thus to remonstrate with all clergymen in the United States who have even by their silence sanctioned the continuance of slavery, we rejoice, at the same time, to record our grateful appreciation of such honored exceptions as the Revs. Dr. Furness, Messrs. S. J. May, Pierpont, Stetson, Weiss, S. May, Jr., N. Hall, Shackford, Buckingham, Higginson, Sargent, Johnson, Dr. Willard, and other valued names, who, in obedience to the call of duty, have not hesitated to sacrifice the esteem of their *brethren* in the *faith*, for the sake of their *brethren in bonds*.'

'The noble conduct of the Rev. Theodore Parker, who is exposing himself to danger and obloquy, by counselling and aiding the unfortunate fugitives in Boston, was contrasted with the inaction of the leading ministers of our denomination. Though his name was not recorded among his fellow-laborers, in consequence of his having ceased to identify himself with the Unitarians, it was maintained that his *work* would do honor to any Christian sect.

Addresses were made to the meeting by the Chairman, the Revs. G. Armstrong and W. James, Messrs. C. J. Thomas, Thomas Reynolds, Estlin, Hinton, Worsley, Marshall, &c.

It was also determined to direct the attention of the committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to this subject previously to the approaching anniversary of the Society.

From the London Christian Inquirer.

'EXCOMMUNICATION OF AMERICAN MINISTERS.'

TO THE EDITOR:

DEAR SIR—Your last Inquirer contains two communications on this subject;—the one a letter, with the above title, by the Rev. R. L. Carpenter; the other a report of the 'Anti-Slavery Meeting of the Lewin's Mead Congregation, Bristol.' At the conclusion of this report, I read that 'it was determined to direct the attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to this subject previously to the approaching anniversary of the Society.'

The avowal of this determination by our Bristol friends is what alone induces me to trouble you with this letter. I do not in the least intend to take the subject out of the hands of my excellent friend R. L. Carpenter, by whom it has been so temperately, justly, and ably treated in the letter to which I have already referred; but I wish *him* to know how entire is the accordance of my own views and those of many friends here, with the views which he expresses in that admirable letter, and I wish the *Committee* of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association to know, that the introduction of this subject, in any form, at 'the approaching anniversary of the Society,' may probably 'excite sharp discussion' and 'cause disorder' at the meeting; and so check the growth of the spirit of union in connection with the great purpose for which the Unitarian Association has been formed, which it is the design of these anniversary meetings to cherish.

Faithfully yours,
SAMUEL BACHE.

Fairview House,
May 26, 1851.

[We know nothing of the intentions of the Committee, but if they should think the introduction of the topic called for by the interests of religion and morality, we presume they will not be deterred from performing their duty by the apprehension of results so unbecoming in a Christian assembly as those which Mr. Bache anticipates.]—*Ed. Inq.*

From the Boston Daily Advertiser.

LETTER RESPECTING THE LATE UNITARIAN MEETING IN BOSTON.

To the Editor of the Daily Advertiser:

SIR,—I send you a copy of a letter to a friend in England, upon the disputes in our late Unitarian meeting in Boston. I think it may be of some use in presenting views of the Fugitive Slave Law to our friends in England, which may tend to guard them against mistakes. Perhaps such suggestions may not be without advantage *here*. If you think so, I shall be glad to see them in your valuable paper.

BOSTON, June 12, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just seen and read with great pleasure, the excellent letter of the Rev. R. L. Carpenter, in the Inquirer of May 24th, and with equal sorrow, the proceedings of the Bristol Society. These condemn our ministers, and propose to exclude them from their pulpits, for their conduct with regard to the *Fugitive Slave Law*.

Judging from what I have seen in the Inquirer and some other papers, I must conclude that the English are very imperfectly acquainted with the history and principle of that law.

The mutual restitution of fugitives, as well apprentices as slaves, and of those bound to service for a term of years, was the practice before the Revolution in all the Provinces. At the adoption of the Constitution, it was considered by the South as necessary to their preservation; and this was so universally admitted, that hardly any opposition was made. Without it, the Constitution could not have been completed. From that time it has been in force, and until within a few years, little was said about it. Prosecutions of fugitives were rare. By degrees, however, our natural dislike of slavery began to exhibit itself, especially in Massachusetts; and our State Legislature passed laws prohibiting its officers from any action in the matter, or prisons from being used for the detention of fugitives, &c. Upon an appeal, I believe in Pennsylvania, the Supreme Court of the United States declared it to be the duty, *not* of the State officers, but of those of the United States, to execute the law and determine these questions. This made an alteration of the law necessary; that is, in its *form*. Substantially, it remains the same. Now, this question necessarily came up at the last session of Congress, in connection with the admission into the Union of new territory. It is the conviction of all our statesmen, and I believe of all qualified to judge of the matter, that a violation of the national faith, and refusal to adhere to the first principle of the Union, would have *dissolved* the Union. We have, in fact, no more business with the slavery of the South, except that it be not extended beyond the limits of the Constitution, than with that of Cuba or Brazil. All our judicial tribunals decide that the law is Constitutional. You English, who know that your three estates can do anything, never understand that our several States are *sovereign States*; and that we cannot interfere with the domestic administration of each other. Some fanatics (do I use too hard a term?) rejoin, *Dissolve the Union*. What! tear off the bonds which unite twenty-three millions of people so excitable, and for the most part hardly reduced to the government of law, and to the necessary restrictions of civil society? and turn them loose to begin again the task of establishing a Union, so marvellously framed, and consolidated at the cost of so much anxiety, pains, and labor, that it seems visibly the especial boon of a kind Providence! Do these Abolitionists ever reflect? Have they never read history, or observed the invariable tendencies of human passions? The *probable* consequence of a dissolution of the Union would be a civil war, the devastation by fire and sword of a border territory 50 miles wide and 1500 miles in length; and the *certain* consequence, extermination of the colored race, or their reduction to a far worse state of slavery.

I am deeply mortified by the manifestation of such tendencies in your Unitarian Assemblies; when they undertake to censure or applaud measures of which they know little, and men with whose characters they are equally unacquainted. *Here*, we know what weight the praises and abuse of our abolitionists carry with them. You will see what some of them have been attempting in the late Unitarian meeting in Boston; in their denunciation of ten or a dozen of the most distinguished and best men of our denomination. With others, *Dr. Dewey* is deeply sensible of the danger of the country, in case the Constitution should be violated, and an ardent declaration, 'That he would sacrifice himself and his family to save us from so deplorable a calamity,' is imputed to him as a '*crime!*' Did he carry into action, which I doubt not he would do, such a principle, he would justly be enrolled among the most heroic characters in history.

—— Utcumque ferent ea facta minores,
Vincet amor patriæ, laudumque immensa cupido.

The abolitionists invariably denounce all who do not join them, as *pro-slavery* men. They know that a disapprobation of slavery, and a desire to do every thing possible for the benefit of the slaves, is universal in New England, and in general in all the free States, and that we can hardly restrain ourselves within the bonds of law and reason; but violent people do not touch the main point. They represent every opponent of slavery as necessarily an enemy to the law. The questions are entirely distinct. Are we to violate the most solemn natural compact, and to incur the most imminent risk of anarchy? This is the real point at issue.

As a Unitarian, I am much concerned that any thing should have a tendency to alienate from us those of our denomination in England. As the Rev. Mr. Carpenter beautifully observes, 'We are not enough of a family for family quarrels.' If, however, you persist in deciding upon questions which you do not understand, in condemning some of our best and ablest men, and in holding up, as deserving of the highest praise, some whose names we consider as anything but creditable to our denomination, a coolness must evidently arise between us. That this may not happen, and that a hearty and affectionate friendship may continue to exist, is the ardent wish of, Dear sir,

Your friend and servant,
A UNITARIAN.

The sayings of the Unitarian clergymen at their late conference in Boston, have [illegible] the ire of the Hunkers very effectually. A writer in the Boston Daily Advertiser says:—

Now, if this body of clergymen or any other body of clergymen, sees fit to form itself into a political club, and undertakes thus to show the impropriety of obeying a law which the unanimous opinion of our highest judicial tribunal has decided to be a constitutional law, binding upon every person in Massachusetts; if such club talks about the 'slave power having taken possession of the departments of Government, *controlled the decision of our courts*,' &c.;—and, if it further attacks individuals like Mr. George T. Curtis, so that their clergymen feel themselves called on to answer as Dr. Gannett did in his case,—then,———

Then what? of course something dreadful is coming now! Then ———

———we think it is quite time that the *laity* know something about the matter.

We think so too. Any measure designed to make such a layman as the writer *know something*, is very desirable.—*Lowell American.*

AMERICAN HEATHENISM.

EXPULSION OF A CHRISTIAN MINISTER FROM THE SOUTH.

The persecutions against those heroic and devoted Wesleyan preachers, Rev. Jesse McBride and Adam Crooks, for proclaiming the gospel of righteousness and freedom to the idolaters of North Carolina, have been continued with increasing brutality and ferocity, until, at last, the tyrants, maddened by their Christian fidelity, have forced Mr. McBride to leave the State, to save his life from their murderous hands. We copy below, from the True Wesleyan, a portion of a letter from himself, giving an account of the insults and outrages to which his faithful labors exposed him; and from the Greensboro', (N. C.) Patriot of May 31st, an account of his subsequent expulsion from the State.

Under date of Guilford, May 6, Mr. McB. writes that he is suffering from temporary illness, and adds:—

'I would have kept within doors this day, but for the fact that I mistrusted a mob would be out to disturb my congregation, though such a hint had not been given me by a human being. About 6 o'clock this morning, I crawled into my carriage and drove 18 miles, which brought me to my meeting place, eight miles east of Greensboro',—the place I gave an account of a few weeks since, where some seven or eight persons gave their names to go into the organization of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Well, sure enough, just before meeting time, (12 o'clock,) I was informed that a pack of rioters were on hand; and that they had sworn I should not fulfil my appointment this day. As they had heard nothing of this before, the news came upon some of my friends like a clap of thunder from a clear sky; they scarcely knew what to do. I told them I should go to meeting, or die in the attempt, and like 'good soldiers' they followed. Just before I got to the arbor, I saw a man leave the crowd and approach me at the left of my path. As I was about to pass, he said—

'Mr. McBride, here's a letter for you.'

I took the letter, put it into my pocket, and said—'I have not time to read it until after meeting.'

'No, you must read it *now*.'

Seeing that I did not stop, he said, 'I want to speak to you,' beckoning with his hand and turning, expecting me to follow.

'I will talk to you after meeting,' said I, pulling out my watch; 'you see I have no time to spare—it's just 12.'

As I went to go into the door of the stand, a man who had taken his seat on the step rose up, placed his hands on me, and said, in a very excited tone,—

'Mr. McBride, you cannot go in here!'

Without offering any resistance, or saying a word, I knelt down outside the stand, on the ground, and prayed to my 'Father,' plead his promises, such as 'When the enemy comes in like a flood, I will rear up a standard against him;' 'I am a present help in time of trouble'; 'I will fight all your battles for you'; prayed for grace, victory, my enemies, &c. Rose perfectly calm. Meantime my enemies cursed and swore some, but most of the time they were rather quiet. Mr. Hiatt, a slaveholder and merchant from Greensboro', said—

'You can't preach here to-day; we have come to prevent you. We think you are doing harm, violating our laws,' &c.

'By what authority do you thus command and prevent me from preaching? Are you authorized by the civil authority to prevent me?'

'No, sir.'

'Has God sent you, and does He enjoin it on you as a duty to stop me?'

'I am unacquainted with *him*.'

'Well, 'acquaint now thyself with Him, and be at peace'; and he will give you more honorable business than stopping men from preaching his Gospel. The judgment-day is coming on, and I summons you there, to give an account of this day's conduct. And now, gentlemen, if I have violated the laws of North Carolina, by them I am willing to be judged, condemned and punished; to go to the whipping-post, pillory, or jail, or even to hug the stake. But, gentlemen, you are not, *generally* a pack of ignoramuses; your good sense teaches you the impropriety of your course; you *know* that you are doing wrong; you know that it is not right to trample all law, human and divine, in the dust, out of professed love for it. You must see that your course will lead to perfect anarchy and confusion. The time may come when Jacob Hiatt may be in the minority, when *his* principles may be as unpopular as Jesse McBride's are now. What then? Why, if *your* course prevails, he must be lynched—stoned—tarred-and-feathered—dragged from his own house, or his house burned over his head, and he perish in the ruins. The persons became food for the beasts they threw Daniel to; the same fire that was kindled for the 'Hebrew children' consumed those who kindled it; Haman stretched the same rope he prepared for Mordecai. Yours is a dangerous course, and you must reap a retribution either here or hereafter. We will sing a hymn,' said I.

'Oh yes, said H., 'you may sing.'

'The congregation will please assist me, as I am quite unwell'; and I lined off the hymn,

'Father, I stretch my hands to thee,' &c.,

rioters and all helping to sing. All seemed in good humor, and I almost forgot their errand. When we closed, I said, 'Let us pray.'

'G—d d——d it, that's not singing,' said one of the company who stood back pretty well.

While we invoked the Divine blessing, I think many could say, 'It is good for us to be here.' Before I rose from my knees, after the friends rose I delivered an exhortation of some ten or fifteen minutes, in which I urged the brethren to steadfastness, prayer, &c., some of the mob crying, 'Lay hold of him!' 'drag him out!' 'stop him!' &c.

My voice being nearly drowned by the tumult, I left off. I was then called to have some conversation with H., who repeated some of the charges he preferred at first—said I was bringing on insurrection, exciting disturbance, &c.; wishing me to leave the State, [illegible], and he himself was the most of a slave of any of them, had harder times than they had, and he would like to be shut of them, and that he was my true friend.

'As to our friendship, Mr. H., you have acted quite friendly, remarkably so—fully as much as Judas when he kissed the Saviour. As to your having to be so much of a slave, I am sorry for you; you *ought to be freed*. As to insurrection, I am decidedly opposed to it, have no sympathy with it whatever. As to raising disturbance and leaving the State, I left a little, motherless daughter in Ohio, over whom I wished to have an oversight and care. When I left, I only expected to remain in North Carolina one year; but the people dragged me up before the court under the charge of felony, put me in bonds, and kept me; and now, would you have me leave my securities to suffer, have me lie, and deceive the court?'

'Oh! if you will leave, your bail will not have to suffer; that can, I think, be settled without much trouble,' said Mr. H.

'They *shall not* have trouble on my account,' said I.

After talking with Mr. H. and one or two more on personal piety, &c., I went to the Arbor, took my seat in the door of the stand for a minute; then rose, and after referring to a few texts of Scripture to show that all those who will live godly shall suffer persecution, I inquired 1st. What is persecution? 2dly. noticed the fact, 'shall suffer;' gave a synoptical history of persecution, by showing that Abel was the first martyr for the right—the Israelites' sufferings. The prophets were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword, had to wander in deserts, mountains, dens and caves of the earth, were driven from their houses, given to ferocious beasts, lashed to the stake, destroyed in different ways. Spoke of John the Baptist; showed how he was persecuted, and on what charge. Christ was persecuted, for doing what John was persecuted for not doing. Spoke of the sufferings of the apostles, and their final death; of Luther and his coadjutors; of the Wesleys and the early Methodists; of Fox, and the early Quakers; of the early settlers to the colonies of the United States. Noticed why the righteous were persecuted, the advantages thereof to the righteous themselves, and how they should treat their persecutors—with kindness, &c. Spoke, I suppose, some half an hour, and dismissed. Towards the close, some of the rioters got quite angry, and yelled, 'Stop him!' 'Put him out!' 'The righteous were never persecuted for d——d abolitionism,' &c. Some of them paid good attention to what I said. And thus we spent the time from twelve to three o'clock, and thus the meeting passed by.

Brother dear, I am more and more confirmed in the righteousness of our cause. I would rather, die for good principles, than to have applause and honor for propagating false theories and abominations. You perhaps would like to know how I feel. Happy most of the time; a religion that will not stand persecution, will not take us to Heaven. Blessed be God, that I have not, thus far, been suffered to deny Him. Sometimes I have thought I was near home. I generally feel a calmness of soul, but sometimes my enjoyments are rapturous. I have had a great burden of prayer for the dear flock; help me pray for them. Thank God, I have not heard of one of them giving up or turning, and I believe some if not most of them, would go to the stake rather than give back. I forgot to say I read a part of the 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apostle to the rioters, commencing at the 17th verse. I told them if their institutions were of God, I could not harm them; that if our cause was of God, *they could not stop it*—that they could kill me, but they could *not kill* the truth. Though I talked plainly, I talked out and felt kindly to them.

I have had to write in such haste, and being fatigued and unwell, my letter is disconnected. I meant to give you a copy of the letter of the mob. Here it is:

'MR. J. MCBRIDE,

'We the subscribers, very and most respectfully request you not to attempt to fulfil your appointment at this place. If you do, you will surely be interrupted.' (Signed by 32 persons.)

Some were professors of religion—Presbyterians, Episcopal Methodists, and Methodist Protestants. One of the latter was an 'Exhorter.' I understood some of the crowd were negro traders. Farewell!

J. McBRIDE.

These shameful and wicked acts of intolerance, so modestly narrated by their sufferer, prove the character of religion and religious teachers and bodies of the South. Were they perpetrated on an humble and faithful missionary in New Zealand, Madagascar, or Turkey, every pulpit and religious press in the nation would ring with indignant denunciations of the wrong, and sympathy for the persecuted missionary. These facts should be laid up in the memory of every abolitionist for future use.

The sequel to the above is given by the *Greensboro' Patriot*, as follows:

MCBRIDE SENT OFF.—From what has already been made known, by resolution of the late public meeting and otherwise, the reader is prepared to hear that the excitement in this county, in relation to the Abolitionist preachers from Ohio has come to a head. A large company—some two hundred it is said—intercepted McBride last Sunday morning, while on his way to a preaching appointment at Sandy Ridge, in the western part of this county, and after conducting him over the line into Forsyth, exacted from him a written pledge, under forfeiture of $2,000, to leave Guilford and the State by the ensuing Saturday, (to-day,) never to return, nor send back into the State any publication whatever on the subject of Slavery. And one of his friends—a man of substance in the county—gave a written promise as surety that his pledge should be fulfilled. He is therefore, doubtless, by this time on his way back to Ohio.

From the sensitive state of the public mind in consequence of the agitation of this matter, and the fanatical pertinacity with which McBride continued his operations in the face of warning, a violent result was apprehended and seemed almost inevitable; but a firm and efficient direction was given to the affair, without personal violence or abuse, by the presence and efforts of some of the first citizens of the county. Through their representation of consequences which had become inevitable should he prove obstinate, and doubtless perceiving unfavorable auguries in the aspect of the crowd by which he was surrounded, he pledged himself without delay to every thing they desired. His coadjutor, Adam Crooks, we learn, stated to the Committee of the public meeting, who gave him also notice to leave, that he did not preach in Guilford Co., his field of labor, we presume, being in counties below.

It will be a most gratifying thing to see the public mind of the county, which has been so unhappily agitated by the presence and purpose of these unwelcome missionaries, now settle down to its accustomed tranquillity.

The Tribune, after quoting this article, adds:

This is the measure of freedom allowed by the fanatical advocates of slavery in North Carolina. A humble preacher of the Gospel is compelled to flee for his life, not for violation of any law, but because he was known to be honestly opposed to the system of human chattelism. If slaveholders did not instinctively perceive that the system which they hug with such tenacity cannot endure the breath of free discussion, would they resort to such measures as these for its defence? We trow not.

From the Liberator.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, M. P.,

At the Farewell Soiree in Assembly Hall, on Monday evening, June 16th.

Mr. Garrison, in behalf of the large and brilliant assembly, having read a highly complimentary address to their distinguished guest, Mr. Thompson replied as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I shall have to quit as soon as possible the unworthy topic suggested by the address which has just been read, if I am to speak a few parting words to the friends who are now around me. They must be satisfied if I express, in one word, my deep, my earnest, my undying thanks for the mark of regard that is expressed toward me by the gathering together of this great assembly. I never have been equal to an occasion like the present. I cannot say that I ever desire to be so, for I fear that if the time should ever come when such a meeting as this shall inspirit me, I shall be less fit for labor in that cause, so dear to all your hearts, and for whose sake you are pleased to offer me this compliment.

My friends, I have been trying to remember the occasion on which I have ever said any thing in this country that I ought not to have said, in order that I might, before I left this platform, express my sorrow for it, and make what atonement was in my power for the error into which I had been betrayed. I am not here to vindicate the style in which I have presumed to address the people of this country. Still less am I here to commend myself, or any thing that I have addressed to the citizens of America. But I am here to declare that, on an impartial and even severe scrutiny into the language I have used, so far as that language has been intended to embody any principle or to impress upon the hearts of the people of this country any sentiment, I have nothing to regret and nothing to recal. (Cheers.) That I might have done it better, I believe; that I have done as well as I could, I feel certain. (Cheers.) After more than eight months' sojourn amongst you, I am on the eve of returning to my native land. I leave with deep sorrow. But for ties and associations far away, I should not dream of leaving the shores of America. (Loud cheers.) I love your country, and, with all their faults, I love the people of your country. (Cheers.) There is no country in the world, and no people in the world, in whose destinies I take a greater interest; and I am sustained constantly by the belief and assurance, to my own mind, that if, in the very humblest character, I am permitted to do any good in this country and amongst this people, I am doing more for the world at large, than I could do on any other theatre of action. If I ever desire the faculty of foreseeing future events, it is when I try to penetrate the future of America. Could this curse of slavery be removed—could this incubus be taken from you, which now seems to press upon you as upon an infant giant, paralyzing all your energies—then all imagination would fail in its efforts to assign a limit to your influence, your reputation, and your glory. And, Sir, whatever may be said of me by those who know me not, or who wilfully misrepresent me, I do feel so strong a desire, for the sake not only of those who are in captivity in your midst, but for the sake of the coming generations that shall people this country until time shall be no more, that I would freely give myself, from this day forth and forever—braving any fate that might await me—if I might sow a single seed that, springing from my grave, might bear that fruit which would in time regenerate and bless your country. (Loud cheers.) With your institution of slavery separated from your government, I have no quarrel with its principles or with its effects. I can walk through your land fearless of ever meeting a man in whose face I should be afraid to look, for I cannot meet the man that loves your country better than I do. I may meet those who have done more for it, labored more for it, and far more successfully, but I cannot meet the man who is more ready, at this moment, to make any sacrifice for the sake of America, than I am. (Cheers.) And, Sir, as I have passed through some of the States of this country, it has been the highest privilege of my life to be received, not with safety alone, nor with courtesy alone, but with confidence, and, not unfrequently, with affectionate regard, into the bosoms of your families. I have felt, as I have sat in the social circle and seen of what stuff Americans are made, I have felt, that I would gladly die to transform all the sons and daughters of this land into such beings as those among whom it was then my privilege to be. (Great cheering.)

There is as good stuff outside of the anti-slavery phalanx as was ever brought into its ranks. I look upon the fierce opponent of to-day as the valiant compeer of to-morrow. I look upon the Saul of to-day, dragging man and women to prison, as the Paul of to-morrow, asking humbly and prayerfully, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' (Enthusiastic applause.)

I call God to witness, that while I do faithfully rebuke the individual, whoever he may be, who oppresses his brother man, my harshest language, my as verest rebuke, is dictated by a desire that that man should know what he is, in what relation he stands to his fellow-man—a desire that he may learn from a stranger, if he has learn, his obnoxious, what manner of man he is. (Cheers.) I have endeavored to turn the man inside out; and, in the majority of cases, it has not only been done to the perfect satisfaction of the spectators, but to the perfect satisfaction of the man himself. (Laughter and applause.)

I have been richly rewarded for my visit to these shores, altogether apart from the anti-slavery cause. Do not imagine I am nothing but an abolitionist. I cannot conceive it possible that any man could travel through your country, feeling a greater interest in all that concerns you than I do. I come not here to spend my own fortune; I do not covet any position that you have to bestow. I came like a fraction of mankind, careless of opinions, of whole kingdoms, yet I cannot help to rejoice in your prosperity, to thank God and to bless you for opening your arms as you do to welcome my countrymen to a land where they have not to ask to live, but where they are permitted, under the protection of your laws, and often in the enjoyment of your civil rights, to till the soil, and realise the fruits of honest industry. This is I have come through your land, as I have gazed upon your fertile valleys, and your boundless resources, I have wished that I could speak before my own countrymen words that would induce them to quit a land where competition for labor has brought with it the most fearful evils, and come hither to this land of hope and promise, to every part of which, not nursed by slavery, industry finds its reward, and honest man are neither compelled to beg their bread, nor stand idle in the market-place all the day. Why your prosperity increases! Long may the self-exiled children of Europe find a home and a country on these shores; and may no countryman of mine be ever less welcome, in consequence of any hostile feeling towards the stranger whom you have so warmly cherished! (Cheers.)

Sir, during the eight months that I have been a sojourner on this continent, I have, owing to unforeseen circumstances, been a man of one idea. The topic of almost all my public addresses has been slavery. If this has been a fault, it must be ascribed to the things around you. I will confess, that, as I viewed this country from the opposite shores of the Atlantic, I thought matters were more hopeful and encouraging than I found them, and that there would be less necessity for my going into the anti-slavery field. The theme of my discourses, as well as the direction of my visit, has been determined by the aspects of the times. The proceedings connected with my first attempt to speak in this city convinced me that I had to maintain the right of free speech. I have done so, and I have been successful. (Cheers.) Wherever I have travelled, I have been heard, in every place I have been generously, nobly treated. From every audience I have addressed, I have received respectful attention, and, almost as uniformly, the most encouraging tokens of approbation. Of the kindness and affection with which I have been surrounded in the domestic circle into which I have been received, I cannot trust myself to speak. In every house I have been privileged to enter, I have been at home—the sympathy has been perfect—I have felt that I was not only welcomed to the hearths, but to the hearts of the people. As far as I am concerned, I have nothing to remember in connection with my visit, but kindness. When far away, my testimony will be, that there are not to be found in the world more hospitable or noble-minded beings than the abolitionists of the United States. May God bless them!

The opposition I have met with in this country has been confined to the press. If I have been otherwise assailed, I have been assailed by those who gave me no opportunity of reply. In every place, my meetings have been open and free. I have not delivered a single anti-slavery address that might not have been answered on the spot. I have sought for a manly opponent as with a candle. I have been to towns and cities where, for weeks and months, I had been denounced as a liar, a libeller, a hireling, an ignoramus, a hypocrite, and whatever else is vile. Invariably, as my friends around me will bear witness, my practice has been to challenge my accuser to appear and take the platform. I have summoned the minister of religion, the defender of the Union, the ambitious politician, the champion of the Constitution, the devoted patriot—yes, all and sundry, to come forth and make good their charges, and maintain their own position; but in vain. Thus far, my assailants have avoided an open encounter; but should there be, in this good city, a lover of his country disposed to break a lance with me, I shall rejoice to afford him an opportunity during the few brief days that may intervene between this meeting and my departure. (Cheers.)

Sir, the doctrine which I have proclaimed throughout this State—which I have preached, from Portland in the State of Maine, to Providence in Rhode Island—from thence to Canada, and from Toronto to Philadelphia, is this—that men are not lawful merchandise—that under no conceivable circumstances can one man rightfully have property in another man. (Tremendous cheering.) I hold an parley with a man-thief; he is an atheistical monster, a demi-demon, a felon, towering in his guilt above all other criminals; an intellectual and reasoning brute; the enemy of his species, and the baldest traitor against the sovereignty of God. (Renewed cheers.) Men the owners of men! A man possess a fellow-simple in the soul of his equal! Preposterous blasphemy! My friends, we reason too much about this matter. The horrid lie must be smitten down, and buried into the bottomless pit. Those who preach this lie, know it is a lie. The depraved hearts of men would have the lie believed, but there are not twenty men among the twenty millions of America, who believe that making beasts of men is a lawful occupation. A chattel man! Why, the very words contradict themselves. Write them, and the soul shudders at the lie. Coal proprietor, land proprietor, iron proprietor—these are intelligible words; but man proprietor! why, the very devil dared not touch Job until the Lord said, 'Behold, he is in thine hand, but save his life.' I am hated because I have deemed it my duty to denounce the atheistic mediocrity of the American pulpit—because I have boldly branded the man, however high his dignity, who preaches the contrary doctrine, as a man who has blotted God from the universe, and laid a felon's hand upon a human soul. Keep yous stand-ard high, my friends! The slave is a MAN—

'Midway from nothing to the Deity.'

Drag the slaveholder to the bar of God; confront the caitiff with the all-seeing Jehovah; and the naked soul of his victim; and make his settle the question, not before Judge Sprague, with the United States Constitution in his hand, but before the Judge of quick and dead, with a bill of sale from the Almighty—if he can find one. Hold to the sound doctrine that a man is not a beast, and a slaveholder not a God; and then your position is impregnable, and your argument invincible; and you shall live amidst the harmonies of truth, and command all the elements of universal nature, and find an echo in every human heart, and sway, as by enchantment, the instincts, affections, intellects and consciences of men.

Sir, I have deduced from the doctrine I have now asserted, the duty and the right of immediate emancipation. If I am asked when I would have slaves emancipated, I answer, Now! Had I the power, I would will its extinction before I could pronounce the words, 'Let the oppressed go free.' It is eternally safe and expedient to do right; but, Oh! the guilt and danger of practising the awful atheism of keeping God's immortal children among the beasts of the field. Every where, therefore, I have fearlessly declared the right of the slave to himself, and the duty of his master to relinquish his felonious grasp. Any compromise of these grand distinctive principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society would be fatal to the success of the movement. The great work of the abolitionist, and of your entire organization, is to proclaim these truths, and to keep your cause as separate as possible from every movement of every kind that compromises, or consents to a compromise of, these vital, divine, and everlasting principles. Man can hold no property in man; therefore, his slavery must be immediately abolished. This is the religion, the politics, the moral ethics, and the political economy of the abolitionist; and whenever his doctrines are triumphant throughout this land, a host of vexed questions will be laid at rest, and a union in right counsels bind together, in bands stronger than iron, the people of this great nation. (Loud cheers.)

Sir, while I have preached that men are men, through all the varieties of our common race, I have also preached that they are brothers, and that we owe the same duties to our colored brother as to our white one. (Cheers.) I have rebuked, as a crime little less than slavery, the distinction made between men on account of their complexion in this country. I have lost no opportunity of assailing that hideous confederacy, called the Colonization Society, which impiously brands the colored man as inferior, and impudently points him from these shores to Africa, as the land to which, he must be expatriated. Sir, this prejudice is the creature of slavery, of education, habit, custom, and above all, of pride. Let us give practical proof of our genuine conversion, by conquering this prejudice, and treating our colored brethren and sisters with the respect and kindness we show to all who are worthy among those of our own complexion. This is all that is required of us, and less we cannot give if we are sincere and true. We have a great work to do in this matter, and must not be content with the state of things around us, until the colored people are as free here, and are as equally treated, as in France or in England. Constitutions have been adopted, and laws passed, since I have been here, and by free States, too, which are a scandal to the age, and would be a disgrace to any heathen people; how much more in a country boasting of its civilization and Christianity! The colored people will remain here to test the humanity of this nation, which can never obtain credit for its zeal in behalf of the heathen abroad, until its own oppressed caste is thence away, and trampled in the dust. Let us, at all events, prove our sincerity by extending our hand, as to an equal, to every dissembling brother, whatever the tint of his skin. (Cheers.)

I am not ignorant that great fault has been found with me for the alleged harshness of my language.—I have no wish to deny that my language has been severe. I have sought to make it so. I have never yet, however, been able to describe in its true character, the atrocious crime of slaveholding, or the guilt and hypocrisy of those who call themselves Christians and Republicans, and yet deal in chains and whips for human beings, and traffic in slaves and the souls of men. But the charge is hypocritical and insincere.—The culprit does not dislike the phraseology, but the utterance of the indictment. It is not the style of the death warrant that offends the malefactor, but the announcement that he shall be hanged. My sin consists, not in the use of harsh language, but in the presumption of arraigning, in any terms, the peculiar institution of America. The parties who prevented me from being heard in Philadelphia, alleging that I was a foreigner and used harsh language, also prevented, or sought to prevent, Lucretia Mott from being heard. They also burnt down a house built with the money of their own fellow-citizens, and intended as a temple of free discussion. The spirit that raised a mob against me in Springfield, before I had spoken, was the spirit of Mr. Simmons from his pulpit. Whether the truth be spoken in the thunder tones of William Lloyd Garrison, or the dulcet strains of Samuel J. May, it is equally unpalatable to the apologist for slavery. Let us be as harsh as the truth, and as impartial respecting the sins of the rich as we are regarding those of the poor.

Sir, a stranger, holding just views in relation to the rights and duties of men in connection with the subject of slavery, must be overwhelmed at the evidences everywhere accumulated of the paramount and despotic influence of the slave system in this country.—The body politic is thoroughly corrupted by it. From the sole of the foot, even to the crown of the head, it is full of wounds and bruises and putrifying sores.—Your literature, from the primer to the Cyclopedia, is contributed by slavery. Your religious bodies, from the Bishop of the Methodist Church, and the Moderator of the General Assembly, down to the child in the Sunday School, are under the dominion of slavery. Your Missionary and Bible Societies are infected by slavery through every fibre. Your great manufacturing interests and your commercial transactions are saturated with slavery. Slavery has made your politics rotten to the core—it has turned the republican lem of the country into a sham, and made your boasted love of liberty a farce and a laughing stock. (Great cheering.) Human effort fails in the attempt to sum up the mighty aggregate of the evils which slavery has inflicted upon this country, and through this country on the world at large. It is constantly carrying on a war with labor, and branding as infamous those toils which would otherwise be dignified and honorable, as well as profitable. In one part of this country there are all the proofs of the triumphs of industry. In another part, (where labor is compulsory and unrewarded,) the soil is cursed, and nature itself has withered under the blight of the system. That man shall eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, is the law of his being; but his labors are inspired and gladdened and rewarded in every country where man is free; and, whether his toils be predial, mechanical, literary, scientific or artistic, the love of family, of fame, or of acquisition, is sufficient to stimulate him, and make his exertions a delight. But here in America is the spectacle of three millions of the human race held to labor, without a solitary motive, save that which is supplied to the horse or the ox, while over the entire region where they are found, the kind of labor in which they are employed is stamped with degradation and cursed with infamy.

Sir, slavery has not only inflicted a curse upon labor and robbed it of its glory, but it has debauched the morals of the entire nation. It has tossed the woman of America into the paramount of licentiousness, and the defenders of that huge Southern brothel, where 1,500,000 of their sex are at the mercy of lustful tyrants. What more striking evidence could be furnished of the clergy of this country having abandoned their duties, when the women of their congregations are profoundly indifferent to the fate of a million and a half of their own sex, held in chattel slavery by their countrymen, and not a wife among them all—Yet these same women are taught and trained to pity and pray for the females of India and of Turkey, and to subscribe their money and assy collecting books about, that missionaries may be sent thousands miles away to elevate woman to her proper rank in creation! Women of America! how long will you hold the key of this dungeon of pollution? Methinks, that if not lost to every sense of decency and humanity—and if once you apprehended the full meaning of the terrible word slavery—you would give no sleep anyone eyes nor slumber to your eyelids, till you had emancipated the slaves in your Southern States. Do you never think upon the fact, of a million and a half of mothers and daughters in your land, but one of whom has the power to defend her own chastity, or of resisting the lustful tyrants by whom she is surrounded? Do you never think of your own sex, bred and bought for the basest of purposes? Of a million and a half of your own American sisters, on whose behalf no husband, father, brother, friend or lover dare raise his arm, to save one of them from the horrors of brutal outrage? Woe to your teachers! How long shall the women of America shed tears over the miseries of her heathen, or she heroine of a novel, and have none for their defenceless sisters on the plantations of the South? I declare, that the general indifference of the women of America to this subject is to me appalling. What can be thought of those who have educated them, and never taught them that woman at the South was intended for a higher and holier purpose than to suckle slaves, and to be the victim of the unbridled passions of a republican slaveholder? (Cheers.)

The apathy of the community on the subject of slavery in America naturally suggests the thought, that the professed ministers of divine truth in this country have been false to their trust; and he who has observed the existing state of things is compelled to come to that conclusion. Every day's obsession, during my visit amongst you, has taught me this, and I am more than ever before of opinion, that amongst those who are answerable for the existence of slavery, the clergy are the most guilty. (Cheers.) They have not only neglected to use their influence in favor of the slave, but they have turned it directly against him. As organized bodies, the churches of America have become called the bulwarks of slavery.—The persecution of anti-slavery truth in America, originated with the clergy, and has been carried on by them to the present time. The moberatic violence which has been sometimes exhibited, has been but the last development of the spirit first displayed in the pulpit. The corruption of Christianity, and the turning of the Bible into a book of Statutes in favor of Slavery, has been the exclusive work of the clergy. The pro-slavery sentiment of New England is the fruit of the teachings of the clergy. The countenance given to the Fugitive Slave Law is the work of the clergy. The calumnies and false charges against the abolitionists of these States have been concocted and circulated by the clergy. The closing of the thousands of meeting-houses against the advocates of the slave is the work of the clergy. Such has been the terrible influence exercised by this body of men, that when one of their number has for a time stood forth as the defender of the rights of the slave, they have either consigned him to martyrdom, or dragged him back again into the bondage from which he had escaped. Many are the examples around us of men who did run well, but have returned to their wallowing in the mire. Look at Dr. Samuel H. Cox, of Brooklyn, New York; he is a fair example of a class of men who have deliberately betrayed, not only three millions of slaves, but the truth of God itself, and have taken the wages of unrighteousness. The clergy of America have, in the period of fifty years, utterly corrupted the religion of the country, and in doing so, have made the community believe that they do God service by defending, or conniving at the existence of, the foulest system that ever was upheld in any nation. Who can be surprised at the state of the people, when such is the state of the priesthood? The abolitionist has not only to redeem the slave, but, as a preliminary measure, to redeem Christianity itself out of the hands of those who have made it preach in favor of making merchandise of immortal beings. Alas! for the slave! Whatever his price for yourselves, and esteem a blessing, is to him a calamity and a curse. Have you a religion? You teach him to abhor it, for it anticipates his liberty. Have you a Bible? you teach him to curse it, for you tell him it gives the master the power which he claims, and commands the slave's obedience to whips and chains and bloodhounds. Have you education? you teach him to curse that also, for you turn your intelligence against him and wield the power of knowledge to his destruction. Are you free? he curses your freedom, for you abuse it to his hurt, and are omnipotent to crush him, in the strength which freedom has given you. Are you white? he curses your color, for you claim, in virtue of the complexion you bear, the right to make him and his children for ever the victims of burden. Oh what a work is yours, to regenerate this guilty land!

Sir, I know not whether all here have marked, as I have done, the concerted effort now being made, to repudiate that which constitutes the glory of your Declaration of Independence, namely, the assertion of the self-evident truth, that all men are created free and equal, and have an inalienable title to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. You are fast approaching the day when you will celebrate your independence by the reading of your famous Declaration, and when your orators will deliver eulogies on the deeds of your revolutionary fathers. Let me then throw you in what way the great doctrines of liberty and equality are treated by the influential papers of America. What says the *New York Herald*?

"The famous dogma, that all men are born free and equal, is a dogma beautiful in sound, but empty, transcendental and truthless in fact. All men, on the contrary, are born weak and imbecile, and in fact slaves. * * The dogma so often cited as the basis of our government, is a hollow and senseless sound, and it is time that the ideas thrown among the people by Jefferson. * * * should be cast aside as political charlatanism of the most destructive character. * * * Our political functions, our courts of justice, our churches, our educational system, our business operations—in fact every avenue of life, are afflicted with the spirit of this false and pestilential political lie."

Turn from the *New York Herald*, of the 22d of May, to the *Washington Union*, the organ of the Democratic party in this country. Only a few days ago, the new editor of that journal thought he was required to put forth a declaration of his own views and those of his party on the subject of slavery. In an article prepared with much care, and written with considerable talent, the editor announces his creed to be that,—

"There is no equality among men, except in the universal duty of all to obey the laws of God. * * * Freedom and equality are necessarily determined in any given society or community, by the varying influences of origin and caste, age, numbers, geographical position, and contact with other societies and communities. * * * The terms liberty and freedom are not in themselves expressive of a standard which includes the idea of dependence (property in man) or servitude, (slavery.)

If I do not misread and wholly misunderstand the doctrine here laid down, it is as entirely suited to the circumstances and forms of government in despotic countries, as any that could be broached. The doctrines of natural rights, of the equality of men in natural rights, of the people to govern, of the wrongfulness of caste and class legislation, are completely repudiated by the organ of national democracy in the United States.

Again—the *New Orleans Bulletin*, in an article branding the friends of emancipation and equal rights as 'dreamers, visionaries, mad enthusiasts, fools, unconfined madmen, social incendiaries, and contemners of law,' thus treats the Declaration of Independence:—

"Our fellow-citizens of the North know nothing of the institution of slavery. In all history, in all philosophy, in all poetry, from the pulpit, from the hustings, from the halls of legislation, they hear that liberty is lightful and slavery an odious thing. This strain rings upon their ears from the earliest morning of life, and annually, amid all the pomp of the celebration of our nation's anniversary, they hear it read from our Declaration of Independence, 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL,'—a memorably epigrammatic announcement, in which a great statesman sacrificed the truth of history, philosophy and fact, and the sound equity of existing relations, to ambitious phraseology."

Finally, hear what the *Richmond Whig* says:—

"It was the South—always eager for the importation of foreign philosophies—always captivated with the last fancy of opinion—always addicted to the new fond whimsies of political discovery—ever so speculative as the North was practical—that first, by foisting into our earliest national act of Anglo Saxon freedom the silly paradox of Rousseau about the inalienable and indefeasible equality of all men, set inevitably on foot Abolitionism. They who sow the wind of such doctrines must, sooner or later, reap the whirlwind. He who scatters rat's bane in his house may well expect to get poisoned; he that plants serpent's teeth through his fields ought not to complain of others when he gets bitten." Again:—"We have all been wrong in giving into wild and Hottentot ideas of freedom. * * How long is it since we ceased to be ready to applaud any and every body's insurrections, any where, every where, about any thing, every thing or nothing—provided only it was among the negroes? * * * Some time, we must be better sense and more morals, (!) or we shall suffer for it."

Such are the sentiments now openly avowed in various portions of this country, and I have seen no refutation of them in any political paper unconnected with the anti-slavery movement. I am compelled therefore to infer, that they are the sentiments of an small number of the people of these States agree with, if they do not avow these views.

Sir, when I look at the history of this country, and the most important act of your national government, I am struck with the fact, that your course has been downward from the time of your independence—I mean in relation to the great question of slavery. The downward course dates from the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

I find that your fathers, in 1787, deliberately sacrificed the rights of humanity, in the persons of 600,000 slaves of the South. It is of no use saying they did not. The Constitution that they left behind them as the result of their labors, and the words that they uttered when that Constitution was under discussion, compromise the rights of humanity. You have no more right to be free than the slaves have a right to be free; you have no better title to your liberty than the blackest slave ever born of a mother that was held in bondage. (Loud applause.) revolutionary fathers had no more right to compromise the liberties of 600,000, or of one, than they had to cut the throats of all who were darker than themselves. The Constitution of the United States contains the seminal principle of disunion. It pledges protection to slavery, and yourselves to be partners in the guilt of that system. Your revolutionary fathers made it to secure certain present ends, and did not foresee the purposes to which their surrender of principle would be turned. They meant it not; but see in this the fatal error that every man commits who once compromises a great principle. If you ever sit, any of you, in the legislature, resolve rather to die than to compromise the principle of equity and justice in any law that you frame. (Cheers.) Yon either doom that law to be despised, or level your sense of justice to it; and soon the awakening conscience of mankind will trample your law under its feet. (Renewed cheers.) No matter whether such a law be passed in Washington or in Boston, a bad law contains the germ of revolution, and nothing can justify any regard or respect, still less obedience to it. Cling, I beseech you, to the eternal principles of right, emanating from the universal God, who is the fountain of all law. (Great cheering.)

That error was specially incorporated into your Government, and has governed your policy all through. Your career has been downwards from the Declaration of Independence; downwards, until I know not that you can reach a lower depth than that in which you now lie—scourged like menials and slaves, and made to drive the fugitive slave from your borders. Downwards, from the formation of the Government, in 1792, to the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803; to the Missouri compromise in 1820; to the Seminole Indian war in 1837; to the admission, of Texas in 1845; to the war with Mexico in 1847; and then, the climax of all infamy, which makes you the scorn of the world, the Fugitive Slave Bill, in 1850. (Loud applause.)

O, Americans! come back to those truths which were deserted by your revolutionary fathers! Think not I am here to traduce the men who achieved your independence. The world could not have furnished a more illustrious band of men than they. They loved their country so well that in an evil hour they disobeyed their God, and trampled on the rights that pertain to his children. And you are all implicated in their guilt, for every one of them have been nominal christians.

I am told that I do not make any exceptions; and yet, use in your national records only the evidences of a restricting power from that day to this. But what do I see? First, your Webster addressing you from the Revere House steps, calling your most profound and noble sentiments prejudices, and entreating you to abandon them and to conquer them. I land, and I find two fugitives hiding from their pursuers, and every one of your pulpits in league against them. No, not every pulpit; thank God, there is more than one pulpit in Boston that denounces the Fugitive Slave Law. (Tremendous cheering.) But, I find your clergy generally consenting to the delivery of the Crafts. I find your statesmen generally in favor of the surrender of these persons; and but for the secrecy that they preserved, or but for the bravery of that noble man, now safe on the other side of the Atlantic, they would have been restored to their claimant. Then came your Faneuil Hall meeting, with its sound and fury, and its proclamation against the pure and Christ-like anti-slavery agitation.

I confess that I think you are scoundrelized by what is going on in your city. I cannot express the feelings with which I looked upon the persons in your court the other morning. Those twelve men are disgraced by sitting there. The judge upon the bench was an official 'minister of evil.' (Long continued applause.) 'Trial by jury! How will the world read the description of America putting a man on trial before a dozen men, to answer for having aided in escaping liberty to a fellow-man! The thing is ridiculous, and is presented no where else but in America. In this country, you put twelve men into a jury-box to decide whether their brother is a man or a beast; and it depends on their honesty whether he shall be a man, or whether he shall be a beast. He may be written all over with the signature of God; that is not the question—has he the signature of Mr. Dabree? On this depends the question whether he is a little lower than the angels, or a little less valuable than a horse. And thus, in the State of Massachusetts—in Boston, the city of the Pilgrims—the judgment of a jury, the talent of legal and learned men, are all brought into requisition to decide whether a being that speaks, wills, hopes, fears, sorrows, rejoices, is amenable and eligible to heaven,—whether he is a man or a beast! And this in Massachusetts! I tell you, as an Englishman, I thank God this is not my State! (Cheers.) If I were in it, I would try to make it better. You have a greater work than all the world has got to do besides, I say, in this republican country, there is yet to be a greater struggle for the rights of man than the world has ever seen. You have done things amongst you here that would be scouted by the tories of England. There is not a tory in England who would not blush to utter the sentiments I have read in the speeches of Mr. Winthrop. (Loud cheers.) I say again, there is no like tory,—name him, if you can—(no one speaks)—who would dare insult England, and render himself odious in the sight of his countrymen, by the utterance of such sentiments as Daniel Webster has uttered. (Cheers.) He denounces and ridicules the principles of the abolitionists. He tells them they are traitors; that his law shall be executed. 'I will go into that next Convention,' says he. 'I will go there with these, if they presume to continue their boastful language.' Yet this is your 'godlike' orator; that is the embodiment of democratical institutions at the present day! Why, the Italians, who have stabbed kings, would be ashamed of any thing so vile as that.

Who is the traitor in America? Why, the man who, getting up at midnight to answer a gentle tap at his door, finds a fugitive slave, cold, hungry, half-naked, who asks a morsel of bread, and the privilege of sitting by his fire to thaw his frozen limbs, he is a traitor, says Daniel Webster, if he does not lay hold of him, handcuff him, and hand him over to the human leopards on his track. And that is the *sine plus ultra* of democratic legislation in 1851!

'Now, my friends, I tell you frankly, that if I return to this country, it is to give my life to the cause of the slave. (Enthusiastic applause.) I shall come to join the little band of true republicans in this land, to stand by your Declaration of Independence, and declare that great truth, that God has created all men to be free and equal. I will do this, if God will, and shoulder to shoulder, and heart to heart, and hand to hand.'

'We'll make the world better yet.'

I love your country. When I shall call, and be engaged in other concerns, be sure that your cause is near my heart. There is no doubt in my mind as to the issue of this struggle—there never was. When, in 1836, through the kindness of two friends—I hope they are both here to-night—I was sheltered from a ferocious mob, who sought my life, and crept from the garret where I was concealed at night to seek the shores of my native land,—I was not hopeless then, when, with a ruthless mob around me, I first learned how dangerous it was, in republican America, to preach the principles of liberty and equal rights. If I was not hopeless then, but hopeful, how much more now! Why, the very atmosphere of this hall this night should inspire our souls. I would that I could summon the 'godlike' Daniel Webster to look upon this building and all who are in it. The spirit of liberty is spreading. It has gone abroad. It is up in Chicago, where a slave hunter had to be taken to jail to secure him from the overwhelming attentions of the people. (Cheers.) It is in California, where there was enough of New England and anti-slavery spirit to adopt a Constitution forever excluding slavery from her soil. (Cheers.) It is every where. You need to take a more comprehensive view. Your may have been a time,—I do not believe there ever was,—when this agitation could have been put down, by the strong arm of power; it might, perhaps, have retarded for a few years, at most, the development of the anti-slavery sentiment in this country; but it cannot be controlled now.

But, enough. Wherever I may be, my spirit will abide with you here. I shall sympathise in all your labors, rejoice in all your successes, and should a kind Providence restore me to this land, I will devote what of life and energy may remain, to the accomplishment of that great work in which the welfare of this country is bound up—the extinction of slavery throughout the land. (Long continued applause.)

☞ What has become of the *Telegraph and Journal*, of which Mr. S. Myers is editor? Is it defunct? Let us hear from you, friend.

☞ The crowded state of our columns compels us to omit, for this week, several favors of our friends—among others, a communication from the Corresponding Editor.

☞ There is to be a great Free Soil gathering at Worcester on the Fourth.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, Editor.
AMOS G. BEMAN, Corresponding Editor.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1851.

EXTRADITION OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

LETTER TO MRS. MOSES.

Mrs. B. Moses, Great Falls, N. H.:

Madam:—You were pleased, when I was at your village a few days since, to request me to give my opinion upon Article 4, Section 2, clause 3, of the Federal Constitution, which reads—

'No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.'

In the series of articles I published in the *Citizen* last fall, upon the Fugitive Slave Bill, I gave my views, at some length, upon that clause. I muse the less cheerfully, however, take this opportunity of repeating my previously expressed opinion, asking your pardon for doing so in a manner, and through a medium, differing somewhat from your expectations.

You admit that the term 'slave' is not in the clause, but you ask, if it does not mean slave, what does it mean? That is a very popular question. I cannot give it a popular answer, for I do not agree to the popular opinion concerning it. That opinion, in my view, is a gross misconstruction of the clause. That opinion is, that 'persons held to service or labor' means slaves; or that, at least, slaves may legally be included among 'persons held to service or labor.' Mr. Webster, in his electioneering speeches in New York, State, admits that the clause refers to apprentices as well as slaves. Most persons are controlled in their understanding of this article by the opinions and meanings of the framers of the Constitution. They find, they think, historical evidence that the framers of the Constitution meant to provide for the extradition of fugitive slaves, and that their meaning is expressed in this clause. I presume this was a part of your education, as it certainly was of mine, to receive this as correct doctrine. But I, now, no more believe it, then I believe last year's almanac—and why?

1st—Because it is a well settled principle of legal interpretation, that the meaning of a law is to be gathered from its letter—from its words—and not from any supposed intention, or real intention, of the drafters of that law, especially where such intention is plainly contrary to the express words of thin law. Now, the letters—the words—of this clause, nowhere show any power to secure a fugitive slave, because no such person as a slave is described in it. The only person described is one held to service under law in a State, &c. Service under laws, surely means service according to a legal contract. Service in a State implies, of necessity, that it is service performed in a community which adopts the Federal Constitution as fundamental law. Both of these ideas are the directest possible opposite to Slavery. There is no slave law in the land that is not a clear and manifest violation of the Common Law of England, of the Charters granted to the Colonies by the British King, previous to our Independence, to the Federal Constitution, and, indeed, to the leading principles and provisions of their own State Constitutions. The origin of slavery was brute force wrecking from a man his rights, and the continuance of it is but the same. A statute creating slavery is yet to be written. But my point is, that all the statutes, regulating, justifying, or recognizing slavery, (approvingly,) are in bold and palpable violation of everything known as law. The service, therefore, which a slave renders, is never 'under law,' but contrary to all law. Besides, it is not service under contract. It is whipped, plundered, forced, involuntary servitude—in a word, it is *slavery*, and *not service*.

Again, the States regulating slavery, and passing acts for its furtherance, have all received the Federal Constitution, and adopted it as the supreme law of the land. Every one of their officers, of all grades, from the highest to the lowest, is sworn to support the Federal Constitution. That Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 9, prohibits Bills of Attainder; it also prohibits, amendment 5, the depriving of any person of liberty, without due process of law. These States have adopted, and these officers have sworn to support, *these* clauses, as well as all others in the Constitution. But every slave in the United States is such because his mother was. The blood of a black woman is so corrupted by the slave code, that her new-born babe, who has seen the light but one short hour, is a slave, not because he is black, but because of the condition of the mother. She being deprived of liberty without due process of law, on account of her maternal blood, her *child* must follow her civil condition from his birth. Then the blood of every slave mother is corrupted to the effect that the corruption extends to all to whom she may give birth. This is just what a law of attainder is, a law corrupting the blood, so as to deprive him in whose veins the corrupted blood flows of any of his civil rights; this is just what the Federal Constitution ordains shall not be done, and expressly ordains no State shall do, Art. 1, Sec. 10. Hence, every slave law in the United States is unconstitutional, and every slave is holden by an unconstitutional tenure—a bill of attainder. So is every slave in the United States deprived of liberty without due process of law. Every act of slaveholding despotism is a repetition and continuation of this depriving him of his liberty without due process of law.

In the eye of the Constitution, a law which violates the Constitution is no law at all. It is impossible, Mrs. Moses, to violate the Constitution, if the statutes of slavery do not violate it. Now, the clause to which you direct my attention cannot refer to a person held to service or labor, in a State, &c., under unconstitutional laws. Nor when a community tramples the supreme law of the land under foot, can the Constitution regard such a band of perjured outlaws and heartless land-pirates as a State. Any other position from this is plainly contrary to any expressed intention of the clause.

2d—It is another everywhere admitted principle of legal interpretation, that the meaning of a statute, where it is ambiguous, must be supposed to be in favor of right and justice, unless the *contrary be plainly expressed*. Accordingly, where a law is of doubtful meaning, it is the custom and rule of courts to give it the construction which favors the right and disfavors the wrong, unless *something plainly forbids such a construction*.

Mr. Webster, than whom no man this side of the World of Woe is more eager to give the Federal Constitution an ultra slavocratic meaning, admits that the clause I am discussing refers to fugitive apprentices. That it refers to such, certainly no one, on either side of the argument, will, for a moment, deny. But may not a runaway slave be also referred to in this clause? This is *the point*. Our rule of interpretation says, 'No!—not unless the language of the clause forbids any other meaning.' But, according to Daniel Webster, the language of the clause does not forbid it. (It were quite as true, however, if that gentleman did not admit and avow it.) But does the language of the clause justify such an interpretation as authorizes the extradition of a runaway slave under it, and by virtue of its authority? Let us see. A slave is one held to involuntary labor, and without contract or compensation. This clause describes a person held to service in a State, under the laws thereof. That is, a person performing voluntary service, according to legal contract, and under legal protection.

A slave, in the eyes of the slave code, is a brute, a chattel; he is denied personality. This clause speaks of no one else than a person—a human being endowed with inalienable rights. A slave is one that can make no contract, and can, therefore, owe nothing. This clause speaks of a 'person being delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' This last clause explains the first one, where it speaks of a 'person *held* to service or labor,' to mean, a person owing service or labor. That, a slave cannot owe. Hence, according to its language, this clause does not provide for the extradition of a fugitive slave, for it does not describe such an one. On the honor of a man, Mrs. Moses, such are my honest convictions of the purport of the clause alluded to, so far as fugitives are concerned. You and I, Madam, were educated to a different belief from this, but please to examine this matter and judge whether the popular view of this clause is consistent with what a lady of your intelligence knows to be the correct rules of legal interpretation. Surely, we cannot violate the rules to put a bad construction, a misconstruction, upon this clause, merely to blacken the names of our fathers, and to allow the claims of Southern women-whippers and body-brokers. All that I, or any who believe with me, ask, is the application of the commonest rules by which laws are interpreted, to the Federal Constitution. This, Madam, would at once and forever sever every chain that binds a human chattel, in all this land.

3d—My third reason for rejecting the ordinary understanding of Art. 4, Sec. 2, clause 3, is that such an understanding of it is inconsistent with the obvious meaning and import of other clauses and provisions of the Constitution.

The framers of the Constitution are careful to say, that among the objects sought by that document, is the securing of the blessings of liberty.' The provisions above referred to defending liberty—the one prohibiting bills of attainder, the one prohibiting cruel and unusual punishments—the absence of such terms as black, white, master and slave, North and South—the fact that not a single law favoring slavery, ever made by our general government, in constitutional, but contrary to solemn and emphatic declarations and commandments of our national organic law—all show that what they professed to make that document, they did make it. Now, to make the clause referred to a pro-slavery clause, were to make it inconsistent with the other parts of the Constitution. Besides, so to construe it would be to neutralize it, for the obvious meaning of the other parts would control this. The slaveocrat is welcome to this result, and to all that he can gain from it.

4th—This clause demands that the claimant shall show that service or labor may be due to him. To do which, he must prove a contract; that he cannot do; he must prove the contract to have been voluntary on the part of the fugitive; that he cannot do; he must prove that the fugitive eloped without justifiable cause; that he cannot do. I mean, he cannot, if he be a slaveholder claiming a slave. But the clause ordains that he 'shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' The relation of debtor and creditor here described was never sustained by a slaveholder and a slave. So far am I, there, Madam, from regarding this clause as providing for and ordaining the extradition of a fugitive slave, that I look up, as it is utterly fatal to the slave-catcher's claim. Even should I admit that the framers of the Constitution designed it for slave-catching purposes, their failure to express that design is fatal to it.

5th—I need hardly add, that to the doctrine that this clause means what it is usually said to mean, or that it means nothing, I can by no means subscribe. Apprentices, or any other free persons who have absconded, and so have refused or neglected to fulfil legal contracts for labor, a part of the consideration for which they have already received, are described, but slaves are not. The former may justly be returned, under, and by virtue of it,—the latter may not. The Kidnapping Law of Fillmore, Webster & Co., enforced by Lunt, Long and Sprague, is as clear a violation of this clause, I believe, Madam, as of the ten other clauses it violates.

Your obliged and humble servant,

SAMUEL RINGGOLD WARD.

Boston, June 21st, 1851.

☞ Our friend, Frederick Douglass, intends coming out this week in new type, new name, and new politics. We would have been pleased to have published Mr. D.'s Prospectus, but was prevented from doing so, in consequence of the paper coming out earlier than the editor himself anticipated. The new paper will bear the name of '*Frederick Douglass' Paper*.' We shall welcome the latter as we always have done the *North Star*. We wish Mr. D. abundant success in his new and almost gigantic undertaking.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Randolph:—There is a good deal of trouble in keeping 'posted up' as to one's travels, when he has to travel so much as myself, and to do so many things beside. I believe I left off somewhere in Philadelphia—the head-quarters of Quaker negrophobia. Well, while in that region, I was invited by that true and tried friend of humanity, Rev. Samuel Aaron, to visit Norristown, in the county of Montgomery, some 16 miles from Philadelphia. I went at the time appointed, speaking twice on Sunday, and on Monday evening. Though insulted by some low-bred persons in the cars, in company with Messrs. Still and Johnson, we found the ride along the banks of the Schuylkill, through a somewhat rough and neevin, though a rather pleasant valley, quite agreeable. Norristown is the head-quarters of Pennsylvania anti-slavery. There, you breathe an atmosphere as different from that of Philadelphia as can be conceived. You go to church, or walk in the streets, or ride in the cars, without being insulted. A friendly look is given you, and a friendly feeling is exhibited by the white citizens, which made me think more of New England and New York, than any place I have visited in my journeyings. The three meetings I attended in N. were large and attentive. I talked about the 'higher law' and the Constitution, taking the ground, of course, that the latter is not a pro-slavery document. Thirty-two persons became subscribers to the *Impartial Citizen*, at the last meeting. They all paid in advance, too, showing themselves to be true blue, straight stripe, letter A, No. 1.

I went else to Westchester, Chester County, and spoke twice. Abraham D. Shedd lives there. A goodly number turned out, in the afternoon, at Horticultural Hall, and a very large number met in the market house in the evening. Gentlemen of the first respectability attended the meeting, and expressed to me as many compliments as I deserved, and a few more. A friend of mine has given such an account of that meeting in the Pennsylvania Freeman as indicates it to be his opinion that good was done. I hope he is not mistaken. Though at the time very much depressed in spirits, and greatly embarrassed in my business relations, I enjoyed my visit to the good town of Westchester exceedingly.

A friend invited me to spend a Sunday in Williamstown, at the residence of my good friend, David Evans. I spoke in that town, on the Sunday I was there, to a pretty good audience, in a school house. The neighborhood is a pretty pro-slavery Quaker settlement. Many a Quaker there would not go to an anti-slavery meeting under any circumstances. They have got a great many Philadelphia notions. A Quaker in Philadelphia will disown her own daughter for being an abolitionist; some of the Williamstown Quakers are of the same faith. There is about as much of the spirit of Woolman, Penn and Benezet in them, as there is in an empty Quaker bonnet. The name of 'Friend' is about as much as they can endure. I know of Quakers who ridicule 'niggers' as much as any street rowdies; and they seem to do it with a relish. It seems to them to be more or less accordant with their 'testimony,' and the 'weight of the meeting.' Indeed, from what I saw of them in and about Philadelphia, I should think the majority of them are bitter and relentless negro despisers. Yet, strange to say, the black people, many, too many of them, will run mad, almost, after a Quaker! Ah, if one Quaker out of one hundred thousand were like Esther a Moore, there would be some sense in this. But that venerable disciple of Jesus is, as was her tainted husband while living, hated by almost all the meeting for her devotion to the poor and the needy. God save us from Quaker pro-slaveryism, and Quaker negrophobia!

There are, in Philadelphia, several schools, supported by public funds, for colored children. The education our children get in these schools is, of course, limited. There is a school also supported by a fund left in the hands of some Quakers. In none of these schools are black teachers employed. Time and again have leading men among our people made applications for the employment of black persons, duly qualified, to teach these schools. But, although colored teachers are invariably employed in the colored schools elsewhere in the State, they never consent to the employment of one in Philadelphia. And they give the reason. What do our readers suppose that reason is, my dear Randolph? *Why, they have, poor white friends who need the salaries, and therefore, they employ them, to the exclusion of black teachers.* Isn't that a conclusive reason? You might as well reason against a pine-knot, as to argue against *that*. So, the instruction of our children, in the public schools, must minister to the support of white persons, who will teach our children anything else but their rights, and their equality with the rest of mankind, while the school tax is laid upon the property of white persons no more than upon that of black persons, in proportion. Isn't Philadelphia a great city?

But there are, also, several independent schools, in different parts of that city. One is taught by that very efficient teacher, Miss Sarah Douglass, in Arch street, No. 59. The largest is taught by Rev. Mr. Driver, pastor of Israel Church, in Fifth street, corner of Gaskill. Mr. D. is assisted by Mrs. E. Armstrong. Another lady, whose name I regret, I cannot at this moment recall, keeps a most excellent school in the upper part of Pine street. Miss E. B. Middleton has a school also in Sutler's Hall, No. 1 Barclay street. Miss M. is a white lady of rare accomplishments and sterling devotion to the interests of our people. It pleased me exceedingly to see her patronized and encouraged by Dr. Bias, Rev. Mr. Cato, and others of the leading and influential of the colored citizens. My opinion is, that these independent schools should be sustained, not simply because there are children enough to fill them and the public schools too, but to show their lordships, who control the public schools and refuse to employ black teachers, that they cannot have their own way about the crippling and discouraging of competent teachers among us. They ought to know that if they won't encourage black talent, we will; and if they try to disparage us, we will take the opposite course; or, as an Indian would say, the more they try to kill us, the more we won't die. Besides, there are confounded few white teachers in that city, or any other, who would exert the good influence over the minds, morals and manners of our children, that the children of the oppressed need. The black people are yet suffering from the influences of slavery. Our minds, morals, manners and habits, all betray our slavish origin. Great care needs to be taken, in the early education of our people, to enable them to overcome the evil influences begotten by slavery. We are harsh, coarse and uncouth in our manners; we are deficient in refinement and good taste; we are crude and boorish in our social intercourse; we are low and vulgar in our religious ideas and our religious actions; we convert a religious meeting into a very Babel, men and women sometimes acting in any other manner than genteelly, and our preachers encourage it, by decrying intelligence, by making noisy and inflammatory harangues, destitute of instruction, and tell us that this is spirituality. Now, to overcome these unhappy peculiarities, the relics of accursed slavery, and their attendant superstitions and vices, great care must be taken in the moral and intellectual training of the young. I lay it down as a rule of almost universal application, that none but a black person, or, if a white person, one thoroughly identified with our people, either can or will enter upon this work according to its demands. Indeed, there are but few of our people who have the interests of the rising generation sufficiently at heart to be well qualified for the work. Rely upon it, that our children must either be educated in the same schools with white children, and made participants of the same good influences, or their separate schools must be taught by those who can enter fully into our feeling, and appreciate our wants, or I am very much mistaken. Rev. H. A. Nelson, of Auburn, once wrote to E. F. Simons, Esq., of Cortland village, in respect to having the daughter of the latter, Miss L. A. Simons, teach a school of black children in Auburn. He said that a person, to be a successful teacher in that school, *must love colored children*. He desired to have Miss Simons teach it on that account, as he knew she loved colored children. Most heartily do I agree with Bishop Nelson in this matter. I know of no white persons who unite *this* to other qualifications, more happily than the lady Mr. Nelson referred to, and Miss Middleton, of the Barclay street school, Philadelphia. I hope that all of the oppressed class in Philadelphia will fully appreciate the importance of maintaining these independent schools, for another reason; the great mass of the white people in all our large cities, will live, die, *and so forth*, about as they now are on the subject of equality between whites and blacks. Separate colored schools will be one of the results of this fact. We shall need, then, to have some of our young men and young women trained as teachers. While we can look with just pride and high hope to the New York Central College, to Oberlin, and the Allegheny Institute, for a part of this work, it is also true, that a greater part of the work must be done by our local schools. How important, then, that our schools should be in the very best of hands!

The Sabbath Schools among our people in the Quaker city are about the best I ever saw. Nothing promises as much good as these schools. The study of the sacred Scriptures by the young, is one of the best possible safeguards against the vices of the older. The miserable ranting and perversion of Scripture which some of our preachers do, instead of preaching, makes the necessity for correct Biblical instruction for the young so much the greater. This need is being supplied very efficiently by the Sabbath Schools referred to. May all the parents pay especial regard to this all-important branch of education!

I never saw a community so given to detraction and censoriousness as are our people of Philadelphia. Character is a mere plaything with too many of them. While there are some there whom I would trust with anything, and while, too, there are some whose tongues are kept with a most watchful care—persons who live as if they did not live in Philadelphia—there are others, and they are too numerous, who prowl and *smoke* (Mrs. Ruton taught me that word, more than twenty years ago, as descriptive of the smallest, meanest sort of pilfering) around to know everybody's business, whatever becomes of their own, almost on purpose to make mischief about it. There is a constant embittering of social life, among some of our people, from this course. And it would seem that a fondness for lying had as much to do with this vice as anything else. I heard so and so, I doubt not, is not unfrequently said by one who never heard it, but who desires some occasion to say something detrimental to you. 'Who told you?' in a great many instances, is a question which reveals, either that he or she who *heard it, made it*, or that he or she loves to retail it. *Philadelphia, for Detraction, and New York, for Policy Gambling, against the world!* Any whom this cap fits is welcome to doe and wear it; those who are not described will know that they are not meant, and if there be a dittering among those who are hit, so be it. I shall raise my voice against these things so long as they continue.

I made no stay in New York. I saw my face New-England-wards, on the 24th of May, and arrived at New Haven about 1, P. M. I put up, as usual, with Rev. A. G. Beman, as, indeed, I love to have a home always at the same house when journeying. In Philadelphia, I am at Dr. Bias's, almost always. In New York, Mr. Coon's is my home. In New Haven, I am the guest of Brother Beman. In Springfield, Brother Mars, or Rufus Elmer, gives me a resting place. In Boston, I am at Lewis Hayden's as regular as the meal time comes. Well, as I said, I staid with Mr. Beman. New Haven is the head quarters of Connecticut Religion, Literature, Politics, Colonization, Aristocracy and Negro-hate. It is one of the most beautiful, and, at the same time, one of the most hopelessly pro-slavery places in New England. There is no more abolition in that city than there is in Baltimore. A black man is no more esteemed an equal than he is in the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York and Pennsylvania. There is a sort of a *poor-pappy* sympathy or pity, or a kind of commingling of contempt and pity, which will hold you at arm's length, and say 'God help you!' But a recognition of human equality and brotherhood is as foreign to them as the island of Borneo. Their Colonization should flourish in such a soil as but to be expected. Rev. Mr. Orcutt, the agent for that region, justifies negrophobia from what *he deems* would be the example of Christ, in respect to black people. He thinks Christ, the Redeemer whom he preaches as the Saviour from sin, and the Examplar of the human race, and the standard of human action, would prefer not to have a family of respectable black people live in the same house with Him! And though it is quite evident that *some* blacks, as well as *many* whites, will go *either way*, he does not seem to say what the accommodations will be for outside and inside, forward deck and cabin passengers, after their arrival. My humble belief is, that many a Connecticut religionist, in and out of New Haven, would be highly dissatisfied with any location, in another world, where negroes should be admitted to an equality with themselves. The beauty of it is, they can't control the matter.

I spent Sabbath and Monday, 25th and 26th of May, with Brother Beman, speaking three times, to as respectable and intelligent audiences of colored people as are to be found in the free States. The lying pretensions of Yankee Colonizationists are no where so abundantly lived down as in the city of elms. Such progress, such improvement, such growing refinement, such elevation of taste, are not to be found among any class of people in the country, in the same circumstances, Irish, Dutch, Scotch, Swedes that are Nightingales, or Swedes that are not Nightingales, have never made the same upward tendencies during the last twenty years, that the black people have made in New Haven during that time. They are purchasing real estate, growing in intelligence, increasing their comforts, acquiring character—in a word, they are doing anything and everything that any class of people are doing for the bettering of their condition. The impossibility of improvement, and coming up to equality with the whites here, is refuted practically, powerfully, and overwhelmingly in New Haven, by the brave blacks of that pro-slavery city.

That there are vices among our people there, I do not, of course, deny. Rum is doing its work among them, as among the whites. Gambling is practised, I fear, by some few of the young. Among the vices akin to those, licentiousness holds a place too conspicuous. In these things there, as elsewhere, our people suffer much from the corrupt and corrupting example of the whites, as well as from temptation among themselves. Yes, we are the victims of a sort of double devilry, external and internal.

I will depart from my thread of remark far enough to say, that one of the meanest forms of licentiousness, among our people, is the prostitution of black females to the gratification of white men's lusts. I know nothing, in slavery, more perfectly degrading than this. We pity the crushed and prostituted slave girl. We execrate her brutal ravisher. We press the claims of the former for sympathy, and of the latter for deepest condemnation, upon the attention of our fellow-citizens, with some degree of effect. We make parents, wives, husbands, saints and sinners, feel the damnable nature of the accursed system. But when we see the voluntary, hireling, degradation of black young women, who seem to be the paramours of black men, solicit the embraces of white villains, and so sell themselves to infamy, we certainly see them link to depths which slave woman know not how to reach. I do not say that this vice, and this infernal species of self-degradation, abounds in one place more than in another. But I do say, that the painful evidences of it are too prominently presented to our eyes, in too many communities of our people.

I may as well close this letter by asking you, my dear R., how much white men of the character alluded to above, *really* despise negroes, after all? If we are the degraded, half brutes they say we are, why are we, now and then, with too fatal a frequency, made the grandfathers of their children, while our daughters are unmarried! O, we are subject to a threefold damnation. We have the corrupt example of the whites, we have their abominable practices amongst us, and our own temptations besides. Let me tell you, the work of elevating our people, viewed in all its aspects, is the most arduous, the most difficult, and, I will add, the most hopeful and most glorious work now presented to the American philanthropist.

S. R. W.

TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

We take very great pleasure in calling the special attention of the friends of total abstinence to the Convention of the 'Temperance Delaware Union—of which our thorough-going and indefatigable friend, Stephen Myers, was for many years President, and, if we mistake not, the founder—which will assemble in Albany on the 8th of July next, for the purpose of adopting measures to promote the great, glorious, and sublime cause of temperance, which has rescued hundreds, nay, thousands, from a drunkard's grave.

We would say to the friends of Morality, Temperance, Virtue and Religion, go to Albany on the 8th of July, to help destroy the monster that killed the man—who set and cried because he could not find any other country to conquer—that has sent so many to fill premature graves, and which has now so completely infatuated a certain Secretary of State, that in a speech delivered by him from the piazza of the Congress Hall, Albany, he derided and ridiculed the idea of a higher law, that exists somewhere between us and the third heaven. I never knew exactly where; and we predict he never will know *exactly where*, unless he changes his course very materially. Friends, will you go to Albany? A voice tells us you will.—J. W. R.

☞ Storn necessity compels us to send a number of bills this week to some of our subscribers. Please not to be frightened, as we are much in want of 'tin' to pay our printer. We hope you will excuse us for urging the immediate forwarding of the 'stuff' itself.

☞ We will say again, that correspondents and others writing to the *Citizen* will have no attention paid to their letters and other documents, unless they are in all cases prepaid. The rule may appear stringent, but a strict adherance to it is almost indispensable to our Editorial existence. Friends, will you remember and pay your postage?

MARRIED, on the 26th inst. in the Methodist Church, Albany, Miss S. A. Thompson, to Mr. Horace Robins, both of Albany. [Mr. R. and also Miss T., are old friends of ours.]

DIED, on the 24th June, Alice Clarinda, youngest daughter of Emily E. and S. R. Ward, aged one year and 10 days.

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Independent.

REV. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, D. D.

Those who have heretofore doubted the correctness of our statement, because it seemed too savage to be credited, that the able and excellent pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church is a slave, and but for a long time been separated from his congregation and detained in Great Britain through apprehension of being reduced to bondage by the operation of the atrocious Fugitive Slave Law, will soon have their doubts removed by official evidence. A gentleman from Hartford, (where Dr. Pennington was formerly settled as pastor,) called at this office the other day in order to show us the truly American curiosity of "A Bill of Sale of a Doctor of Divinity." Our friend was on his way from Maryland, where he had been sent by some friends to procure the legal freedom of Mr. P. from the claims of his old master, whose claim to the ownership of his person had been quickened into diabolical vitality by the Fillmore Act. The mission was so far successful, that a valid bill of sale was obtained for a certain chattel, in consideration, by which the Rev. Dr. became the property of John Hooker, Esq. of Farmington, who, of course, took the earliest opportunity to make over to his generous Christian brother, the legal title to his own body and soul.

P. S. "Since the above was in type, we have received the following letter from Mr. Hooker, explaining the whole affair. The parties in Scotland who have achieved this triumph, are naturally desirous of having it first celebrated in their own community. But still we hope that there will be, either by the Third Presbytery or some other body, a suitable recognition of so great an event. And when we recur to the mental anxiety and humiliation which this good man and honored minister of the gospel has endured for so many years, we are again amazed at the apathy with which such things are regarded by the Christians of New York.

REV. DR. PENNINGTON.

HARTFORD, CONN., June 3, 1851.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—It will probably interest most of your readers to know that the chattel person of generally called Rev. Dr. Pennington is in a fair way of becoming a man.

Dr. P. was born the slave of Frisbie Tilghman, of Hagerstown, Maryland, by whom he was educated a blacksmith, though an important branch of his education was forgotten—that of teaching him his letters. At the age of about 21, he was regularly graduated in the peculiar institution, and his late master certified to me in a writing which I have now in my possession, and which we may regard as his college diploma, that at this time, Jim was a first-rate blacksmith, and well worth a thousand dollars. At this age, feeling a desire to see something of the world before he decided where to settle, he one night took, hasty leave, and struck for the North Star, and finding after careful observation that he could locate himself more advantageously elsewhere, he has never returned to the paternal roof. His experience of the "institution" satisfied him that it was a first-rate place to emigrate from.

After his escape, he found protection and assistance in Oberlin, Ohio, where he labored and studied, and where he remained some time, and whose kindness he has ever since remembered with unexpressible gratitude. Here he began those studies which, ever since pursued with unrelenting ardor and industry, have made him a man of intelligence and a scholar. He has stolen from Heaven a Prometheus fire, which made him obtain a shining mark.

After pursuing his studies for some years, he entered upon the Christian ministry, and as a Congregational preacher was settled some years in Hartford, and since in New York. His history during the last half of that time is well known to the public.

About the year 1844, Mr. P. disclosed to me the fact that he was a fugitive from slavery. He did it under the most solemn injunctions of secrecy, and told me at the time that he never before divulged the fact to any living person, except his Quaker friends in Pennsylvania—not even to his wife, so great was his fear that by some misadventure the fact would get abroad and expose him to danger. It was withheld from his wife, however, mainly to save her from disquieting fears. He informed me that in his studies, in his domestic life, and in the discharge of his parochial duties, he was constantly hurdened with harrassing apprehension of being seized and carried back to slavery. The claim which he bore was an assumed one; that of the chattel was James Pembroke, or more commonly the household word Jim. He disclosed the fact to me, that I might attempt a negotiation with his master, for the purchase of his freedom. I accordingly wrote to Mr. Tilghman to ascertain on what terms he would manumit him, taking care to give no intimation of his present name, or his residence. Mr. T. soon after wrote me that with regard to the ungrateful servant of whom I had written him—as servants were then very high in the market, he could not take less than $500; adding in a postscript, "Jim is a first-rate blacksmith, and well worth $1000." As Mr. P. could not raise so large a sum, and as it was an exorbitant price for a bond in the flesh, he decided to pursue the negotiation no farther. Mr. Tilghman died soon after.

The passage of the late Fugitive Slave Law found Mr. P. in Scotland, and with the arrests of fugitives under it, of which he received frequent intelligence, filled him with new apprehensions as to his own fate on his return to New York—then immediately contemplated—particularly as he had made the fact public in England that he was a fugitive slave. In these circumstances, he wrote to me for my advice as to the risk he would incur by returning, and I advised him to stay where he was for the present. Soon after, some friends of his in the village of Dunse, in Berwickshire, determined to take the matter in hand, and raise the necessary funds to secure his freedom, whatever might be the amount required, and appointed a committee to correspond with me on the subject. This was some four or five months ago, and I have since that time been negotiating with the administrator of Mr. Tilghman, until at last an arrangement was made for the purchase for the sum of $1500. The administrator having no power to emancipate, it was necessary for him to sell him to a third person, and for the vendee to execute a deed of manumission. I accordingly directed the bill of sale to be made to me. The money was remitted, and I have to-day received the bill of sale making over James Pembroke to me as my own property forever, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

I remarked at the opening of my letter, that Dr. P. was in a fair way of becoming a man. He is not yet completely one. The title to himself rests in me, and he is, by law, my property. I need under my hand and seal, to create him a peer of the realm. I shall, however, defer the execution of this instrument for half an hour, till I have walked up and down the whole length of Main street, to see how it seems to be a slaveholder, especially to the Doctor of Divinity. Possibly, during the walk I may change my mind, and think it best to send him to a sugar plantation.

Very respectfully yours,
JOHN HOOKER.

P. S. I have returned from my walk. The deed is executed. Jim Pembroke is merged in Rev. Dr. Pennington. The slave is free—the chattel is a man!

I spoke of half an hour's walk. I must confess that my return was a little hastened by the thought which suddenly struck me on my way, that perhaps the legal relation I had rashly assumed was a nullum in se. I thought for a moment of going for consolation to one of the "lower law" divines, but feared that it might end in my sending the Reverend Doctor to the auction-block.

From the Lynn Bay State.

THE TRIUMPH OF TRUTH.

BY R. P. NEWHALL.

Truth will at last prevail—
Then will the teeming millions
Over all this wide-spread earth,
Through their Redeemer's spirit,
Obtain a higher birth;
This truth of heavenly wisdom
Will be on all impressed,
By blessing others only
Will man be truly blessed.

Truth will at last prevail—
Then War's vindictive spirit
Will yield its latest breath—
That hoary-headed monster
Will close his eyes in death,
And Peace, that smiling angel,
From God's own bosom come
To visit every nation,
And make this earth her home.

Truth will at last prevail—
The chains of fond Oppression
Will then be rent in twain,
To crush earth's untold millions
Will ne'er be forged again;
While Liberty, bright goddess,
In her triumphant car,
Throughout earth's widest circuit,
Will meet one loud huzza.

Truth will at last prevail—
Then will earth's hoarded treasures
Be used in doing good,
No one on earth so selfish
To grasp them if he could;
But all created beings,
By love so gained in one,
That wealth is only counted
By acts of duty done.

Truth will at last prevail—
Then will the wide dominion
Of Ignorance subside,
And mind no longer be engulphed
Beneath its swelling tide,
But in the light of Knowledge
Will tread that heavenly way,
Which will with brighter lustre shine
Unto the perfect day.

Truth will at last prevail—
Then clouds of mental darkness,
The gloom of Error's night,
Will disappear forever
Before Truth's rising light,
And, in the bright effulgence
Of its meridian sun,
No wrong will exist that's needed
Will e'er be left undone.

Truth will at last prevail—
The statutes then of age
In ponderous tomes will lie,
And musty, dusty pages
Be scanned by mortal eye.
For God's pure law indwelling
Will be man's sovereignide,
And every bosom swelling,
Obey it, far and wide.

Truth will at last prevail—
No more will rank Injustice
With Cruelty combine,
The guilt of erring mortals
By standard to define;
But Justice then, and Mercy,
Will hand in hand proceed,
And deal out to the erring
At once a godlike meed.

Truth will at last prevail—
No subject then will tremble
Before a tyrant's nod,
No slave will smart with anguish
Beneath the cruel rod;
No toil, no unpaid labor,
But equal rights to all,
Will be man's noble birthright,
Proof of great and small.

Truth will at last prevail—
Then will all forms of worship
Be deemed as forms alone,
For the Eternal Spirit
Will make the soul his throne;
And man, God's last creation,
On all below, above,
Will read this revelation,
That God alone is Love.

Truth will, at last prevail—
Then, earth's neglected portions,
Through every land and clime,
Will yield in bread of millions
Throughout all coming time,
While robes of dazzling beauty
Will mantle man's Eden glow,
And his discharge of duty
Make perfect all below.

Truth will at last prevail—
No pestilence and famine
Will then earth's scourges be,
Her wrongs at once corrected,
Her heart feast full and free;
For man, no longer thwasting
The laws of nature given,
Will find a sinful world transformed
Almost into a heaven.

Saugus, March, 1851.

From the Georgia Constitutionalist.

A BOSTON DRUMMER.

A friend has handed us a card of a Boston Dry Goods house, that of J. M. Beebe, Morgan & Co., which as a quid for them, who is on a Southern drumming expedition, has been distributing in Augusta. We give this house the full benefit of the advertisement, in our editorial columns, *gratis*. But we accompany it with the expression of our astonishment at the cool assurance which would prompt any Boston man to come to the South on any such expedition. It is to be hoped the Southern people have got enough of Boston, and the less they have to do with her hereafter, the better.

There are, doubtless, some very clever merchants in Boston, and the partners of this house are, perhaps, among them. We know nothing to the contrary. But as long as the Southern people pour their wealth into the lap of that city, by trading with her, they keep alive the strongest weapon they can wield, in the Union, against her higher law negrophilism, and encourage her respectable citizens to remain idle, while the North tramples in the dust the laws for the enforcement of Southern rights under the Constitution. Both Boston as a city, and Massachusetts as a State, have shown themselves entitled to but little of the sympathy or good will of the Southern people. We should make as few contracts as possible with a people who show so little disposition to carry out the great contract of the Constitution, in letter and spirit. Practical non-intercourse with them is like a measure of good policy and of retributive justice. No Southern man should buy, if he can avoid it, any thing coming from Boston, or from any one who buys goods in Boston, until she repents of the past in sack-cloth and ashes.

This policy could be extended, with good effect, to all abolition houses in New York, and to those Southern houses, of which, we are sorry to learn, there are still some among us, which trade with them.

A proper self-respect and an enlightened view of her interest, ought to induce the South to trade as little with Northern cities as possible, for they are all, more or less, tainted with abolitionism.

☞ From the same paper (says the Liberator) in which the foregoing preposterous and insolent article appears, we copy the following advertisements:—

$50 REWARD.—Runaway from the subscriber on the 28th ult., his boy WADE, about six feet high, light complexion, weighs 170 pounds, stands very erect, quick spoken, wears his hair long, and always well combed, and also wears whiskers. He has a small scar under the right eye; is rather good looking and some what fond of his dram. He is about forty years old. The above boy received a pass from me on Saturday the 26th ult., to come to Augusta on a visit to his wife and children, (who belonged to Capt. John Gould of that place,) and was to have returned on Monday following, for which his pass was written. He had on when last seen a black Satinet sack Coat, black Pants, high crown black Hat, and new Boots, and said that he was preparing to return home.

The above boy was brought from North Carolina about six years ago, and may be endeavoring to make his way back to that State. I will give a further reward of $100, on proof to conviction that he is harbored, or being assisted, by any white person in making his way off.

Any person taking up the above boy, and lodging him in any jail, so that I may get him, by addressing me at the 4 mile Post Office, Barnwell District, S. C., it shall be immediately attended to.

may 14 J. S. GREEN.

$40 REWARD.—The above reward will be given for the apprehension and delivery in any convenient Jail of TWO NEGROES, the property of the subscriber, a man and a woman.

The man's name is AUSTIN, very dark complected, has one of his upper front teeth out, five feet eight or ten inches high, and weighs near two hundred pounds.

The woman's name is PHILLIS, copper colored, chunky, and about 22 years of age.

The fellow runaway about two years ago, and was for nine months in Augusta, Ga., hiring his time to different persons. It is probable he is now in that place, as when last heard from, he was making his way in that direction.

Half the above reward will be given for the delivery of either of the above negroes.

feb 1 ctf JOHN A. EICALEBERGER.

$100 REWARD.—Runaway from the subscriber's Plantation, in Ogletherpe County, about the 10th March last, a Negro man named ALLEN, about thirty-two years old, copper colored, five feet eight on nine inches high, and weighing one hundred and thirty pounds. Said Negro came originally from North Carolina, and may be attempting to return. I will give a reward of Twenty Dollars to any person who will return him to me, or lodge him in any safe Jail so that I can get him, and a further reward of One Hundred Dollars for evidence sufficient to convict any white man of decoying him off.

DAVID C. BARROW.

Address, Lexington, Oglethorpe County, Ga.

FOR SALE—A MAN COOK.

A First Rate Cook will be sold, if early application is made. He is 25 years old, Virginia raised, of good temper, character unimpeachable, and strictly temperate. He understands all kind of Meat and Pastry Cooking, both in American and French style. Challenges any one to produce his superior as to neatness and despatch. He understands pickling up Pickles of all kinds, Preserves and Sweetmeats. An excellent hand to make Ginger Pop, Soda and Mead, Lemon and Spruce Beer, Ice Cream, Custard Pies, &c. In short, he is master of his profession.

Apply to A. WILSON, Hamburg, S. C.

P. S.—I also have just received from Virginia direct, a small lot of choice NEGROES, consisting of Sempstresses, House Servants, Waiters, Field Hands, &c., all of which I will sell at prices to correspond with the times, and will keep constantly on hand a good supply of Negroes for sale upon accommodating terms. A. W.

may 20

MR. JOHN VAN BUREN'S SPEECH.

The New York Evening Post of Saturday contains a full report of Mr. Van Buren's speech to the Democracy (new Hunkers) assembled at Buffalo on Friday evening. After speaking of what the great Democratic movement for Liberty at Buffalo accomplished, Mr. Van Buren notices

MR. WEBSTER AND THE TERRITORIES.

Let us now look at what we failed to accomplish. New Mexico and Utah have been organized into Territories, without a positive prohibition of slavery. The result is owing, in some degree, to the vote of the House of Representatives, laying upon the table Mr. Root's resolution instructing the Committee to report a bill for the organization of these territories with a prohibition of slavery. It is due to be ascribed to the defection of a distinguished eastern statesman, who has been uniform, earnest and open advocate of the Wilmot Proviso, until the 7th of March, 1850, when he announced that it was unnecessary to apply it to New Mexico and Utah, as he had discovered that it was the will of God that slavery should not go there. As Mr. Webster voted to insert this proviso in the Oregon bill, as he had claimed it, in a State Convention in Massachusetts, in 1848, as his thunder! as he had made several earnest and vehement speeches in its favor after that time, it is a matter of curious speculation when the will of God was revealed to Mr. Webster. (Shouts of laughter.)

This is a matter of public concern, (renewed laughter,) for this is not only a Daniel come to judgment, but a judgment come to Daniel. (Shouts of laughter, and applause.) The experience of the past does not satisfy us that we can safely rely upon the interference of Providence alone to resist the extension of slavery. The will of God is presumed to remain always the same. It may well be supposed that he would not desire slavery to be extended to our thirteen original colonies, yet slavery was inflicted on all of them by Great Britain. It required human legislation to drive it from the States which are now free. Slavery extended to the entire Northwestern territory, by the ordinance of Mr. Jefferson was necessary to abolish it. Slavery existed in the Territory of Iowa; it had to be abolished by law. The safe course, then, is to resist its extension by law in the only mode which has thus far proved effectual. (Cheers.) But if this cannot be done, we have two other resources. In the first place, we can constitutionally abolish slavery in these territories, if it should be introduced. The ordinance of '87, re-enacted by Congress in '89, produced this precise result in the States of Illinois. Our thousand slaves were emancipated by this act. I mention this fact on the authority of Mr. Coles, the first Governor of Illinois, a Virginia gentleman with a large family connection, most of whom are slaveholders, but who is nevertheless a patriot, and a philanthropist. The importance, then, of adhering to this power over the subject of slavery in the territories, even when its exercise is suspended, cannot be overrated. It is a law which, as well as a power to prohibit, and is the great conservative authority to which the friends of freedom must look for protection against the aggressions of slavery.

There is another mode in which the question may be met. If slaves are introduced into New Mexico and Utah, slave States will be formed in those territories, and will apply for admission into the confederacy. They should be met at the doors of Congress with a stern and unyielding resistance. They should be charged with being conceived a free land with the ignominy of slavery, and should be turned back upon themselves until they restored freedom to its ascendancy.

These are the three modes by which the great purpose of keeping free territory contained by slavery may be accomplished. They will look to human exertion. They rely on the *lower* law; they mistrust the intervention which Mr. Webster so recently counts upon, and they reject the revelations of this new Moses on the mount.

MR. WEBSTER'S WAYTROOM.

It pleases Mr. Webster to represent himself as a martyr to his devotion to freedom. He speaks of the calumny and persecution which he endures, of the privation to which he is subjected, of the flames that might be crackling to some stake to which he should be bound, and of the penalties he is undergoing. Such is not my observation of the treatment he receives. Fêted, flattered and caressed by the wealthy, public entertainments continually extended to him, the patronage of the government at his command, official and personal endearments surrounding him, the earth black with newspapers describing his virtues, and the air vocal with the shouts of interested partizans sounding his praises, all this seems to me a little like martyrdom as he is like my idea of a hero. (Laughter.)

But I agree, if his ambition is to be President of the United States, there is below or above all this superficial demonstration, a deep-seated public sentiment which places him at a hopeful distance from the object of general pursuit. Even the Southern politicians, who are so industrious and so successful in warping the opinions and the action of Northern men, would catechise him unpleasantly if he solicited their suffrages. To be strong at the South, a Northern politician must be strong at home. They would ask him—Sir, can you carry Massachusetts? If a Whig member of Congress in that State assails you, and the convention throw him overboard, dare the people elect him? If a defeated Whig candidate for Congress in the upper Whigdistrict of Massachusetts prefers charges of corruption against you, can he return to his constituents and be elected on a second trial? Will they let you speak in Faneuil Hall? Does the State of Massachusetts send to the Senate of the United States Charles Sumner, pice Daniel Webster? (Cheers.) And if he answers these interrogatories in conformity to the truth, they will notify him that his further services will not be needed. (Immense cheering.)

THE WORKING-MAN'S SONG.

BY CHARLES SWAIN.

Oh, for work I have never to wait,
And working I can't do without;
What though many are born to estate,
They're as often just bore to the gout!
Give me the free use of my feet,
A hand that true industry shows;
For labor makes appetite sweet,
And a fine, manly vigor bestows!
I'm a worker—and working's my boast;
A plodder—and those are that plod;
For Nature, from city to coast,
Shows WORK is the wisdom of God!

All living need something to do!
The idle but grumble and grieve;
They must work and work heartily too,
Who would relish the life they receive.
And I find it an excellent plan
To sing at my labor each day;
Though I'm only a poor, working man,
Yet I fancy I know what I say!
I'm a worker—and working's my boast;
A plodder—and love those that plod;
For Nature, from city to coast,
Shows WORK is the wisdom of God!

THE NEW FASHION FOR LADIES' DRESSES.—The gentlemen editors are, with one or two exceptions, very much pleased with the Turkish costume, which seems to have appeared nearly simultaneously in the principal inland cities and villages of the Eastern and Western States. The exceptions—only two to our knowledge—will have it that the women, in assuming the new dress, are encroaching upon men's prerogative—assuming "men's apparel!" Such an assertion is particularly amusing, since the dress—short skirt and full pantaletts—has been worn for years by the misses of all nations in Christendom, and by the ladies of nearly all the Eastern nations from time immemorial. We never saw or heard of any man or set of man-wearing petticoats and pantaletts, and we reckon the gentlemen who call the dress in question masculine habit would be the last to be caught in it. They would create a greater commotion in our streets in such a rig than the ladies have been able to excite in their fertile imaginations. As many inches cut from the tops of ladies' dresses, which have been the delight of French milliners, has passed muster with these sensitive gentlemen too long to make them easily be female modesty any thing but ridiculous. . . . The change in dress has resulted solely from that general dissemination of phenomenal intelligence which has startled the world into a consciousness that the present fashions of dress are a general, and fearful cause of impaired physical energy, disease, and premature death. Better that women have courage to look like frights—which however, is not necessary, although—and secure to themselves and posterity the health that secures cheerfulness, vigor and courage, than be the nervous, helpless, miserable cumberers of the ground which they are, and nearly all are becoming, by a slavish submission to the self-imposed restrictions to dress and indulgence in diet.

A majority of our very best exchanges have nobly spoken in encouragement of a reform in dress, looking to health and comfort for ourself, we would not cut a single inch from our skirts simply for convenience sake, while there is the least danger that by so doing we might cut away an atom of the influence which we have, or may at any time, be in a position to exert, in favor of an improved morality. As we would not expose our *good* to be a stumbling-block to the evil, nor get so fain advance of the age that we can't lend a helping hand to two it since, so, while length of skirts is identified in the idea of womanly delicacy to any class of persons we desire to influence, we shall submit, as we have done, to the inconvenience of holding up our shirts from the mud, stepping on them when we go up stairs, and having them stepped on by those behind when we go down. We hope, however, the ladies will go ahead in every improvement promising comfort and health. We shall fight for waists, short, loose, and without pants, at all events, with a large abatement in the weight of skirts. As far *leading* in the fashions, we never did attempt it; and hitherto have *followed* only after off, and with a great amount of *sensing*.—*Windham (Ct.) Democrat*, Mrs. Nichols, Editor.

CHANGE IN FEMALE COSTUME.—There is an extraordinary amount of interest manifested by the press on this subject. Nearly every newspaper has a commendatory remark, and the new Turkish costume is appearing to every city, town and village. The difficulty is, who shall lead? Who shall first set the beautiful fashion? Once adopted, and it will spread like wild-fire. In the quiet town of Stamford, Conn., a few miles from New York, the new dress has appeared, and is every where welcomed with acclamation. Papers from every city recommend both its beauty, fitness and convenience.—*Oneiego Journal.*

THE NEW COSTUME FOR LADIES.—We look forward with pleasure to the day in which every well-dressed lady will be attired in garments as gracefully and becoming as are the "frock and pants" we see described in the Northern papers. A fog of prejudice must be dissipated of make way for the improvement, but if our fair ones will it, that will vanish.—*Washington (D. C) Telegraph.*

THE NEW STYLE.—The ladies also have adopted this style of dress claim that it is far preferable to the old cumbersome style; and admit we have seen it worn, speak in glowing terms of its beauty and effect. Speed the reform, if it will benefit the ladies. What bachelor so ungallant as to object?—*Dwight Tribune.*

THE TURKISH DRESS.—The *Lancaster Gazette* thinks that if this style of dress should get into fashion there, some new method of ascending the individual will have to be hunted up, for the operation of going down the hole made stairs directly behind a hoop of the fair will hardly be considered the foresight that it present.

☞ We are heartily glad to find that we have one supporter among the softer sex in our movement in favor of the short dress—even though she be already disposed of! There are doubtless hundreds in the ranks, willing and anxious to declare on where an opportunity is presented. The prejudice of female costume is closely, slowly, and one of the worst for health that could be devised. It must be reduced, so "push on the column."—*Williamsburgh Times.*

THE TURKISH COSTUME.—The *Rochester Daily Times* says it is intimated that the ladies of that city are to hold a secret caucus to consider the propriety of coming out in the Turkish dress. To which the *Syracuse Journal* remarks:—Our ladies have not waited for anything of this kind. It is now no uncommon thing to see a lady walking through our streets; several ladies in the new costume, and we must say that it appears far neater and more tasteful than that generally worn.

THE NEW DRESS.—The *Albany Knickerbocker* of Saturday says:—A young and pretty lady, whose name is Mrs. Miller, and who has been sojourning at the Delevan House, appeared in Broadway yesterday afternoon, with an elegant Turkish dress, with short skirt, and a neat pair of pantaloons. She created some excitement, but none of that ridiculous those who follow the old style of long skirts seem to fear. Mrs. M. is the daughter of Hon. Gerrit Smith.

NEW STYLE FOR LADIES' DRESSES.—From various parts of the country, we notice reports of the ladies adopting the fashion of short dresses and pants, *à la Turk*. This style is no doubt very big coming, and will save a sight of street-sweeping and mud-gathering, which the present mode of long dresses very much favors.—*Louisville (Ky) Telegraph.*

THE LADIES' NEW DRESS.—Even before the days of "thread, needles, and scissors," Mother Eve triumphed over the imperfections of nature, and produced the first article of female attire from the unpromising material which the fig-tree afforded; and later in the history of the world, the facing "ruffs," that encircled the head like a collar, and the bottom out; the pyramids of grease, hair and flour which our great-great-grandmothers were accustomed to wear on the top of their heads; the enormously expanded dresses, which had to be made on one side to enable the owner to enter an ordinary door way; and even in our own day, the "balloon sleeves," that from their resemblance to two stranded balloons, gave their wearers a decided display of parsnips—and, finally, the latest, the "Turkish," all evince the power of woman's will over the difficulties of common sense and convenience. But this "trousers' project has something more to recommend it than the freaks of fashion; we have alluded to it, we welcome its advent as a shipwrecked sailor his wives, daughters, and sweethearts from the perilous past task of sweeping the dust or mud of street crossings. And though the improvement may add to the length of dresses by a few inches, yet, we hope it will lengthen the lives of the fair sex by dispensing with an accumulation of wet skirts and delicate feet, and increase the happiness of young bachelors by affording an occasional glimpse at a pretty ankle or handsomely arched instep.—*New Haven Palladium.*

INTERESTING TO LADIES.—An important revolution in ladies' dress appears inevitable, or we mistake the tone of public sentiment. In many of the principal cities of the Union, we read of examples being set by the most fashionable and sensible females, in appearing in the public thoroughfares, dressed in the oriental costume, a mode we have always admired and hoped to see adopted. The press, which is so prone to condemn unavailable innovations, every where speaks in favor of this proposed change. Instead of frivolous whimsies, it indulges in expressions of decided approbation. We are pleased to mention that several ladies in this city are only waiting for the concurrence of public opinion to be able to appear out dress exactly according to the *mode a la Turk.*—*Manchester (N. H.) Democrat.*

The Impartial Citizen.

S. R. WARD AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.

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From the Liberator.

REMARKS OF THEODORE PARKER

At the Anti-Slavery Convention, (at Cochituate Hall,) on the evening of Wednesday, May 28th, 1851.

[CONCLUDED.]

Look a moment now at the pleasing side of our history, at the NORMAL MOVEMENT OF AMERICA during the same time. The anti-slavery enterprise has called forth an amount of disinterested heroism and self-denial which is rare in any age. True Ideas have been set forth in opposition to the three false Ideas of the Pro-slavery party. The true design of government has been stated; the true design of human law, and the true relation of the traditions of men to the eternal commands of God—and the true precepts which are the collateral security thereof; all these have been set before the people with clearness and strength—yea, with eloquence and beauty. Inquiries have been made as to the value of human government, the foundation of human law and of the obligations men owe to it. The great truth has been widely spread abroad, that the Law of God is over all human statutes, and a man must pay allegiance to that, though all the governments of the world say no.

In Congress and out of it we have had noble speeches and noble truths—from CHASE and SEWARD and HALE and GIDDINGS and FOWLER and ALLEN and MANN; from CHARLES SUMNER—who has an early reward for good deeds, and I hope will do more than redeem his early promise. One other man,—shy and retired, but always a powerful ally on the side of Human Liberty and the Eternal Laws of God, a fit defender of the 'First Good, first Perfect, and first Fair,'—has come forward, and delivered his thought at the right time and place. It was appropriate that the man to whose intellect, so fairly just, so plainly fair, the spirit of America now culminates and comes to consciousness; it was appropriate that EMERSON, like Michael Angelo and Milton, should come out of his study to the defence of the Eternal Rights of man. He has added a new laurel to his honored brow.

Then an unknown warrior comes forward with HANCOCK on his shield, and strikes a blow worthy the name he bears.

Here is a remarkable document from our sister State New York, also nameless, 'The Higher Law tried by Reason and Authority.' 'When admonished, learn justice and not despise the Gods,' is his just motto. Hear him:—

'Any law suspending the sanctions of human brotherhood is void. No enactment can prevent me from helping or sheltering, feeding or clothing a fellow-man who has not forfeited his claims by committing a crime. Any attempt to enforce laws against kindness and hospitality is as vain as it is wicked. Talk of prohibiting humanity by statute, of putting fines on charity and penalties on pity! Such laws may be made, but they will never be obeyed, until common humanity is obliterated from the heart, and humanity itself abolished.

So, also, any law compelling me to aid in enslaving or re-enslaving a man, is void. No law can possibly bind me to do that to another, while innocent of crime, which would be unjust and cruel, if done to myself. I cannot be bound to aid in robbing another of a natural and inalienable right.'

'It is no answer to this to say that our fathers contracted for us that we would do this, and that the contract is binding. Suppose our fathers had contracted for us that we would stone every Catholic who came amongst us, or return in irons every fugitive escaped from the Algerines, *that* contract would be binding, would it?'

'Strange anomaly that right and wrong should be reversed by longitudinal degrees, that crime should depend on climate, that what is illegal piracy and murder in Africa should be legal duty and obligation in the United States! Tell us not that to send a man back to slavery is by no means so bad as *to make* him a slave at first;—by every standard of reason and right it is infinitely worse. In the one case, there may seem some small excuse,—and, no matter how flimsy, it is better than none at all;—that he is willing, or that it will better his condition; in the other, there is no single shadow of a plea for sending him to a condition he has fled from—a bondage he has escaped. In the one case, it may not be a man, but an idiot or a fool—in the other, it is crushing down the manhood of as complete a man as ever God fashioned in his image. In the one case, it may be he knows not the value of freedom, and cares not much for liberty; in the other, he has conquered his freedom, and holds on to it,—he has achieved his liberty, and asserted his right to be a man. Yes, it is a far deeper crime to re-enslave a man than to enslave him at the first; he who does the latter, treads on the law of nature—he who does the former, tramples upon nature itself.'

'Hardly an article in the Constitution but has been either evaded or openly violated a host of times. The South violates it as often as she pleases, and yet the Union stands. She jails our citizens unconstitutionally, and unjustly too, and yet the world rolls on, and nobody thinks the Union or the Constitution in any danger. But let a few fugitives be helped to freedom by the North, and straightway solemn warnings and doleful cries are ringing all abroad of 'union,' and 'safety,' and 'anarchy,' and 'treason,' and 'our sacred Constitution,' and 'our glorious Union.' It is an old story, and is becoming somewhat stale. It is enough to say that the cry has always been heard until the South got what she demanded, and then it has been hushed.'

'General Jackson stated the true doctrine, when he said that every man, when he takes an oath to support the Constitution, means to support his understanding of it. Every Constitution is imperfect, and it is expecting too much of human dullness to claim that men shall go on forever copying their fathers' errors.'

'The only real upholder of the law is he who strenuously opposes an unjust law,—since, all men hold, justice lies at the foundation, and if it be not there, the superstructure must sooner or later totter and fall. He who blindly and passively obeys all laws, right or wrong,—just or unjust,—is not the friend of law, but of arbitrary rule and tyranny.'

Politicians gravely tell us that the Higher Law is treason,—and Divines preach solemn sermons to prove the Statute Book infallibly inspired! Yet, every day witnesses the breach of laws far more reasonable, and a hundred times as righteous. Men can swear unlawful invoices at the Court House,—take unlawful interest,—drive trades unlawfully on Sunday,—make unlawful bets,—rent unlawful brothels,—sell unlawful liquors without license,—yea, vent unlawful oaths against the 'Higher Law,' and who is there that cares a pin? Men may break all these laws, and more, for the sake of interest, and there is not a dog to wag his tongue; but let a man disobey an unjust law, for the sake of principle, and the whole land rings with the cry of treason! The very man who will break every law, human or divine, for the Almighty Dollar, sneers at the 'fanaticism' of him who keeps the law of Almighty God! In the hands of a subtle lawyer, working for a fee, the Constitution and the laws are as elastic as India-rubber; but when the voice of humanity cries out for justice, suddenly they are found to be stereotyped in steel!'

'But let no man despair. Justice asks no aid of mortal men, and God's laws will one day or other execute themselves. The Higher Law is in no danger of being permanently disregarded, nor are its subjects to be frightened from their allegiance by being called bad names. The law which came not from men depends not on them for its sanction,—it reaches down its feet to the foundations of the universe, and its hand takes hold on the throne of God.'

'In the open Book of Nature, Heaven above and
Earth below,
We have learned a Higher Statute than the babbling
schoolmen know:—
God's voice in conscience taught us, as his angels only
can,
That the one sole sacred thing beneath the cope of
Heaven is MAN:—

'That he who treads profanely on the scrolls of law
and creed,
In the depths of God's great goodness may find mercy
in his need;
But woe to him who crushes the Soul with chain and
rod,
And herds with lower natures, the awfu. orm of
God!'

I need only refer to the legal speeches made by accomplished lawyers here in the corrupting air of Boston, made in defence of the free institutions we inherited from our fathers; in defence of the fugitive and his friends.

Let me come to the conduct of the clergy. The clergy of New England have often been tried. Sometimes they have not stood the rack. They have never done so well as in this their greatest trial. The reason is plain enough. The Fugitive Slave Law is not only hostile to the noblest instincts of human nature, to the commands of justice, to the principles and sentiments of Christianity, hostile to the design of all righteous laws,—which is to do justice, to harm no one, to give every man his own—but it is adverse to the very letter of the Bible—New Testament and Old Testament too. Let me read you some significant things. Here is a sermon from Dr. FURNESS of Philadelphia,—always on the side of right,—preached there April 13:

'If the South be serious—what is implied? When she says, 'Return our fugitives, or we will secede,' does not the South virtually declare that the essential value of the Union, to her, consists in the protection which it affords to her slave property? She wants us—it appears we are necessary to her—only as her slave hunters and slave drivers. And are these offices, I will not say for Christians, but for men? If upon these terms we maintain the Union, what, in the name of all that is honorable, is the Union to us, a Union by which one party is to possess slaves, and the other to stand guard over them, and hunt them as occasion may require? To be sure, they will pay us in trade, and we may grow rich, but what is all this wealth by which we buy only shame? It may gild but it cannot hide our chains. It cannot ransom our lost honor. We are nothing but slave drivers, after all, every man of us. Are we ready to make up our minds to occupy so pitiable a position? If we do, we must first forget our fathers. We must disown our Christianity utterly. We must deny our God.'

Here is another from OLIVER STEARNS of Hingham, a modest and most godly man, preached March 2d. Hear him:—

'Suppose Massachusetts should *compel* him [Dr. Dewey] to go in the fugitive's stead, and to remain, what then? Would he name any consequences in mitigation of the moral atrocity? Or would he consent that his own brother or his own son should be compelled to go as a peace-offering? Brother or son, I thank him for the word. It gives the true test. I look around me: I try to think of some head of a family torn from it by violence, for no crime, by a fate to which drowning at sea or perishing of fever would be a blessed boon; or of some young man with bright hopes preparing for the business of life, or of some fair young woman,—of my own child,—put into actual slavery, with all its liabilities; I think of hopes blasted, of faculties stifled, of mind extinguished, of the doom on posterity,—and of this as a peace-offering,—and that I should consent to this. No! not to save the universe. For where is God? Where is the soul? Where is law, the law which has its seat in the bosom of God? Where is man's moral nature? Where is left any thing worth saving? I consent to that! As soon would I consent to turn this house of our solemnities into a heathen temple, to become the priest of pagan rites, to help you to bind my own child on the altar, and slay him as a sacrifice to appease the anger of an unknown God, that we might then go to our homes in the hope to dwell there in peace and safety.'

Here comes a sermon preached in Providence, April 27th, by one of the most accomplished scholars in New England, Rev. F. H. HEDGE. He says:—

'For what shall we say of a government or body of legislators that should wilfully enact a law which they know to be immoral, to meet some pressing exigency, or to secure some present advantage? Such a government would not only be guilty of deliberate and awful wickedness, but would act suicidally, and perpetrate egregious folly. This would be substituting bare force for reason and right, which scarcely an eastern Pasha or Russian Autocrat will dare to do. No government that does this can look to be obeyed, except by aid of the bayonet, and not long with that. No government can expect obedience from its subjects while conscious to itself, in the very law which is over all.'

'The individual conscience is one of those rights to which society has no claim, and which no government can lawfully force me to surrender. For if I have such a conscience—if I really believe in a law of God, in my accountableness to that law, then my obedience to that law is more to me than society, or anything that society can give. No government, therefore, has a right to demand from me that for which it can offer me no equivalent.'

'Remember, that these conscientious and determined characters, who love the praise of God rather than the praise of men, and who regard the law of God more than the enactments of men, are, in fact, the very pillars and best securities of the State; and none the less so, that they are not active politicians, but have stood aloof from the caucus and from party strife, and sought no share in the management of public affairs, and none in the usufruct of public money. It is on such men as these,—men of high principle and firm sense—men who fear God and love the right—it is on such as these that the best interests of a State must always depend. And in its day of visitation and dearest peril—when its enemies have assailed it from without, or fiery mischief has broken out in the midst of its welfare and its very being are in jeopardy; a few such men will be found to be better than an army of loose, unprincipled, vacillating spirits, who know no absolute law, and no eternal right, and no guide but opinion and interest, or the base counsels of some Ahithophel, whose voice, with the vulgar, is the oracle of God.'

'Other governments besides that of Rome assume to disregard the moral scruples of their subjects, and affect to despise the Christians within their borders. I mean the genuine Christians—few enough in every age, few even in countries that are nominally Christian—those who stand on moral and Christian principle, and would make that the rule of politics and the measure of right. These the government despises, and the organs of government characterize them as 'a few fanatics'—that is the favorite designation—a few fanatics who obstruct the course of the law, and would rend the nation in twain with their radical and incendiary principles. Yet, mark them well, these Christians, these fanatics—ye governments and government organs! Unpractical as they seem, and impracticable—these are the men who are bound to prevail; or rather, they are the organs and representatives of that which is bound to prevail and to rule at last, if He that sitteth in the highest has ought to do with human affairs. If it is God's world in which we live, as we fondly trust, and not Beelzebub's, then moral truth, in the final result, must guide its course, and not cotton or iron, or the stock exchange, or the foreign trade, or the home trade—nor all these together.'

These are all Unitarians. But Justice is of no sect. Here is a sermon from one who bears the honored name of BEECHER. He is the brother of *Henry Ward Beecher*; he has many more brothers worthy of the good old stock, in other cities besides. The title of his work is a lesson for the day—'*The Duty of Disobedience to Wicked Laws.*' It was preached in Newark, N. J. Hear the son of Lyman Beecher:—

'If this law is to be obeyed merely because it is law, no matter how diabolical its spirit, then farewell to liberty, farewell to religion. There is henceforth no barrier to the encroachments of corruption. Men of debauched character may buy the votes of demagogues and worm their way to Congress, and, with unabashed front of infidel licentiousness, ordain by law whatsoever iniquity they please, and we must obey, and never question. If they may repeal the golden rule to day, and fine me for obeying Christ and doing to the fugitive as I would be done by, they may repeal the decalogue to-morrow, for the golden rule and the decalogue are one. They may strike down the Sabbath, close all Protestant churches, forbid us to read the Bible, or command us to worship the Virgin, or the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, and we must not dare to disobey.

'If this law must be obeyed, then are we a nation of slaves; Congress is an infallible hierarchy—an infallible corporation of political pontiffs, whose doctrines we must believe or die.'

Here is 'a Bundle of Myrrh,' from Dr. WITHINGTON, offered as a nosegay on Thanksgiving day. Dr. W., I am told, once wrote an article in the Courier, wishing to send me to the States Prison for blasphemy. Listen to him:—

'Now you must judge for yourselves. But my rule is, when I am cooped up between two contrary obligations, arising from my municipal standing, I shall always choose that which lies on the side of truth and eternal justice. It was a maxim among the Romans, when the judge found himself between two clashing obligations, to interpret the law on the side of freedom. Noble people! Your nation has perished, and been been followed by a better religion and a worse conduct.'

He has also 'a Form of Prayer for such Christians as mean to aid in carrying into execution the Fugitive Slave Law,' printed on the Sermon cover.

Here is a Thanksgiving Sermon by the Rev. WM. H. MARSH, 'aiming to point out the duty of a Christian people in relation to the Fugitive Slave Law.' He thus handles the doctrine that we must obey the law of the land:—

'If the government, then, as is often done on a slave plantation, and in some heathen temples, should ordain adultery; would that change it into innocence? If by a vote they should repeal the ten commandments, would these be a whit the less binding on our consciences, than they now are? When the preacher takes his text, must he declare, or have it understood, the precept he would enforce is to be obeyed, *unless* it should conflict with some act of Congress or of the State legislature? Is he to own a library of statute-books, and search them through, in preparing a discourse; or on grave questions send to some eminent statesman, or to the Supreme Court, to know of a certainty, whether such a precept or doctrine would be constitutional or legal? Nothing then is left to God; Cæsar has all things at will; ourselves, our wives, our children, our forms of worship, our religious belief. If by a majority the known will of Satan is enacted into a law, or it is commanded to worship the evil spirit, or to deny Christ, and abjure the Bible with every thing that pertains to our religion,—all this God would make binding on our consciences! That majority, then, has power to fix the ultimate standard of Right and Wrong; to make them change places; and to do this as often as they please. Then the difficulty of the man might be relieved, who said, 'What a pity lying is a sin; it is so useful in trade.''

'No where can we durably build, but on the foundations of righteousness, on the solid rock of justice and truth. That nation only is blest, whose God is the Lord.' It is a new creed for a New England sanctuary, *it is the Atheist's creed, that injustice framed into a law will work out the peace, and welfare, and salvation of the land.* We find it not in that Book that proclaims to us with trumpet tongue, and in warning tones that gather fearful strength from the ages past, that the kingdom and nation that will not serve him shall perish. And people and rulers are together responsible. It is wiser, better, safer to obey God than men.'

Here is one of the most important periodicals in North America, with a good name—the 'New Englander.' It comes out of the undefiled bosom of New England Orthodoxy. It is published at New Haven, and edited by seven worthy and pious men, called 'the seven pillars'—for 'Wisdom hewed her seven pillars' at the settlement of New Haven Colony, and they are standing until this day. Hearken to the voice of JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, the writer in the New Englander:—

'But suppose a man comes to him [the pro-slavery minister] and says:

'Sir, I am a runaway slave, will you not help me to a place of safety?'

'A runaway slave? And do you come to me a minister of the gospel, to countenance you in running away from the master whom God has placed over you? It is my duty to send you back as Paul sent back Onesimus.'

'Ah, sir,' he replies, 'but I am a Christian, and for the love of the Savior who bought us with his blood, I pray you have pity upon me.'

'A Christian indeed! And do you not know that it is the duty of servants to obey their masters, and that it is your duty to return to yours?'

'But, Sir, my master is cruel, and I carry with me the marks of the lash and of the brand; I cannot have the Bible; I am torn away from my wife and children; how can I go back to be whipped and tortured and made wretched? I had rather die first.'

'Well, if you will not be persuaded, I must try other means;'—so seizing him by the collar, this minister of Christ calls to the bystanders, the *posse comitatus*, 'What, ho! here is a runaway slave! help me to secure him to his master.' And with that they bind the struggling fugitive with ropes, and drag him to a Commissioner to await the appearance of a claimant; and having thus discharged his duty to 'Conscience *and* the Constitution,' he draws upon the treasury of the United States for five dollars and expenses as by law provided. Now is he not a saint? Does he not walk in the footsteps of the Apostle Paul? Is he not a glorious representative of the spirit of Christianity? Is he not a worthy follower and minister of the Lord Jesus Christ? The slave indeed expected different treatment from a minister of Christ, but he did not know how much light has been shed upon the gospel duty of catching negroes, by the discussions of politicians and other learned and godly men.'

'Does any one believe that the man who wrote this epistle to Philemon would be a slave-catcher under modern law? Would Paul have laid hands upon *James Hamlet* to force him back to slavery? He would have rotted in jail first.'

Here is 'one more of the same kind,' from that Puritan Minister who held divine service on the end of Long Wharf the other day, when SIMS went as a Missionary to Georgia. On the 10th of April, DANIEL FOSTER, of Concord, said:—

'How sad the change in the religion of this land in these dark years! Sad, at least, so far as the course of the *popular* ministry is a true index of the sentiment of the people. The *rulers* of our nation and all our *partizans* stand ready now to brand with the name of infidels and traitors, the minister who imitates the example of the Apostles, obeying God rather than man, and declaring the whole counsel of God, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. Now Doctors of Divinity, Theological Professors, and Ministers of large and wealthy churches, join hands with our wicked Rulers, and in the name of God bid us obey, without hesitation, a law of utter and unparalleled wickedness! Yes, they bid us go, if our country should call us, to the battle-field in support of this law, and in God's name take the life of its opposers!'

'They vote down the proviso of freedom, and open vast empires for the extension and perpetuation of human bondage. The arch-traitor who secured this disastrous result offers, in excuse, the plea that to pass this proviso is re-enacting the laws of God, by which, without our aid, slavery is surely excluded. *He knew, and the world knows to-day, the utter falseness of this base plea.*'

'There is a life yet to be written, which will illustrate with a painful interest and power the apostacy of this nation. I refer to one gifted by his heavenly Father with transcendent abilities,—born and nurtured through all his early years among the institutions of New England, who went forth into the strife of a stirring life with deep religious convictions, with noble aims in view. On Plymouth Rock, on Bunker Hill, on all the fields made rich and sacred by patriot blood of Revolutionary sires, *there* poured forth—an offering to Liberty—*his* voice has been recognized, giving utterance to some of the noblest sentiments, and most sweetly spoken, ever heard on earth. The Old Commonwealth has lavished her honors upon him, her adopted and best beloved son. But he has fallen, and is now a wretched, ruined old man. He went aside from the straight path of rectitude, led on by ambition, lured by impure passions, from one degree of baseness to another and deeper, till, on the seventh of March, 1850, he stood up in his place in the Senate of the United States, and publicly disowned the noble principles of his early and innocent days, and offered his own shameless service to the cruel slave-power. Now you may see that proud intellect darkened and debased, and the beloved champion, the very Samson of New England, the pensioned agent of oppression, grinding in the prison-house of the Philistines!'

'Now remember these ministers know these things. They have the Bible in their hands, and *they* cannot plead *ignorance* to justify their course. I said they were doing this for some paltry consideration of present interest. Dr. Dewey, who affirmed his readiness to surrender child or mother, if necessary, to preserve this Union, has obtained his reward. He is appointed Chaplin in the Navy, and will stand a very fine chance to be chosen Chaplain of the Senate of this great Union. I distinctly impeach these men of treason against Christ. And mark you this prediction, the revelation of Eternity will sustain this fearful charge. Those ministers who take the Bible in their hands, and preach the duty of obedience to this bill of abomination, are traitors before God and hypocrites before men.'

'There is no service you can render to God so acceptable as this, to succor and relieve his oppressed, his suffering child. So highly does God regard this service, that he records it in the Book of Life, and in the Great Day rewards the doer for these acts of Love and Kindness, on the ground that they were rendered to *Himself*. But so sternly does God abhor contempt of man in his suffering seed, that to him who has been guilty of slighting and despising the needy and the oppressed, He will say at that time of final award, 'Inasmuch as ye refused to minister to these suffering children of oppression, ye despised and hated me; depart, ye workers of iniquity.''

These are only a few out of many similar things which I might offer you. But, like the grapes which Caleb and Joshua brought back from their pioneering, they show what a 'land of promise there is on the other side of Jordan. The Deweys and the Rogerses do not represent the Conscience of the churches of America; only the COMMERCE thereof. We need not despair of a Church which can speak thus. Little associations are passing resolutions against the wicked and cruel law—refusing obedience to it. The soul of the Puritans has not wholly died out of the churches of New England; nay, it is not wholly asleep, and never will be!

Hear what some of our brethren say on the other side of the water:—

'At the half-yearly meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union, held at Nailsworth, on the 10th inst., the following resolution was unanimously passed:—'That the grief and shame which we have long felt on account of the slavery which prevails in several of the United States of North America, are greatly aggravated by the fact, that not a few Christian Churches and Christian ministers, so called, plead for the continuance of that wretched system; that our sorrow has been recently still further deepened by the atrocious 'Fugitive Slave Law,' which the legislature of the United States has enacted; that, while it would pain us to do anything which should even seem inconsistent with international hospitality, especially towards our trans-Atlantic kinsfolk, during the approaching Congress in London, we deem it right to express our unanimous determination not to admit to our pulpits any minister of religion, whatsoever may be his reputation in the States, who hesitates to avow his abhorrence of slavery, and his earnest desire for its speedy abolition; but that, on the other hand, we regard those American ministers, who in their own country boldly declare their anti-slavery principles, to be 'worthy of double honor.''

These are *Orthodox dissenters* who pass such resolutions.

The amount of heroism called forth in behalf of the fugitive slaves is encouraging. The Vigilance Committee in Boston sent out their circulars asking for money. Poor ministers and feeble churches sent their two or three dollars—not without a blessing, like that which followed the widow's mite; richer churches (in the country) gave more; nay, in some cities it is made plain that the Gospel of Commerce has not driven the God of Christianity out of the hearts of men. I know one man who has got NINETY-THREE FUGITIVE SLAVES *out of this City and into freedom in the British Provinces.* He needs none of our applause. There is ONE who seeth in secret, and rewardeth the good deeds done in secret.

So much for the action on both sides—abnormal and normal action. Apparently, a good deal has been lost; but I think, in the past year, a good deal has been won. The old Law of 1793 was a failure. Mr. Quincy says no man was ever returned from Massachusetts under it. He may be mistaken. Still, it was a failure. It recognised the principle in the Constitution, and the legal obligation to obey it; that was all. The Fugitive Slave Law will prove a worse failure. In the eight months since its passage, it has driven, I suppose, ten thousand American citizens into the British Provinces. How many Fugitives has it returned to the South? I think not twenty. In Boston, it has given the Queen of England 300 or 400 subjects, and the Slave States one single Fugitive. Only one has been returned from all New England. At what cost was that done? How much has it cost that 'excellent and respectable citizen,' Mr. Potter, of Savannah? How much has it cost Boston? How much the United States? The stealers of men (in Georgia) will find it costly work; the merchants of Boston will find it a dear way of advertising their Cottons. After all, notwithstanding the laws of Massachusetts were all cloven to the ground, and the 'Sims *Brigade*' was on foot three days and three nights, and as valiant as Falstaff—Sims had to be carried off by the shortest possible route, in the night, and in its darkest hour! The Kidnappers, with the Courts of Massachusetts kneeling before them, with the authorities of the city at their command, with the Army and Navy of the United States to help them, and the 'Sims' Brigade' on foot to serve them—the Kidnappers had to take their prey out of Boston in the dark, meanly, sneakingly, and by stealth!

The Anti-Slavery enterprise never looked so promising as at this moment. The Fugitive Slave Law has done us service:—'Whom the Gods destroy, they first make mad.' Mr. Clay said he *he did not expect Fugitives to be returned by this Law; only to soothe the feelings of the South!* Why, there is a North to soothe as well. This soothes it with nettles!

There is one great obstacle to Liberty in America—that is, the COVETOUSNESS OF ABLE MEN. It is the same North or South. It makes slaves there; here it holds them. It hates Democracy in both places. Ere long, I think we shall see an open union between the Covetousness of the North and the South; there has long been a secret alliance. There, it will oppose *free labor*, as it always has done; here, oppose *free trade*; in both, free thought, free speech, the unalienable rights of man. That is the Slavery Party. When both wings unite, we shall see more clearly the foe we have to meet. This Party in the South has already broken the Constitution. What is the Constitution of the United States in South Carolina, in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky? Let *Frederick Douglass* go there and see. Let *Samuel Hoar* go to Charleston, and ask for the Constitution of the United States! Yet Mr. Webster comes to the North to talk up the Union! We know what all that means!

Well, is America to forswear the great Political Idea which has guided her general conduct for two hundred and fifty years? When the Ethiopian changes his skin and the leopard his spots! We shall never go back. The exceptional, abnormal action will become less and less, and Slavery be scorched and burned up like morning clouds at the rising of the sun. Such exceptional movements occur in all nations: in England, under the second Charles and James; yes, in England from 1790 to 1819. The nations move by *echelon*, not in lines with a single front. We are now contending for the ideas which appear in Magna Charta; which Sir John Fortescue praises in the laws of England, 400 years ago; which conquered at home when English royalty disappeared in front of Whitehall on the 30th January, 1649; which came here in 1626, to grow yet stronger on a virgin soil; which blossomed visibly before the eyes of the nations on the 4th of July, 1776, and will one day give a broad shade to all mankind—leaves for the healing of the nations, and fruits for every man! The roots of English and American Liberty run under the sea and unite; the branches thereof spread over the ocean and embrace. It cannot be torn up without splitting the globe. It will grow for ever; yea, when the names of America and England, now carved upon the rind, shall have been outgrown, effaced and forgotten.

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

What is to hinder the progress of Liberty, the downfall of Bondage? In the South, there are only 9,569,846 persons, all told; of these, only 5,393,758 are free. In the North, we have 18,563,628 freemen! In the next Congress, the South will have 81 Representatives in the House, the North 152! The Census of Property would be yet more remarkable; while the Statistics of Education, Morals, the Census of Character, would show yet more plainly which way the Balance of Power inclines.

I thank God that we live at a time when this great struggle is going on—this contest of ideas! The contest itself is of great value. It is not like the war of the Roses in England, a question of persons, of families, without ideas—a war chiefly valuable from the fact that is used up the oppressors of the people, and, thinning out the nobles, gave the gentry a chance to come up; it is a war between Right and Wrong. And the Right is sure to triumph at the last. The interest of mankind is on our side—the obvious material interest as well as the eternal spiritual interest. With us is the impetus which the Anglo-Saxon race has acquired in the last 400 years of its history; the Spirit of the Age is on our side; the Spirit of Christianity,—yes, Human Nature itself is on our side, and the infinite God is with us for ever!

From the Liberator.

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BARKER.

As there are tens of thousands of persons, on the other side of the Atlantic, who are deeply interested in the welfare of the estimable writer of the following letter—knowing him to be one of the most fearless and radical reformers of the age, always indefatigable and untiring in his work—we take the liberty to publish it entire, as the Liberator circulates in England, Scotland and Ireland. Mr. Barker has recently come to this country, to adopt it for his own, and an acquisition of no small value he will be to us. We have no fears as to his anti-slavery fidelity here; for in England he proved himself to be reckless of persecution in his noble advocacy of unpopular truth, and the cause of the working-classes generally. We hope to receive frequent communications from his pen hereafter.

Millwood, Knox Co., Ohio, July, 1851.

My Dear Friend:

You will be glad to hear that I and my family and friends are all well. We have purchased two farms near Millwood, Knox Co., Ohio, and here we expect to make our homes for a time at least. The district is exceedingly healthy, and the neighborhood is very beautiful, though its advantages with respect to society are inferior to those of many other places. We should have settled near Akron or Cuyahoga Falls, but we found the ague and chill fever so exceedingly prevalent there. We should then have settled near Salem, Ohio, but land was so dear, that many of our friends, whom we expect to settle near us, would not have been able to purchase farms in that neighborhood. Here we found land cheap, and saw every reason to believe that the neighborhood was exceedingly healthy, and here we have accordingly settled. We can now encourage our friends to settle round us, with the assurance that we shall not have the unhappiness of seeing them languish or die under the influence of fatal malidies. We feel, that in inviting them to come round us, we are incurring no terrible responsibility. And the price of land is so reasonable hereabouts, that those of our friends who have but little money, may purchase small farms, and support themselves and their families with comparative ease. For the first farm which I bought, I gave less than nine dollars an acre, and it is tolerably good land. It contains about 120 acres. About 70 acres are cleared; the rest is woodland. The farm is mostly land, though it is upland, and in the neighborhood of much hilly land.—The crops on it are as good as the crops I saw about Akron and Cuyahoga, where land was from 50 to 40 dollars an acre. I believe the land is as good, or nearly as good, as the land we were asked 40 or 50 dollars an acre for near Salem. The second farm I have bought contains 156 1-2 acres; about 130 acres are cleared. The land is better than that of the other farm, and the farm is better watered. It contains seven springs, and a beautiful stream of good water running through the middle of it. It is about eleven miles from Mount Vernon, the county seat; six from Gambier, the seat of a large Episcopal College; about six from Martinsburgh, where there is a large and respectable Academy, and about four from Bladensburgh, where there are some pot works, &c. It is about six miles from Democrania, where there are several coal mines; and about eight from a branch of the Ohio Canal. I have given about 14 1-2 dollars an acre for it. It is two miles further from Millwood than the other farm. Both of them come up to the Millwood and Bladensburgh road.

Mount Vernon, Gambier, and Martinsburgh are really beautiful places. Newcastle is nothing amiss. Millwood and Bladensburgh, though beautifully situated, are rather inferior towns. Mount Vurnon and Gambier are two of the most beautiful places I ever saw; and I have seen a great number of beautiful places both in Europe and in America. And Mount Vernon is a tolerably large place, and the population appears to be on the increase. It is now connected by a railroad with Cleveland, and Columbus, and through them with the whole United States.

I said the place appeared to be exceedingly healthy. I have seen but one person ill of the ague in the whole country round, and he had just returned from a western journey, through places where the ague and chill fever prevail. And his house was three miles from the nearest part of our farms, and is situated near the river, where the water is dammed up by saw mills. One of my brothers has lived here about five years, and both he and his family give the most favorable accounts of the health of the neighborhood during that period. And indeed the appearance of the people around us gives proof sufficient that the country is healthy.

The neighborhood is not, however, famous for philanthropy, love of liberty, or the progressive and reformatory spirit. It is not, of course, remarkable for devotion to the cause of the slave and the colored race. On the contrary, it seems to be somewhat famous, say, notorious, for its support of slavery and pro-slavery politicians. Some few of our neighbors are anti-slavery; but the generality, so far as I can learn, are blind and bigotted advocates of slavery, and heartless persecutors of the colored race. At a sale which took place on one of the farms which I have bought, there was a discussion among the people assembled respecting the new Constitution proposed for State of Ohio. 'If the right of voting were granted to niggers, I would leave the State immediately,' said one; and nine out of ten seemed disposed to applaud the expression. 'What! enfranchise a parcel of thieves and vagabonds!' said another. I said I thought the white people who robbed the colored people of their liberty, and took from them their earnings, were the greatest thieves. 'But they are idle,' said one; 'they will only work when they are compelled to do so.' 'But the fact is,' said I, 'that they do above their share of work. It would be juster to call the white people idle, who live by the colored people's labors. As far as I have been able to learn, the colored people work as hard as other people, and appear to take as much pleasure in working, when they can get fair wages for their work. But if you refuse the right to vote to a colored man at all, refuse it on the ground that he is idle or dishonest, and not on the ground that he is colored; and refuse the right of voting to idle and dishonest white men on the same ground. Be impartial. You would hardly like to be disfranchised yourself, because many white people are kidnappers, thieves and tyrants. You wish white people to be treated according to their deserts; treat colored people so.' I had been told before that I should get myself insulted if I took up the cause of the slave and the negro; but I did not. I was listened to patiently, and treated with respect. The conversation continued for a length of time, and I spoke on the subject with the utmost freedom; yet no one either insulted me, or treated me unfairly or uncourteously in the discussion. I endeavored to show them that the arguments they employed against the emancipation and enfranchisement of the colored race were generally the arguments employed by the aristocrats, princes and priests of Great Britain and Ireland against the emancipation and enfranchisement of the working classes of those countries; and they seemed not to relish the idea of being found in the ranks of the tyrants of Europe. I have reason to believe that the conversation which took place at the sale had a good effect; and one thing is certain, my neighbors are very respectful and kind, so far as I can see, both to me and my family and friends.

I here since had a closer conversation on the subject of slavery and colored people's rights, with a neighbor whom I did not observe at the sale. He was for having all the colored people returned to Africa. I asked him what he would do with those who were half black and half white: would he send the children, and the half-brothers and sisters of white men, of Presidents, Secretaries of State, Senators and Representatives, into Africa? 'He would have no black blood in the country, he said. 'But how,' I asked, 'would you separate the black blood from the white? Would you send white blood to Africa?' He seemed puzzled. He said he would not allow a colored person to live in the State. 'Why?' I asked. 'They smell so bad,' he answered. 'But the slaveholders keep them in their houses,' I replied, 'and complain when they are taken away from them. They do not seem to think they smell peculiarly bad. And I see them employed as cooks and stewards in your finest steamships, and as waiters in your most respectable hotels. How is that? You are using an argument against the wronged people of color, which the men who first invented it did not believe to be sound. *All* people small badly, if they are crowded into small and dirty rooms, and refused the means of washing themselves and keeping themselves and their clothing clean.' I have known white people smell so badly that I have found it impossible to remain in the same room with them; and I have known colored people as free from offensive odors as the purest white men I ever was in company with. And as for amalgamation, if you are opposed to that, you should go for the abolition of slavery; for slavery is the great amalgamator, if I am rightly informed. There is little or no amalgamation where the colored people are free. They keep themselves too much to themselves. While, in the slave States, the marks of a wicked amalgamation—the marks entirely of the whites—are visible every where.

Another of my neighbor's remarks was too grossly offensive to be repeated. Suffice it to say, the remarks of myself and my friends had manifestly some good effect on him. He will not, I believe, be so reckless and unjust to the colored population again. The advocates of freedom and justice grow stronger and wax bolder by discussion, while the advocates of oppression and injustice wax weaker. Truth grows more vigorous by exposure; while error and falsehood languish and die in broad day-light. I should not be astonished if the neighborhood in which we are settling should be ranked, by and by, among the places friendly to the cause of humanity.

As yet, I have not been able to lecture in this quarter. I have not got my family a home yet. I have a house and barn to build, and furniture and stock to buy, and a great deal of work on the farm to do. I am, in consequence, exceedingly busy; and I expect to be busy for three or four months to come. But as soon as I find myself at liberty, I intend to deliver a few lectures; and I shall not deliver a lecture without proclaiming in a word for the oppressed and enslaved.

I am very much obliged to you for sending me the Liberator. I always read it with much interest when in England; but I read it with ten-fold interest now. I am glad to learn that George Thompson intends to return to this country. He is a noble and a powerful man. I am amazed, at times, when I read the outrageous and infamous slanders respecting him that are fabricated and circulated by the editors of American newspapers. He has no more to do with the British government than I have, except that I have been arrested and imprisoned by that government, and he has not. He is a zealous and far-going reformer. In truest he is a republican, I believe, though he may not have reasoned it out openly to avow himself one, as I have done. He is more of a *middle class* reformer than myself, but he is as really an enemy to British oppression and tyranny, and as far from being in favor with the British aristocracy, as any man I know. And many of his American slanderers must be aware of this. But the advocates of slavery to America, like the advocates of priestcraft and tyranny in Europe, pay no regard to truth or equity. They lie and slander most unconscionably. But truth will make its way, and falsehood and toliquity will gradually lose their power. The cause of humanity will triumph. It does triumph. I shall be exceedingly glad if I can aid in triumph.

I forgot to say, that we shall be glad, as soon as we have got a house that will hold them, to receive your anti-slavery friends, and to share with them the fruits of our gardens and our fields, and such other blessings as may happen to fall to our lot. And you would greatly oblige us, if you would endeavor to give us the names and addresses of any trustworthy friends of reform and progress that are living within reach of us. We want to get acquainted with as many intelligent and public-spirited people as possible. We were very much pleased with the meetings of the Women's Rights' Convention at Akron. It was one of the happiest events of my life to meet with such a number of noble-minded people. We like America already. It would have to be some very powerful attraction that would drew us back to England, and induce us to settle there again. And if we can only get acquainted with a number of the free-thinking, free-speaking, pure-minded, public-spirited reformers of America, and have the happiness of assisting them to their labors, and entertaining them at our houses, we shall like the country much better than we do. Farewell. Let us hear from you occasionally, when you have time to write us a line or two. My wife and family join me in kindest regards to you and your family, and to all your Eastern friends.

Yours, very respectfully and affectionately,
JOSEPH BARKER.

FREE SOIL CELEBRATION.

The Fourth of July was celebrated by the Free Soilers of Massachusetts, at Worcester, in a very imposing and spirited manner. Hon. John P. Hale was the orator of the day, and acquitted himself with much ability. A dinner was provided, under a spacious tent, by Mr. J. B. Smith, the colored caterer of Boston, (who "can't be beat" in his line,) at which more than two thousand persons sat down. Eloquent speeches were delivered on the occasion by the Hon. Charles Allen, Hon. Henry Wilson, Amasa Burlingame, Esq., and others. Among other letters read on the occasion was the following from the Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham, of Cambridge, which is so excellent shet we must publish it without abridgment.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LETTER.

Cambridge, July 1, 1851.

Gentlemen:—I been before me your letter inviting me to attend a mass meeting of the Free Soil citizens of Worcester county, at Worcester, on the 4th day of the present month. I receive with grateful emotions this token of your remembrance, and assure you the invitation would be fully complied with—if a lameness,—the effect of a rheumatic fever,—did not warn me to avoid a crowded assembly.

Though I am thus prohibited from uniting with you and my fellow-citizens of Worcester county, (many of whom are personal friends,) in the festivities and cheering congratulations of the day, and from listening to the words of patriotism and the encouraging sentiments of freedom which will find utterance on the occasion, yet be assured, gentlemen, that from the seclusion of my home there will ascend sincere and ardent aspirations for the success of the great and holy cause of human liberty in which you are engaged, and for which you are content to endure the reproaches, and to bear the affected scorn of those who claim to be the only conservatives of the age, the peculiar supporters of law and order, the exclusive friends of peace and the Union. And, while suffering under this privation, I am urged to express the sentiment that the principles of the Free Soil party will prevail throughout our country, and by a strong conviction that the time will come, when the sole inscriptions of our fathers, that all men are born free, and are endowed with inalienable rights and privileges, will no longer be treated as the mockery of declamation, but will be invested with a power that cannot be evaded or overturned by the selfish and ambitious sophistry of unprincipled demagogues and profligate politicians. My confidence in the triumphant success of the principles of that religion, whose founder declared that he was ordained and sent into the world "to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty those that are bruised," and who gave to his followers the assurance that all power was given to him in heaven and in earth, is unshaken. I am strengthened and soothed by an unfaltering trust in the instinctive humanity of our race. The struggle between conscience and expediency, between duty and ambition, between God and mammon, may be long and painful, but it must end in victory.

These remarks may be thought the mere superfluous enthusiasm. Doubtless they will have to encounter the contemptuous sneers of some, as the language of a feeble, a misguided, or a supplanted intellect. It does indeed require something more than an ordinary degree of faith in human virtue to anticipate a speedy establishment of the universal liberty and political equality which it was the purpose of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States to secure. It is difficult to withstand the temptations to succumb to political distinction, or to resist the passion for that wealth which it is natural for man to covet, and which is almost a universal passport to popularity. It is truly a fearful enterprise, and requires firm and untarrified nerve to contend against the fashionable admonitions of the pulpit, and the sedanime donunciations of the press, those conservators in the formation of public sentiment—the "tools of power and paulers to authority." How different from the great body of the clergy of the days preceding and during the Revolution, are some of the present day, who undertake to reconcile the most arbitrary and cruel laws to the eternal and immutable principles of justice and mercy! How little do some of our modern statesmen who frame laws, and those politicians who write for the press, resemble Otis and Hancock, Quincy and Adams, the sires of their period! Would not the bones of those patriots of immortal memory rattle with indignation in their tombs, if they could be sensible of the fearfully cold-hearted hypocrisy of those that deceive an honest and confiding people? How unlike to Samuel Hall, and Benjamin Edes, and Isaiah Thomas, are some of our editors and printers, who regale themselves with the scum of political parentage, or find some hope of obtaining something more valid and satisfying! Methinks the time is coming, once fearless opponents of tyranny and injustice, if it were susceptible of sensation, would involuntarily sink deeper toward the centre of the earth, to secure an atmosphere tainted with the loathsome breathings of a Press, which believes for the protection of a Union that is in no danger, and makes mouths at all who refuse to bow before its golden image, or to worship the idols it has set up. Yet, gentlemen, for one moment more, I pray, I desire to say, that I participate in all your regrets for the prevalence of injustice, cruelty and oppression—in all your hopes for the redemption of the whole world from the miseries of bondage. The cry has gone forth, from high authority, that all who deny or doubt the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law are outlaws and traitors. In their application to the action of the Free Soil party, nullification and treason are words that have in their sound no terrors for me; and they pass by me with as little concern as the objurgation of an idiot. If they have any effect, it is to refresh and enliven principles entertained from childhood, and interwoven with every fibre of my frame; principles that have been confirmed by the approbation, and invigorated by the precepts of one, who, for twenty-five years, it was my pleasure to defend and uphold in his political career, who hardly an edict called for action, and cot one in the policy of his residence, could afford to utter a sentence in his favor—a man, whose teachings are an advocate of universal freedom, and whose example as a statesman, during the best part of his life, was one need to be ashamed to have followed. I have followed them too long, and with too serious a conviction of their harmony with all that is right, and true, and just, in the disposition and government of human affairs, to give them up now, although he may have thought proper to repudiate them, and may have seen cause to justify the promulgation of new doctrines, and to impose new obligations on his friends.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I desire to say, that with all the energy that remains to one who has passed the Scripture-allotted period of the life of man, I hold myself ready for the battle waged by freedom and philanthropy against cruelty, pride and overico; and though we may not—perhaps our children may not—see the success which our efforts deserve, we can die with the consolation which may be derived from the assurance that come other generations will see the Slave Power trodden in the dust, the despised and hunted slave standing erect as one of the human family—the bondman, of whatever complexion, exulting in the liberty wherewith the law of God, re-enacted by humanity and religion, has made him free—and all uniting in the grand chorus—Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

Faithfully your friend and fellow-laborer,
J. T. BUCKINGHAM.

MORE 'UNION' SPEECHES FROM THE MARTYR-SECRETARY.

If industry and perseverance are rewarded invariably according to the proverb, or if the American people are not more innovable than the 'Unjust Judge,' Daniel Webster's self-denying efforts to secure a more favorable position for saving the Union' cannot be altogether fruitless. Few men have ever worked more zealously, if many have acted more wisely, to gain the object of their ambition. How arduous are his official duties, how important his services to 'the country' in the last months past, it might be difficult to say; but his labors for Mr. Webster have been so incessant or though he expected to earn the Presidency by dint of brilliant talk, or to scale the lofty height upon the accumulating pile of his own speeches.

Letters to Newburyport, letters to Boston, letters to Maine, letters to New York, letters to New Hampshire, letters to Philadelphia, and letters to the South, have multiplied as though each were gifted with miraculous powers of self-procreation; and at the same time, closely as the self-forgetful Secretary has been confined by his official duties, he has yet contrived to traverse the country back and forth, again and again, proclaiming the gospel of salvation to the Union, through obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, and faith in the author of the 'Compromises.'

As every speech requires revised edition, emendations, explanations and defences, and almost every letter involves him in perplexities from which new letters are needed to extricate him, we see no prospect of an end to his flux of words, until the fate of the Presidential aspirant is fixed by the election of '52.

He finds no lack of occasions, and he lets none pass onward, to magnify the perils through which the Union has passed, and the honors of the men who saved it from those dangers. This, when defence of the 'Constitutional duty, of hunting runaway slaves, and sending them back into slavery, a loud-mouthed denunciation of all who will not 'conquer their prejudices' against the bloodhound service, and an insolent affectation of continued respect for every man who refuses to accept his decision as the authority of the Fugitive Law, constitute one the burden of his speeches and letters.

The living are ranged up and down through Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts, to be recently ostended his missionary labors to the Old Dominion, and has been there welcomed by slaveholders, slave-traders and slave-breeders with appropriate marks of approval.

'The doctrine of Mr. Webster, that 'a bargain broken on one side is broken on all sides,' is a two-edged sword. If the 'wilful and deliberate refusal' of one section of the confederacy 'to carry into effect any part of the Constitution' releases the other States from the compact, then have the South long been free from it, and the Constitution is legally no more obligatory upon us than are the old Articles of England. What could be more wilful, deliberate and premeditated than the violations of the compact, and refusals to carry it into effect by the South? Who knows all this better than Daniel Webster? He knows of the violations of the post office by Southern laws and usurpations of the prohibitions of liberty of speech, and the contempt offerings upon Northern citizens; of the imprisonment of our seamen, the kidnapping of our neighbors; of the history of Samuel Hoar, and the cold-blooded murders by lynch law, of unoffending citizens of New England sojourning in parts of South. He knows that the South has practically made the Constitution, so far as its protections to freedom are concerned, what one of their Senators calls it—'a miserable piece of parchment, not worth the parchment.' Let this sentiment of the Secretary be remembered. Let the reader go and tell it abroad, that Daniel Webster, under the summer sun of the Old Dominion, declares that if one party to the compact 'shall wilfully and deliberately, to carry into effect any part of the Constitution, the other States are no longer bound by the compact;' that 'A BARGAIN BROKEN ON ONE SIDE IS BROKEN ON ALL SIDES.'

In *New Yorkers*—which we suppose is a little more delicate than the same truth in short Saxon. We thank Mr. Webster for the assertion, and hope that no 'revised edition' of the speech will be published for Northern circulation, omitting the sentiment.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

A BLOW TO COLOR-PHOBIA.

New York Senate, July 9.

The College Appropriation Bill, reported by Mr. Morgan, passed.

Mr. Beekman moved to recommit, so as to accept from the operation of the bill the Central College, McGrew'ville. He held a report in his hand of that College, which look ground against the prejudices, as they termed them, against the common intermingling of the races, contending that those prejudices should be done away with. He read from the report:

Mr. Carroll said that referred only to education. It contended only that women was possessed of intellect as well as man; that was all right.

Mr. Beekman read on. The report mentioned for no distinction between the colors. He hoped the State would consider well before they gave aid to such an institution. At this College, the two sexes were educated together. He protested against that. In New York, this was not allowed.

Mr. Carroll heard nothing from the extracts showing that the ground taken, that they attempted to do away the distinction of the sexes, was supported. He hoped the Senator would withdraw his motion.

Mr. Beekman—No, sir!

Mr. Dimmick said if it was possible in New York city to keep the sexes distinct, he had yet to learn it. (Laughter.) As to the Central College, he (Mr. D.) had good authority for saying this institution was well and ably conducted. His authority was Mr. Woolworth, the well known author, and sufficient Principal of the Homer Academy, which was situated three miles from this College. He gave him (Mr. D.) to understand that it was an institution well worthy of imitation, so far as its character for faithful instruction was concerned. Mr. D. did not look at the color, but at the character of the student.

The question was taken, and the motion was lost, by a vote of 5 to 18; Messrs. Babcock, Beekman, Brandreth, Crolins and Cortis, voting in the affirmative.

Only think of it!—The Fourth of July Committee, of Boston, had the impudence to send Daniel Webster a *printed* invitation to attend their celebration. Of course, it was not accepted. Even if it had been *written*, and had been filled with praises of the man, it is doubtful whether it would have been accepted, so soon after that never to be forgotten refusal to open Faneuil Hall when his friends wanted to hear him speak. But sending only a printed circular, a copy of which had been sent to scores of others—little and big—did not even elicit his thanks nor a sentiment. His reply is almost as brief as his celebrated 'Glad out' correspondence. We give it a place:—

Capon Springs, Va., June 27th, 1851.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your printed invitation, in behalf of the City Council of Boston, to attend the celebration of the approaching anniversary of American Independence.

My engagements elsewhere oblige me to decline this honor. I am, gentlemen, respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
DANIEL WEBSTER.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, Editor.
AMOS G. BEMAN, Corresponding Editor.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1851.

BLACK TRAITORS.

Rev. Edward Matthews, a black clergyman, of Zion's Church, New York, declares himself willing to aid in the capture of a fugitive slave. He told Rev. J. Lisle that he should desire it his duty, as a Zion minister, to aid a claimant in arresting Lisle. This was said on the 12th of June, 1851, at Mr. Lisle's house, where Matthews had partaken of Lisle's hospitality, and joined with him in prayer. It was said coolly, calmly—in neither heat, haste, nor passion. He repeated the same diabolical sentiment, in a public meeting of black men, on the same evening. The following Sunday, the 15th of June, Elder Brooks, of the same church, endorsed the character and the abolitionism of the same Reverend would-be slave-catcher.

Now, if the Zion's Conference, under the Superintendence of the venerable Christopher Rush, will send forth, as a Herald of the Cross, such abominable creatures as these, then is that Conference in ownership of the old, countenancing and encouraging black men as any other slaveocratic religious corporation. If the church of that sect in Syracuse, or elsewhere, will receive either Matthews or Brooks, or any other slaveocrat, white or black, as their preacher, they will deserve neither the countenance, respect, nor defence of their white fellow-citizens.

Is it possible that such abominable, not to say infernal, traitors are in our very midst? Is this to be among the damnable heresies taught by black priests? Are one pulpits to be filled with such execrable wolves in sheep's clothing? Better that every black church—and every white one, of like character, too, in all the land—better that every such priest as Matthews and Brooks were in their own merited hell, than that we should be afflicted and tormented by their devilish malefactions. How much do such human fiends lack of being actual or practical slaveholders or land pirates? How much less execrable are such canting, hypocritical knaves than the Cozzes, Springs, Hewitses, Kirkses, clerical, and the Fillmores, Websters, Curtisses, Lawrences and Spragues, political, of our day? Surely, our people have it hard enough, without the infliction of such heartless knaves upon them, to do their preaching. Let the names of Matthews and Brooks be passed round among our people, from one end of the country to the other.

MORE QUAKER PRO-SLAVERYISM.

The venerable Esther Moore, widow of the late Dr. Moore, of Philadelphia, rose on Sunday, a few weeks since, and gave notice, in Friends' Meeting, that George Thompson would speak; a few days hence, giving the time and place, and exhorted her friends to attend—expressing gratitude to God that so able an advocate had been raised up to plead for the dumb. The wife of Dr. Shoemaker, a prominent member of the sect, pulled Mrs. Moore's dress, to cause her to desist; and Dr. Shoemaker himself, told her that she was out of order, and desired her to take her seat. In Quaker Meeting, the profession is, that each may speak as the Holy Ghost directs, or 'moves.' They send from their Yearly Meetings annual 'testimonies' against slavery; but when the Holy Ghost moves a member of the Society to speak in behalf of the down-trodden slave, such member is out of order. A wealthy, and prominent member of that venerable Spruce-street Meeting, told us, in Philadelphia, not long since, that the Society of Friends were the best friends the colored people have. If the above treatment of that gentlemanly step-mother be a fair sample of Spruce-street Meeting Friendship, than, for one, we should rather take our chance among our enemies.

How happens it that the Southern mover, as very seldom, stand by their own 'testimonies' against slavery, at the ballot-box, and in the social circle? How comes it to pass, that such a member as Esther Moore must be abused when uttering her inbred 'testimony' in behalf of slavery's victims? Why is it that Quakers never find the Holy Ghost 'moving' them to do the very things that the Holy Ghost, in the Scriptures, demands? O, is it not too evident that Quakers care a world less about Humanity, than about the cut of a coat, or the shape (or shapelessness) of a bonnet? Is it not fair to believe, that should Christ himself speak in the slave's behalf, in Spruce-street meeting, that Dr. Shoemaker and his wife would find Him *out of order*? No sect, more than the Quakers, verify the old Latin saying, *Facilis descensus, Averni*. The downward road, to them, is through a smooth, plain garb, a seemingly pious exterior, a sort of a 'testimony' in behalf of freedom, a profession of following the Spirit of God and the Son of God, with a heart and life full of the most abominably heartless misanthropy. It is gratifying to know that there are a few exceptions to this rule.

TO COLORED BARBERS—ESPECIALLY THOSE OF BOSTON.

Among all the strange and inconsistent things of this age of Fugitive Slave Bills and Compromises, there is nothing which excites our astonishment more than the refusal of colored barbers, especially of the city, to shave persons, without distinction of color. It is a fact, and may be well be told now as at any other time, that colored barbers generally refuse to shave colored men; and, what is still worse, base that refusal on conspicuous grounds, thereby making complexion, and not gentlemanly demeanor, the test. Enter a shop

and express a desire to be accommodated, and the answer will be, 'We cannot shave you; if we do, we bite men will leave the shop, and we shall lose custom.' We deny that such is the fact, and in support of that denial, could adduce the testimony of several gentlemen whose integrity is unquestionable. But even admit, for the sake of the argument, that such would be the result, would that be a cogent reason for making a discrimination between white and colored men? Are colored men willing to pursue a course themselves which they condemn in others, for the purpose of putting a few rusty fourpences into their pockets? Will intelligent men abandon principle, and barter their own manhood, because they think they can make a little by so doing? If it is true—which most, if not all of us, admit—that prejudice against colored men at the North preps up and sustains that infamous and injurious system of slavery at the South, the abolition of which we should all regard as the paramount question of the age, do not those barbers who make a distinction on account of color perpetuate the curse just in proportion to their ability? Are they not very inconsistent in denouncing the Legislature for not passing the Equal School Bill, when they, as a general thing, create and strengthen the very influences which defeated it? If the barbers who know no higher law than that of color, were legislators—which God forbid, until they change their principles!—and if they thought that to have voted for the Bill would have injured themselves, pecuniarily, or their party, politically, would they not have defeated it? Must assuredly they would, according to their own mode of reasoning. Have our friends yet to learn the lesson, that in order to gain the respect of others, we must first respect ourselves and each other? Are they not willing to make sacrifices equal to those made by our white friends? If not, then indeed they retard the progress of the anti-slavery cause more than all the Websters and Cesses in the country. They know that the moment white men fully identify themselves with the oppressed, they are proscribed socially, and doomed to eternal infamy politically; and are they not willing at least to share a portion of the odium which attaches to abolitionists?

We will say, just here, that no man has a moral right to live, if he has to sacrifice principle in order to do so. He and society alike will be materially benefitted by his death, if he cannot live by adhering to correct principles. Where would our distinguished friends, William L. Garrison, Gerritt Smith, Wendell Phillips, and a number of others, equally devoted to the cause of the slave, stand to-day, if they had not espoused that cause? We risk nothing in saying that Mr. Phillips would now stand at the head of the Suffolk Bar; Gerritt Smith's prospects for the Presidency in 1852 would be equal to any of the many political aspirants for that office; and Mr. Garrison, to say the least, would be engaged in a most lucrative business, and had he entered any of the so-called professions, and displayed the same amount of energy, enterprise and talent that entitle him to the very enviable position he now occupies in the anti-slavery ranks, he would now stand shoulder to shoulder with the first of them. We all know where these gentlemen stand at present.

It may be asked, What has all that to do with the question at issue? We speak of it to show that the whites have to sacrifice much in their advocacy of our cause, and we ought to be willing, and we trust some of us are willing, to make equal sacrifices.

These remarks are intended particularly for the barbers of this city, for this reason, that we enjoy more rights here than the colored people of any other city South or West of this place, except those in this State; and therefore, barbers here would run much less risk, if any, in acting as one, than those of any other city. Here we go to many of the churches on terms of perfect equality; we have access to most of the literary societies; we can, and do, get accommodated in most of the fashionable eating-houses, oyster and ice cream saloons, from Parker's down. Here we can also enter all of the omnibuses, in which are seated many of the first and most aristocratic families in the city, and nothing is said; but just enter the shope kept by colored men—yes, man who talk loud and eloquently for equal rights, which is all right enough—and ask to be shaved, the reply is, 'We can't shave you—it injures our business.' Shave on such uncalled for, and, under similar circumstances, unheard of servility! Yet if these same men go into Thayer's, under the Revere House, and he refuses to give them a glass of soda, O, it is a different matter then! If they could, they would, Prometheus-like, extract the very fire from the heavens, with which to consume the whole land, and all the inhabitants thereof. 'Consistency, thou art a jewel!'

We were led to make these remarks by being refused, in a fourpenny barber's shop, kept by a something that, we believe, calls itself a man; for that, however, we cannot vouch. We much regret the necessity which compels us to write thus, for two reasons: first, we are sorry that our folks need reforming; and second, we seriously dislike to let the Hookers of the fire-eating stamp know that we have their counterparts in our ranks. We believe there are a few exceptions to the general rule. One is Mr. Morray, who keeps in Cambridge street, West end. Another was, before he left the city, that staunch friend of reform, Mr. Hilton, whom to know is to love. We leave you for the present, gentlemen.—J. W. R.

JOURNAL SKETCHES.

LA FAYETTE, N. Y., June 27th, 1851.

BROTHER WARD:—

I presume that this morning finds you with your afflicted family, and that you follow to the grave that lovely child, who had spent but little more than a year in the world of pale endmonfict. Soon after consigning your beloved and venerable father to his resting-place, a telegraphic despatch hastens you home, to mingle your tears with those of your wife and children over the lifeless form of your infant daughter.

Well, thus it is; onward we hasten to end of our journey of life. Only let the journey be well performed, the race well run.—Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame; and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.' Sanctified afflictions are the greatest blessings which God grants us on this sphere of our infant probation; for, in reference to the life to come, the most aged are mere infants.

I notice that in your paper of June 21st, you inquire—'What has become of J. R. J.?' Thank you—thank you—for thinking of that being. Some documents which I sent you have not been seen by me in pint, though perhaps they appeared, but I did not stay long enough in a place to meet them.

W. L. Chaplin and myself held meetings at Dryden, Groton, Ledlowville, Owego, Elmira, Corning, Addison, Rorseilsville, and Friendship. All this was done from 29th May to 12th of June. Prior to that route, I visited various places, to feel of the pulse of the people, to see how it best in regard to aggressive reformatory work. The General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church was my patient at Utica. Symptoms—*Alarming*; very little hope. The case is submitted to the Free Presbyterians of Ohio.

Have returned from a walk with my two sons. The eldest one (13 years) is on the farm with my friend, Mr. Thomas Danforth; the other is on a visit to his brother. 'When thou walkest by the way,' there is an excellent opportunity to impart instruction to the youthful mind. In our walk, we saw the quiet resting-place of the departed. There I noticed the monuments of two revolutionary soldiers—Mr. EMMONS, and GEN. ISAAC HALL. We saw a sick young lady, (Miss B——,) who has suffered much for many years. Her hope seems fixed on the Redeemer. Repeated to her the 25th Psalm, and prayed. It was a precious season. Called on one who had returned from Ohio, after meeting with much afflictive there, and now finds friends amid those who remember her childhood. She has a humble shelter, over which is a beautiful tree. The location is near the graves of her parents. Her greatest anxiety is about her two sons—ages, 15 and 12—that they may cleanse their way by taking heed thereto, according to the Bible.

Let boys and young men, who have mothers who rely on them for support, do all they can for them. Let them remember what those mothers have done for them in the days of infancy and feeble childhood. If that mother is a widow, how strong the demand on such sons! If the husband and father is yet living, but if he wanders from home and from the path of virtue, the forsaken wife and children have need of more sympathy, and more resolution and faith, than if death had dealt the blow.

THE CAMP-MEETING.

The Methodists have a Camp-Meeting near this place. Yesterday, some 'had the power,' it is said. O that they would so have it that the effect might be so permanent, that when they go to the ballot-box, they would testify against slavery, rum, and all governmental mischief.

Yours for the power of truth, J. R. J.

STATE CONVENTION.

To the People of the State of New York:—

Be it hereby known that the endersigned Committee, by the expressed wish of the citizens of Troy and Albany, publish and apprise the inhabitants of the State, that a Coovention is called and will assemble in the city of Albany, on the 22d day of July, 1851.

The paramount object of this Convention is to assemble the disfranchised and aggrieved portion of the people of the State of New York, to deliberate upon, and propose, then and there, the course to be pursued in the future and onward prosecution of our interests and rights.

We are not insensible to the fact that the public mind has been deeply aroused throughout the length and breadth of this great country, and that those important and agitating questions comprehend and involve our interests and the perpouity of the government.

And most solemnly are we impressed with *this* truth, also, that the denial of our rights is the overthrow of the rock-foundation principles of the country; for the Declaration of Independence, in the language of the late and lamented John Quincy Adams, recognizing no despotism, monarchical, democratic or aristocratic, declares that individual man is possessed of rights of which no government can deprive him.

With this view and understanding, two great questions present themselves for adjustment, the first of which is the recent adict enacted and sent forth by Congress, called the 'Fugitive Slave Law;' and the second in character, is the coercive and barbarous Colonization Scheme; either of which questions is characterized with infamy sufficient to libel Christianity or sink a nation. There are other questions of local and State character that demand our immediate attention, viz.: the School question; a system or law of the State for the general education of all classes of children, without distinction or proscription. This philanthropic and farseeing law, has been suspended in its natural and defined course, and hundreds of children are thereby violently injected from schools, and this in open violation of the law; and for no reason save that of God's giving them a different complexion from those in power.

A second subject for consideration, but first in importance, is the 'Suffrage question.' A special law of the State requires every colored voter to be in possession of two hundred and fifty dollars worth of real estate, as a qualification. These local and general subjects require the people to act with promptness, union and energy, to effect the desired ends.

Therefore, fellow-citizens, in consideration of these important subjects, however remote from the Capitol, or humble and secluded in your position, we ask you, in the name of humanity, posterity and freedom, to stop and consider the importance of your presence and co-operation. Let it not be said that you are insensible and dead to all the interests and motives that stimulate and enhance life; but come up in your sturdy simplicity from the cultivated fields, from the workshops, and from all your different avocations, and make one great heart, whose pulse has the life and force of the whole people. Thus inseparably bound in interests, and standing upon the vantage ground of the declared principles of the government, we have nothing to fear; and are doubly armed, for our cause is just. Look forth upon the green and luxuriant fields, the umbrageous forests, and mountains that aspire to arrest the sun in his downward effulgence, and then say, will you forsake these glories and blessings, hearth-stone and roof-tree, and deliberately give up yourselves as unworthy of these blessings? If not, then let there be but one expression, in multiplied force—omnipotent, because you are resolved, and let it be this:

NO PROSCRIPTION—NO SLAVES—UNION —FREEDOM AND EQUALITY.

WM. P. MCINTYRE, WM. RICH,
EDWARD FREEMAN, C. EDWARD SETH,
HIRAM JOHNSON.

☞ We take great pleasure in calling the attention of barbers, shopkeepers, and others, to the Circular of our enterprising friend, John N. Still, of Brooklyn, L. I., which appears in another part of our paper. After carefully perusing the Circular in question, we can say, very unhesitatingly, that the inducements offered are equal, if not superior, to any other similar establishment in the country. We have been personally acquainted with Mr. S. for the last six or eight years, and therefore place the most unbounded and implicit confidence in his ability to perform any business arrangement into which he may enter; and we know that, from his experience in his peculiar line of operations, he is abundantly able to give the fullest and most reliable information on all the points embraced in his notice. We therefore recommend his establishment to the favorable consideration of those engaged in, or who contemplate entering, that line of trade. Friends, remember John N. Still & Co., No. 56 Atlantic st., Brooklyn, L. I.!

STREET COOKING FURNACE. Upon the recommendation of the *Transcript*, (very good authority in all domestic matters except our 'domestic institution,') we have given an article, called 'Potter's Patent Summer Furnace,' a trial, and find it to operate admirably. It combines the advantages of economy in fuel and despatch and perfection in execution,—roasting or baking and boiling at the same time,—to a remarkable degree for so cheap an article, and is neat and cozy in its appearance, and, withal, does not heat the apartment where used, annoying it no more with *gas*, than we have the reader in this notice. It may be found at 43 and 45 Blackstone street.—Y.

ALMOST A FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

On Saturday last, a man professing to be a constable from Berks county, with a constable from New Hope, and two others, brought a colored man to Doylestown, whom they had apprehended at New Hope, and desired to lodge him in jail until the next day. When the application was first made, it was alleged that the colored man was a fugitive from slavery, but finding that the jail could not be used to detain him on that ground, the allegation was changed, and it was then said that he was a fugitive from justice. The constable from Berks produced what purported to be a bail-piece, by which it appeared a certain colored man, named Davis, had been bound over in open court at Reading, to appear at the next court of Quarter Sessions at Philadelphia, to answer the various charges alleged against him on the part of the Commonwealth. The constable said the man he had in custody was the proper person, and that the offence, though not set forth on the record, was larceny. The story was not generally believed by those assembled.

A member of our bar proposed to act as counsel for the colored man, and to have him placed in the prison by mutual consent—relieving the Sheriff from all responsibility—and then take out a writ of habeas corpus to test the right to hold him. This the 'constable' opposed, and the colored man was openly advised that there was no authority to hold him, and that he could leave—which he did, without opposition on the part of the 'constable' holding the 'bail-piece.' It is believed that said that a reward of $500 has been offered for the apprehension of the man as a fugitive from labor or from justice. Those who assisted in apprehending him at New Hope, it is said, received from fifty to seventy-five dollars for their services.

The true state of the case has not yet transpired, but the questions which naturally arise are, if the bail-piece, which is said to have the seal of the Berks County Court upon it, is genuine, why did this constable permit his prisoner to go without making something of an effort to detain him, especially after expending so much time and money in apprehending him? If the prisoner was a fugitive from slavery, against whom the law could be enforced, why was the proof not established, and the charge openly and legally sustained? The whole affair looks very like a case of kidnapping.—*Bucks Co. (Pa.) Intelligencer.*

SLAVERY AND STATE LAWS. The case of Albert, who was convicted in the Criminal Sessions of this city, for kidnapping a child belonging to an alleged fugitive slave, is to be brought before the Supreme Court, and the Attorney General of Maryland, Mr. Brent, has been authorized to institute proceedings. The question will then be decided whether a child born in a free State of a fugitive slave, inherits the condition of its mother, and is not only a slave, but a fugitive escaping from a State in which it never had any existence. The question is an interesting one, and if the Maryland view of the case is sustained, our laws, or the decisions under them, will have to be altered. The mother, in this case, being seized by Albert, refused to go without her child, and so he carried them both off. Judge Parsons animadverted in strong terms upon the conduct of Albert, and on his conviction, gave him a severe sentence, ten years to the penitentiary. He also intimated, that if he had been indicted for carrying off the woman, he would also have deserved conviction, from his neglecting, we presume, the legal forms which the law requires in such cases.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

FOREIGN ITEMS.

M. Ledru Rollin, Mazzini, Rus and Darasz, signing themselves Chiefs of the European Central Democratic Committee, have addressed a manifesto to the people of Roumania, (which appears in the Paris papers,) exhorting them to unite for the overthrow of the Czar and the Emperor of Austria; the former of whom is described as a 'living lie,' and the latter as a deceiver every where, and a tyrant every where.

The United States Mail Steamship Pacific, Capt. Nye, arrived at Liverpool just before midnight on Tuesday the 1st inst., her run from Bagaveya occupied 10 days 6 hours, mean time. She was, therefore, on time in question, beaten by the Asia by about 3 hours.

By the death of the Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, the Protectionist leader of the House of Lords, becomes fourteenth Earl of Derby.

M. Peitovin, accompanied by his wife, ascended from the Champ de Mars in Paris on the 29th ult., in a carriage with two horses, suspended from a gigantic balloon.

A serious riot had occurred in Liverpool, between the soldiers of the 91st regiment and the police. Several men were killed and many severely wounded.

The American emigrant ship Halcyon, which sailed from Liverpool on the 17th May, with 300 passengers, chiefly Irish and German, was disabled in a heavy gale on the 8th of June, when within 5 or six days sail of New York. The passengers were saved by the New York ships Connecticut and W. H. Wharton, and taken back to Liverpool. The Halcyon was abandoned and set fire to on the 12th.

Free Negroes.—Free negroes are no longer permitted to settle in the State of Iowa, a law to that effect having been passed by the Legislature a few weeks since. Such is the treatment these unfortunate people receive. Chased, scourged, sold in the South, despised, trampled on, shut out of all their rights in the North. And this proud, inhuman white ancestry points to their degraded condition, as evidence of their natural inferiority! To put out another's eyes, and then reproach him for blindness, would be as consistent and humane.

Arrest of a Colored Man and his Wife.—Rev. Isaac Davis, a colored man, was on Saturday arrested by officer Bray, of the 3d Ward, New York, charged with stealing six gold rings from the store of Jacob R. Schuyler, No. 4 Maiden Lane. He called at the jewelry store of Mr. Schuyler on Saturday, and, representing himself to be a merchant from Canada, wished to look at an assortment of jewelry with which to replenish his stock. After examining a large quantity, he selected about $700 worth, and requested a bill to be made out for them, stating at the same time that he would call in the afternoon and settle. Just as he left the store, several gold rings were missed, and he was at once brought back and searched, when the missing articles were found on his person. He was then taken before Justice Osborne and examined, when several pawn tickets for watches, gold chains, &c., were found concealed in his boots. He gave his name as John Harrison, but papers in his pocket proved his name to be Isaac Davis, and that he is a minister of the gospel. A police office yesterday arrived from Philadelphia, who is after him to answer a charge of grand larceny, recently committed in that city. Information has also been received from Cincinnati, Ohio, that he there stole about $5000 worth of jewelry, for the recovery of which $500 is offered. Officer Patterson, of the Lower Police Court, after a diligent search, yesterday succeeded in finding his wife at a house in Church street. She was arrested as being a confederate in his rascality. Several gold rings were found in her possession. Any persons who have been defrauded by this man, who is tall and very black, will further the ends of justice by calling at the Police Court in the Halls of Justice. He was committed to prison for further examination.—*N. Y. Journal of Com.*

Great Will Case Decided—Slaves Liberated.—There has been for some time before the Courts at Richmond, Va., what was known as the Ragland Will Case. The Richmond Dispatch says:—

'That Will liberated 80 or 90 negroes in the midst of one of the largest slaveholding communities in the world, and devoted to their use the entire property of the testator. It was contested with all the energy which could be brought to bear upon it. The trial was conducted with the utmost circumspection; witnesses were examined and cross examined; the whole testimony was reduced to writing, so that the jury could read it all for themselves, (as we learn they did) a great portion of it;) and then the case was argued with all the ability and able and ingenious counsel were capable of exercising. After all—fully understanding the merits of the case—a jury composed almost entirely of slaveholders—every man of them having strong sympathies, at least, with slaveholders—decided in favor of the Will.'

☞ We learn from the Westchester (Pa.) Village Record, that a colored woman, convicted of theft in Chester county, and sentenced to five months imprisonment, was claimed by Mr. George McCrem, as a servant *for a term of years*. It appears she had been sold for crime for six or eight years. Her term of imprisonment expired on Friday last, but she was kept in prison till Saturday morning, had a hearing before the Commissioner, which lasted a quarter of an hour, was proved to be service, and was sent immediately into Delaware. No white person was present at the hearing, except the owner and his witnesses, the Commissioner and his Marshal, and there was no counsel for the woman present. The Record says this 'summary process' has produced much disapprobation in that neighborhood.

Free Negroes.—The County Court of Rockingham, on Tuesday, adopted some stringent provisions with regard to our free black population. They resolved to compel all that class who are not privileged by law to remain in the county to remove at once; and to permit none coming from other counties to register here.

One's sympathies and feelings are involuntarily enlisted in behalf of these degraded beings; yet their presence in our midst is evidently working incalculable evil to the slave population amongst us, and their removal is further called for by every motive of self-preservation.—*Rockingham (Va.) Register.*

BALTIMORE, June 9.

Will be Hung.—Gov. Lowe has refused to commute the sentence of the negro Green, who stands convicted on the charge of committing a heinous outrage on a white woman. He will fix the time of his execution in a few days. Great is in prison here. Great excitement prevails at Ellicott's Mills in relation to this case. There is a strong desire to lynch the prisoner.

☞ A negro belonging to a gentleman in Pendola county, Miss., who had run away, being chased, assembled a tree to the height of 25 or 30 feet, and hung himself with a leather strap.

Found Guilty of Murder.—In the City Court, Baltimore, on the 11th inst. the colored boy, George Long, charged with the murder of the boy John Rumpl, was found guilty of murder in the first degree, but recommended to the mercy of the Court.

☞ In Alexandria, Va., R. P. Andrews, an emigrant lawyer, was slapped with the back of his hand his slave boy in the mouth; one of the teeth wounded the hand between two of the knuckles, and from the effects of that wound Mr. Andrews died a few days afterwards.

☞ The venerable Dr. Nott, now in the 97th year of his age, was present at the celebration at Hartford, Ct., on the 4th inst., and closed the services in the church, by pronouncing the benediction.

☞ A Catholic Priest, 110 years of age, preached at Dayton, Ohio, a few days ago.

BOSTON, July 13.

Incendiary Fire.—Early this morning, a fire broke out in the stable of Mr. Dean, in Fulton street, destroying the building, stock, and ten horses, supposed to be the work of an incendiary. Mr. Dean is the truckman for the Providence and Boston Railroad. He was fully insured.

HOOKSETT, N. H., July 10.

Loss of Life.—Three Irishmen, who were blasting rock at this place, were instantly killed this morning by a premature explosion. A fourth was terribly mutilated. The name of two of the killed was McCarty.

☞ In New York State, 46,651 deaths occurred during the year ending July 1, 1851. Title is in Brooklyn, one second in Kings county. In Maryland, there were 5594 deaths, or one to every 60 persons. In Maine, there were 7545, or one to every 77 persons.

☞ A census just taken proves the population of Switzerland to be 2,425,000; half a million less than that of the State of New York.

☞ We have received the prospectus of a new weekly paper about to be established at Charleston, entitled 'The Southern Standard.' Its object is said to be 'the advocacy of a Southern Confederacy.' It is to be conducted by B. C. Pressley, Esq.

The Rescue Cases.—Judge Sprague has summarily disposed of the 'rescue cases,' by sending them up to the circuit court. Judge S. has sailed for Europe. He is a modern Jeffries.

South Carolina Secession Flag.—A mammoth white flag was suspended from one of the windows of the Charleston Mercury on the 4th instant, on which appeared a lone star, and a rattle snake with its head erect at the foot of a palmetto tree, as if about to strike. A portion of the military drew up before the office, presented arms, and gave nine cheers for the flag of South Carolina.

☞ William Devoe, a notorious bank robber, was arrested at Woodstock, Vt., on Saturday. He was paying money of the Dorchester and Milton Bank, stolen some time ago, and snapped a pistol and drew a knife on the officers, but was secured and locked up.

☞ Alanson Hitchcock, of Green River, Great Barrington, Mass., was found dead and headless, on the track of the Housatonic Railroad; having, as supposed, laid down with his head upon the rail, while intoxicated.

Fatal Accident.—On Saturday afternoon, while Benjamin Howard, Esq., merchant on Central Wharf, was riding in his carriage, with his wife, sister, and niece, the horses ran away, and the party were all thrown out. Mr. Howard's sister has since died from the injuries she sustained. The others were not seriously hurt.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Notice is hereby given to all Lodges Male and Female, under the jurisdiction of the National Grand Council of the United States of America, that they will meet in Grand convocation at the City of Philadelphia, Pa., on the 28th day of July, 1851, at 10 o'clock A. M., for the transaction of business. The several Lodges of I. O. of G. S. are requested to elect one delegate from their own body, as a proper representative to the Grand Council, from the past chiefs O. S. The Daughters of Samaria will also elect one Past Daughter from their Lodges, to represent themselves in Grand Council. The several Lodges are required to report to the office of the N. G. Secretary, No. 189 Reade street, City of New York, or to the office of the Right W. N. G. chief, No. 138 Locust street, Philadelphia.

All communications post paid, one week at least previous to the 28th inst., will be received.

S. VAN SCHAICK, R. W. N. G. C.
W. MILLER DEYTON, R. W. N. G. S.

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Evening Post.

NEW MEXICO—SANTA FE.

Information recently received from Santa Fe furnishes reason to apprehend that rebel chiefs there are yet determined to establish slavery in this our *free territory*. Ministers of the gospel, who cannot be persuaded to preserve silence on this great question, are to be intimidated or driven from the country. The attempt has already been made on one of this class, who recently went to New Mexico from the State of Ohio. A gentleman who is reported to be a slaveholder waited upon him, and with a good deal of apparent solicitude for his welfare, sought to dissuade him from any efforts against the establishment of slavery in the territory. His requests were respectfully declined. The remainder of the interview we give in the narrative of the minister himself:

"Then,' said he, 'the mob will be upon you; they are talking of taking you out and inflicting violence upon you.' I told him I did not covet a martyr's fate, but I hoped I should not shrink from it, if it became necessary to bear it in the line of duty; that I knew my rights as an American citizen and a man, and I knew how to maintain them; that I never yet had surrendered any one of those rights at the dictation of a mob, and I never would do so but with my life. He then told me that 'they were willing to pay my expenses back to the States; if *I would come*.' I replied that I felt very thankful to the gentlemen who had so generously offered to draw upon their own resources, or were willing to do so, for my benefit; but I could not think of taking such an advantage of a generous impulse. 'Well,' said he, 'you must take your own course then, and abide the consequence.' I told him I should certainly take the liberty to do so, though I felt much obliged to him for his deep interest in my behalf; and here we parted. I have heard nothing further from the mob."

The gentleman was made to realize how great an obstacle slavery presented to the preaching of the gospel. When threats of violence failed of accomplishing their purpose, a more secret undermining process was resorted to. The attempt was first made to deprive him of a place for preaching, and subsequently to prevent the attendance of hearers. For a time this appeared to promise success, but we learn, more recently, that a way was about being opened for exerting a more widely extended influence than he had anticipated.

Besides attempting to exclude from the territory every thing that would tend to bring the peculiar institution into disrepute, industrious efforts were made to prevent the sending out of such information as would be likely to encourage emigration from the Northern States. The following passage will account for some of the reports now in circulation:

"This of course would leave it entirely at the disposal of slaveholders, who will fill it up as fast as they can. Before I left Missouri, this influence was brought to bear on me. It was more than once said, 'If you write for the newspapers after you get out there, *don't say anything good of New Mexico*.' Startling accounts of its barrenness and sterility were given, which, if I had fully believed them, would have led me to believe that a single blade of grass might have begged in vain through the whole territory for nourishment enough to maintain its single summer. These stories have been repeated to me since my arrival here, until I have learned how to estimate them."

Our informant describes the country as consisting in part of mountains, inarkable indeed, but supposed to be rich in minerals—gold, silver, lead, copper, quicksilver and coal but in part, also, of as fertile arable land as is to be found anywhere. He says:

"The cultivation of the soil is carried on with comparatively little labor, and as a grazing country it has perhaps no equal. In a portion of the territory, I have been informed, cotton grows as finely, and yields as well as in any of the cotton-growing States. The Navajo Indians raise as fine wheat and corn as is to be found, perhaps, any where in the States, and with scarcely any labor whatever."

The Pueblo Indians are likely to be in the way of the slaveholder, and must therefore be deprived of the rights of citizenship. He thus speaks of them:

"There is no man, I presume, of intelligence, acquainted with the facts, who will not be forced to acknowledge that the Pueblo Indians are among the better portion of the New Mexican population. They are more intelligent; more industrious and economical, as harmless and inoffensive, and far more virtuous than the mass of the Mexicans; superior to them in almost every element essential to the character of a good citizen. Why, then, are they to be stricken from the list of citizens, and placed upon the list with the Apaches, Navajoes and Camanches? The reason is very obvious. With that native love of freedom which burns in the bosom of an Indian, like the vigil fires of his own Montezuma, there is no hope that they can ever be won over to the support of a system which even the untutored savage seldom practises but from motives of revenge. If admitted to citizenship, they might prove a trouble-some element, when it might be thought advisable to form a State Constitution. And yet if, with all this gross injustice and outrage, the poor Indian grows a little restive, and shows an unlovely spirit, nothing but *assimilation* has it reward for its ingratitude."

The Navajoes are another class of Indians that are like to suffer from the rapacity of the white population. They have possessions quite too valuable to be consistent with their own safety. After stating that, according to the *custom* of the country, all the Indian captives taken in war may be, and usually are, retained in slavery, our informant says:

"You will have noticed that almost all the reports of Indian depredations are charged to the account of the *Navajoes*. I myself was deceived for a time by these reports, and gave a considerable prominence to them, in some of my letters. Why is almost all the mischief done by the Navajoes? Why was *Naboth* such a naughty fellow in the eyes of Ahab and Jezebel? The Navajoes have a pleasant vineyard, (for they are the best agriculturists in the territory,) that we would like very much to cultivate. The slaveholder has been there, and looked upon their luxuriant corn-fields, and the golden beauty of their wheat-fields, and he made his calculations upon the profits those fields would yield if cultivated by his slaves. We have Ahab's covetousness, without the redeeming trait of his generosity; for he would have paid almost any price for the vineyard of Naboth, and have taken peaceable possession, but he wouldn't sell me. We make no such offer, but get up a Jezebel pretext of extermination, that we may curse that fair free soil with the groans and tears of slavery. This diabolical deed is deemed necessary for the security of slavery here, and it will be done, if it can possibly be accomplished.

"The more merciful policy of a removal might be resorted to, as in the Florida and Georgia affairs, but this is impossible for want of a place to which to remove them. We have no more land to spare for Indian purposes, so that the proposition resolves itself into something like the following syllogism:

"It is necessary for the existence and the security of our peculiar institution in New Mexico and Utah, that the wild hands of Indians should be put out of the way, either by removal or extermination;

"But we cannot remove them;

"*Therefore*, we must exterminate them.' It is expected that we shall shield ourselves from the burning scorn of an outraged community by hatching up and publishing a poetry-tale, stories of tragical outrages committed by the Indians upon the *inoffensive* and *peaceable* whites. But a few days since, a rumor came in here from a settlement some 40 or 50 miles distant, with a horrid report of an Indian invasion and murder. Major Kendrick was immediately despatched with a small military detachment to the place, where they found, indeed, that a man had been *killed*, but could find no evidence upon which they could rely, that there had been an Indian in the neighborhood.

"Do not understand me as saying there are no *such depredations committed*. There are such, and sometimes very terrible, all in the cause that have occurred upon the plains within the last two years. And these depredations ought to be stopped; but let the God of humanity, and not the devil, direct in the work. From these accounts of Indian depredations are, in a multitude of instances, not in the one given above, highly exaggerated, and that from sinister motives, there can be no doubt."

As to his own plans and duties, he says further:

"They will hedge up my way by every possible device, so as to prevent me from making a survey of the country, and finding out its agricultural, manufacturing and mineral advantages. They will send their forewarning in every direction, to every point, *to prepare the way before me* by hedging it up. The more wealthy of the Mexicans—the peon-holders—can be easily persuaded that the same agency that would abolish slavery, would also abolish peonage, and I believe they are now as stubbornly bent upon the perpetuation of that system, as the slaveholders are in regard to this. Taking all these things into consideration, I sometimes feel as if it were a useless expenditure of *my time* and your money longer to stay here, and are very much inclined to pull up stakes and go home; but then the thought recurs, 'Who then will be left here to lift up his voice for freedom? *Not one!*' and I cannot bear the idea of giving up the field so. I have, however, felt it to be my duty, to give a plain statement of the facts in the case. I suppose there will be several families out here this spring, bringing their slaves with them. *That* is to be the policy. They will not at first bring as much here in large numbers, so that would arouse the suspicion of the Mexicans, but families will move in, bringing their *domestics* with them, thus gradually familiarizing them with the thing, and paving the way for larger importations. The fact is, I do not believe that this territory will ever be a free State by the action of its population, unless there should be a large immigration from the North. Unless the freemen of the North will place themselves upon the broad platform of no more slave States, and stand by it, in my humble judgment the last hope of arresting slavery domination is extinguished, and we may either prepare ourselves meekly to bear the yoke in future, or cast it off, as our fathers did, by revolution. It is of no use longer to shut our eyes to the light because it is painful. The question of slavery has ceased to be one in relation to the negro race, though that was enough to invest it with infinite interest. It has reached its culminating point, and the question now to settle is, shall the white freemen of the North bafreemen indeed, or shall they submit themselves to a vassalage more degrading than negro slavery, because voluntarily assumed?"

KIDNAPPING OF A CITIZEN OF NEW BEDFORD IN VIRGINIA.

The following letter has been received in New Bedford from Capt. Elisha Card, of the brig British Commerce, directed to Mr. Benjamin T. Sanford.

PORTSMOUTH, Va., June 23, 1851.

Mr. Benjamin T. Sanford—

DEAR SIR,—I address you a few lines concerning Thomas Scott Johnson, a colored man, who is now with me in the British brig Commerce, of Windso, Nova Scotia, at which place I shipped him. Being bound for Alexandria, I got my vessel ashore at Wreck Island where Johnson was apprehended a slave, and having no free papers with him, would he been taken away, had I not signed a bond for five hundred dollars to deliver him myself, if no certificate of his freedom could be obtained in New Bedford, where he says he was born and brought up. The Justina of the Peace promised me that he would write immediately to the people of New Bedford, named to him by Johnson, but I have heard nothing about him. I am now in Norfolk, with my vessel getting repaired, have discharged all my crew except Johnson. He says his mother's name is Mary Scott Johnson, No. 91 South Water street, New Bedford. If you will see her and get a certificate of his freedom, it will save me trouble and set him at liberty. I shall be here for 8 or 10 days yet, or a sufficient time to get an answer. I should feel sorry to see him sold as a slave, as he appears a sober, steady fellow. I have no doubt that he was born as free as myself, but unless he can show up and pay the costs, he must inevitably be sold.

Johnson also refers to Mrs. Sarah Coffin, Capt. Edmund Gardner, and William C. Tabor, who will, he says, testify to his freedom.

Yours with great respect,

ELISHA CARD.

From the New Bedford Standard.

The statement of Johnson is true. It bears the stamp of truth upon its face. It is evident at a glance that he is a free man, a native born citizen of this commonwealth, and a reckless impostor. But since the receipt of a letter here, it has been ascertained by sufficient inquiries, that the facts of his case are as his states them; that he was born and brought up here, and that his parents are free. He has at this moment as much a right to freedom as have those wretches who would enslave him, to say the least.

It is gratifying to be able to state that immediately on the receipt of the letter here, the case was investigated, that enquiries were found here who were acquainted with Johnson; that the necessary documents for establishing the facts of his freedom were promptly made out and forwarded, and that in consequence he is doubtless secure against falling a victim to this very "peculiar institution," until a fair or similar case of exposure to the clutches of the monster Slavery occurs. We trust that the case may re-awaken every tree lover of freedom in Massachusetts to an united, vigorous, overwhelming effort to put down this man-oppressing, slave-hunting, odious administration, with all its supporters and abettors.

By the passage of the Kidnapping Law of 1850, and by the support given to it by Northern statesmen from Webster downwards, who told us that "we must conquer our prejudices," the slave power has been emboldened to visit as with fresh injuries and insults, till now, as seen in the above instance, tigerlike, they are seizing the free, native born citizens of Massachusetts, to drag them off to a doom far worse than ordinary death.

A FREEMAN IN JAIL.

A colored man, named Frank Jackson, son of Elijah Jackson, of New Castle, formerly of Mercer, is now confined in Lancaster Jail, in Virginia, as a fugitive slave. Frank went north a drover, returned to Virginia since, to Richmond. While there, they sold him as a slave, without his knowledge, to a slaveholder named Jones. He escaped from the possession of Jones, but was arrested in a neighboring county, and committed to jail in Lancaster. An attorney of that place, named W. A. Glass, has written to Mercer and to New Castle for certificates, as evidence that Frank is a freeman. These have been forwarded from this place and from New Castle. Jackson is rather deficient in natural talents, and hence might easily be made the dupe of a scoundrel.

Every old citizen of Mercer knows that Frank was born free; but whether he will ever be restored to his birthright again, we suppose is doubtful. This is another precious illustration of the blessings of "our peculiar institution."—*Free Presbyterian.*

WHO ARE SLAVES?

BY FRANCES D. GAGE.

I would not hear to be a slave,
To do another's will,
To move whene'er he said I must,
And when he bade stand still—
To think, to feel, to speak, to act,
Beneath a lord's control,
As if my God had never given
To me a living soul.
Not all of California's gold
Could tempt to such a fate;
'Twould cloud all my heart with bitterness,
With malice, pride and hate.
And I would never be a slave
To passion's venom power,
Nor barter love, and hope, and health,
For pleasures of an hour;
The sparkling wine, to inebriate's cup,
The tempter's glittering snare,
Oh! grant, kind Heaven, it o'er be mine
Such servitude to bear.

A slave—a slave—what! is a slave?
A man with fetters bound;
One whose free spirit is a master's lash,
Like some vile cringing hound:
A man whom *freemen's law* has doomed
Though years to serve another,
His life, his labor, and his soul,
The chattel of his brother.

Yes, these are slaves, poor wretched slaves,
Down trodden and oppressed;
All powerless they to help themselves,
Unpitied and unblest,
Upon their brow is stamped by heaven
A bond that seals their doom,
And freemen for the darkness given
Shroud all their life in gloom.

There is a slave more abject still
Than passion's child of sin,
Or even he who bears the bond
Of a dark tinted skin.
Yes, there are slaves, poor cringing slaves,
That tread Columbia's soil,
That sell their very souls for gold,
For party, and for spoil—
That bind themselves with fetters far
More galling than a chain,
That stoop and lick a tyrant world
Put shackles on the brain—
That dare not speak the bold, free thought,
That struggles from within,
Lest they offend some tyrant lord,
Who gives his aid to sin.
No fetters gall their weary limbs,
No law controls their will,
Yet are they mean and abject slaves?
Poor cringing menials still.

The darkest race from Africa's sands
That ever was bought or sold,
Is not so vast as he who sells
Himself, for place or gold—
Who puts out all his spirit fires,
Nor dares one spark to save
Of justice, mercy, love and truth,
But lives and dies a slave.

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS.

At a meeting of the colored citizens of Chicago, held on Monday evening, June 9th, 1851, in the A. M. Episcopal Church, on Jackson street, Alexander Smith was called to the Chair, and B. L. Ford appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting was then stated by the Chairman. It was to the effect, that the meeting take into consideration the property at standing means with which to purchase some suitable article to be presented to E. C. Larned and George Manierre, Esqs., as testimonials of our regard for their able and efficient exertions in behalf of Moses Johnson, claimed as a fugitive from slavery.

Resolutions were then taken up and all present freely donated. And here let us do justice to the ladies, who came promptly forward, and generally put in their mite.

On motion,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to purchase Two Silver cups, and to have engraved upon them, an appropriate inscription in accordance with the event which they are intended to commemorate.

B. L. Ford, G. W. Johnson, and Alexander Smith, were appointed said committee.

After further consideration, on motion,—

Resolved, That H. O. Wagoner, Wm. Johnson, and A. T. Hall be appointed a special committee to prepare an address to E. C. Larned and George Manierre, Esqs., expressive of the sense of the meeting, and said address to be reported to an adjourned meeting on Monday evening next.

On motion,

Resolved, That this meeting tender their sincere and grateful acknowledgements to L. C. P. Freer and C. D. Wolf, Esqs. for their generous and able services rendered in the late fugitive slave case above mentioned.

On motion, the meeting adjourned to meet at this place on the above mentioned evening.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

Met, pursuant to adjournment, Monday evening, June 16th, 1851, Alexander Smith in the Chair, and B. L. Ford, Secretary.

The following address was then read and adopted, and B. L. Ford and Alexander Smith appointed to present the cups and address to E. C. Larned and George Manierre, Esqs.

ALEXANDER SMITH, *Chairman.*

B. L. Ford, *Secretary.*

Chicago, Ill., June 16, 1851.

To E. C. Larned and George Manierre, Esqs.:

GENTLEMEN:—Your inestimable services, rendered in the late fugitive slave case, as counsel for the defence, and the success with which your labors have been crowned, have called forth the deepest emotions of gratitude, on the part of the colored citizens of Chicago; and we, therefore, wish to express our gratitude, by presenting to each of you a silver cup, hoping, gentlemen, that you will receive them, not as a compensation, but as tokens of the high regard which we feel for you, as lovers of liberty.

We also feel gratified, gentlemen, to think the law has been observed, and order maintained, while at the same time the slaveholder has been defeated, and liberty has triumphed: and that the best feeling exists on the part of the citizens, all of which, we think, will tend to strengthen the cause of freedom in Chicago.

With considerations of the highest respect, we are, gentlemen, Yours, truly,

H. O. WAGONER,
WM. JOHNSON,
A. T. HALL,
} *Committee.*

Chicago, June 19, 1851.

Messrs. H. O. Wagoner, Wm. Johnson, A. T. Hall, Committee:

Your letter of the 16th inst., in behalf of the colored citizens of Chicago, with the accompanying silver cups, has been received.

The services alluded to by you in the recent fugitive slave case, were rendered by us as an act of duty, without expectation or desire of compensation. In consequence of the absence of the senior members of the bar and of other circumstances, the responsibility of the trial devolved upon us; and we are sufficiently rewarded for any labor which we have bestowed in the cause, by its fortunate termination.

We would in this consideration as a matter of justice, acknowledge the obligations we are under to Great Goodrich and J. M. Wilson, Esqs., for valuable counsel and suggestions made by them during the progress of the trial.

We accept with gratification the silver cups accompanied with your letter, and shall take pleasure in preserving them as a memento of the united triumph of liberty and law in the first fugitive slave case in Chicago. Very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

E. C. LARNED,
GEO. MANIERRE.

SHAMEFUL ELOQUENCE.

The *Samoman*, the Organ of the American Israelites, published in New York, has the following "Irish Climax," in its issue of July 4th:—

"Can there be a more appropriate time to calmly and dispassionately examine the actual position of this great republic, then on the 4th of July, the second Anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence?

On the face of the globe is there a more thriving and prosperous country than the United States of America? Honored and respected abroad, and hourly augmenting its population and riches at home, yet there is one foul Fiend which stalks among us, whose presence, although greatly mitigated the good sense of the people, is still sufficient to call forth all our energies for its final and utter extinction. *Abolitionism*, backed by British Agents, still raises its traitorous head, howling for the abolition of that slavery which was left as a legacy to us by Great Britain, and which she, from mingled feelings of revenge and envy, masked by a pretended philanthropy, uses as a means of creating *Dissension* among us.

There—'Old Nick' couldn't beat that. We thought we heard the gods of Tartarus cackle when we read it. America, glorious America! She has but one cancer in her system; but one element of dissolution; but one cloud in her firmament; but one dark spot in her moral and political horizon; one only or chief evil to fear;—and that—and that is ANTI-SLAVERY!!! The doctrine that 'Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness,' are the *inalienable* rights of all men,—and that if every, which robs millions of our fellow-citizens of their rights ought, by moral and constitutional means, to be abolished,—this doctrine is American apostacy! the element of unthrift, weakness and dissolution at home, and of shame and reproach to our reputation abroad! Aye, slavery, good old slavery forever! This is the rock of our national strength; the bond of our Union; the element of prosperity and peace at home, and the crowning grace which shall make us honored and respected abroad!

Well done, Mr. Israelite! Had not our government better make slaves of you and all your people we can catch? For this we might plead 'some sanction from the word of God, which declares that you shall be trodden under foot of all nations!' Jehovah never sold this of the Africans.—*Boston Christian Freeman.*

AMERICAN FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

At a meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, held at Lloyd's Hotel, May 27, 1851, James Lambkin, Esq., Mayor of Cork, in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Proposed by Andrew F. Roche, Alderman, J. P., seconded by Alexander King, Independent minister:

Resolved—1. That we have observed, with pain and sorrow, the course pursued by the Legislature of the United States with reference to slavery, and hereby express our deep abhorrence of some of its recent enactments, more especially the iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law, passed during the last session of Congress, which affords so strong an evidence of the continued and determined opposition of that government to a course consistant with justice and mercy, that we cannot but consider it a flagrant aversence in an unrighteous system, which has long proved to be not less at variance with the sound-est principles of enlightened policy, than repugnant to the plain obligations of morality and religion.

Proposed by Richard Dowden, (Bd.) Alderman, seconded by Nicholas Peterson:

Resolved—2. That we desire to express our hearty sympathy with the millions of our oppressed fellow-men still held in chains in that land of boasted freedom, as well as with the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout America, whom we would fain cheer on in their arduous struggle on behalf of suffering humanity, amid the difficulties and perils which surround them; and earnestly beseech our fellow-professors of the Christian name in that country, to plead for them with a normous evil, and to afford every assistance to those noble-minded men who are laboring to efface from the national escutcheon so deep and foul a stain.

Proposed by Wm. Deeble, seconded by Farmer Lloyd:

Resolved—3. That these resolutions be advertised in, one of the three leading Cork papers, as well as in a leading journal in Dublin and London; and that the Secretary be directed to take steps to have them published as extensively as possible in the United States newspaper press, and also transmit a copy to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

JAMES LAMBKIN, Mayor of Cork, *Chairman.*

SAMUEL BEALE, *Secretary.*

Cork, May 30, 1851.

MR. WEBSTER ON THE UNION.

Under the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol, Mr. Webster on July 4th deposited a paper in his own handwriting, containing the following excellent sentence:—

"If, therefore, it shall be thereafter the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base, that its foundation stone be uptorned, and the deposit beneath this stone be brought to the eyes of men, be it then known, that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm—that their Constitution is still unimpaired, and with all its original usefulness and glory, growing every day stronger and stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people and attracting more and more the admiration of the world."

If, then, the Union this day stands firm, it is not to be admitted for an instant that it has had any hard jar, or been in any serious danger of any sort for the past five years at least. This being the case, the Union Committee of Safety and the entire Union party have been engaged in doing business under false pretences, and deserve to be exposed and held up to public reprehension. The thanks of the country are due to Mr. Webster for doing it so handsomely and unsparingly.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

MR. WEBSTER'S PLATFORM.

In October, 1848, less than three years ago, Daniel Webster went down to Abington, and made a speech in a place called 'Island Grove'; in which he said:

"I have said, gentlemen, that in this Buffalo platform, the collect of the new school, there is nothing new. Nothing has been pointed out as new. There is nothing in it that all the Whigs of the Middle and Northern States may not adopt.

Gentlemen, it is well known that there is nothing in the Buffalo platform, which, in general, does not meet the approbation, and the entire sympathies, of all the Whigs of the Middle and Northern States. Suppose, now that all of us who are Whigs should go and join the Free Soil party, what would be the result? Why, so far, nothing would happen but that the Whig party would have changed its name. That would be all. Instead of being the Whig party, it would be the Free Soil party. We should be all there, exactly upon the same principles upon which we have already stood; but then they propose to go further, and do that which I agree would be a great change, that is, to put Mr. Van Buren at the head of the Whig party!" (Laughter and applause.)

So, according to Mr. Webster, in 1848, there was no difference between him and his Whig party and the Free Soil party, except the new one to be voted for. He claimed to be, at that time, as good a Free Soiler as the best of them. The Plymouth Rock revives this portion of his 'Island Grove' speech; it is a political curiosity, worthy the notice of those who are now giving him a *third* nomination for the presidency.—*Worcester Palladium.*

NOMINEE. The Democratic State Convention which put in nomination Levi Woodbury for the Presidency, gave utterance to the following nonsense:

Resolved, That *unconditional obedience* to the constituted laws of the land, *is the duty of every citizen*, to support and defend them is his highest glory, and nothing else so much as this can tend to make his country prosperous and distinguished among the nations.

Unconditional obedience, is the doctrine of despots and slaves. Equally to the 'highest glory' of the citizen, there may be some difference of opinion. In some States, 'the constituted laws of the land' authorize lotteries; in others, corporations injurious to the common weal; in others, whipping and the pillory; in others, they impose disqualifications on account of religion; in this District, for example, they exclude a Jew from the privilege of appearing as a lawyer in any court. Is it the 'highest glory' of the citizen to defend these laws? Just as truly as it is his 'highest glory' to catch runaway slaves, in obedience to the mandate of the late Congress.—*National Era.*

EXCELSIOR.

BY THOMPSON HOCKETSTOWN.

The shades of night were falling fast,
When through our quiet city passed
A lass, whose slumber obstrusive
Reminds me of the quaint device,
Excelsior!

Her brow was glad, her skirts beneath,
Unsolled by mud, hung scant and brief,
And with a joyful murmur rung
The accents of her silver tongue,
Excelsior!

'Try not the dress!' the old folks said,
'The rabble's scornful shout we dread,
The gutter's filth we can abide,
But firm that silver voice replied,
Excelsior!

'Oh stop!' the dry goods merchant said,
'You'll save your dress and spoil my trade!'
A smile lurked in her bright blue eye,
But still came back the firm reply,
Excelsior!

Thus in the twilight cold and grey,
Pray and rest the west her way,
And to the sky across and fair,
A gladsome shout did rend the air,
Excelsior!

The Impartial Citizen.

S. R. WARD AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS. THE WISDOM WHICH IS FROM ABOVE IS WITHOUT PARTIALITY. VOLUME 3, NUMBER 8.

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From the Liberator.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

Delivered at the Celebration of West India Emancipation, at Worcester, August 1, 1851.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.

Mr. Phillips said.—This is the First of August; a day in which, as Lamartine said, 'Wilberforce went up to the throne of God with eight hundred thousand broken fetters in his hand.' It is one of the very noblest days, it seems to me, in the history of nations—one that, in all its significance, can hardly be paralleled. I never think of it without feeling that all the circumstances of West India emancipation have a tendency to deep-stain the character of our country. We are celebrating, just now, in Paris and London, the Fourth of July, as the great American festival. It is astonishing that an American should have the face to celebrate the Fourth of July in the presence of Europe, we have so forgotten the lessons of that day, forgotten the false pretences on which we gained the sympathy of the world. I recollect, in the occasions of the 1st of August, 1834,—of which our friend Mr. Bowditch has been telling us,—that, in all the West India Islands, the only persons who doubted the safety of the experiment were Americans! The children of those men who had proclaimed that all men were created equal—that it was safe to leave people to govern themselves—that there was no need of troops to aid in keeping down any class of mankind—that man may be trusted with himself—it was this very nation that doubted the great experiment of liberty! We are told that in one of the harbors of Antigua, I think, on the evening preceding the first of August, there was an American brig, of which the captain and the sailors were so afraid of their lives, that at midnight, on the 31st of July, they put to sea, and stood off cannon shot from the shore, to meet the first of August, and witness, in safety, the scenes of carnage and confusion which they were certain would ensue. I should like to have seen that brig as it sneaked back in the morning. How it must have looked, with the star-spangled banner at the mast-head, and the story of peaceful emancipation in every man's mouth! And this was the emblem of American sympathy and confidence in the ability of men to govern themselves! This was the quota that a Yankee brig offered to the great World's Exhibition of 1834, as evidence of our capacity to understand social questions!

There is one point of view in which we may profitably look at this day, at such a crisis of our cause as the present. Great Britain is a monarchy; it has an established church; it has an hereditary peerage; it has, they say, an ignorant lower class; it has all the ignorance and conservatism of a false government, and a degraded people;—still, the institutions of Great Britain have produced a first of August. Great Britain, burdened with all the mistakes of her Government and the ignorance of her people, was able, *as a Government*, to emancipate 800,000 slaves. It is a testimony to the efficiency of a monarchy to perform the first duty of a State—the education of the citizen. Now, my friends, we have got to show, on this side the water, that republicanism is as effective. Mr. Webster is fond of quoting the lines of *Sir William Jones*:—

'What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlements or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
Not bays and broad armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not star'd and spangled courts,
Where low-bowed baseness wafts perfume to pride.
No—Man, high-minded Man,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude:
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain:
Prevent the long-aim'd blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain!
These constitute a State;
And Solomon's Law, that State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.'

It is the education of such men that is the important result of such institutions.

The English Government educated men virtuous or wise enough to emancipate slaves. Can we do as much? This is the question of the nineteenth century to our nation. We are held up as the model of free institutions to Europe. What is the worth of institutions? It is in what they can do. We have done nothing as yet. The Government of the United States, after all the praise it has received, has done nothing as yet. Shakspeare says, 'When the sea is calm, all ships alike show masterpiece in floating.' It is no praise to a government, that it keeps the people quiet in time of peace, and when every thing is prosperous. It is the ship that outrides the storm, the pilot that carries us safe through strange and perilous seas, that deserves our gratitude. Now, we have seen nothing yet in this country that deserves the name of a critical period. We have seen nothing to stir the secret and most profound depths of society. We have been called to no great national act of sacrifice or effort. We have been easily and uniformly successful. We have gathered wealth from every sea and from every wind. We have reeled on from one degree of prosperity to another, until the nation is drunk with success. We have spread out on all sides, until no neighbor dares to stand up against us. And in this easy sea, our Ship of State has sailed well. A Chinese junk would have been puzzled to do otherwise. The poorest cable could have held us together, when every thing tended to union; and when every man's voice was one of self-satisfaction and rejoicing. It is when angry men begin to recriminate, when great interests begin to clash, when the different classes of society begin to crash and jostle against each other, like mighty vessels in a storm—then it is that the trial hour is at hand. 'If the girdle that binds us together then be strong, we are safe;' if the regard for law, 'the weight of calm,' is sufficient to keep down the tempest and enable us to outride it in peace, then we have a government worth prising. We can add to this another test, if, when a great national effort is required, there are men and women able to make its; if the pulpit and the school, the forum and the market-place, have produced *men*, then we are doubly secure; men such as the old Greek meant when he went over Athens with his lantern, and his neighbors asked him what he was in search of. 'A man,' said he, 'and I can't find him.' If they have produced men, then the institutions are worth having. But if, when the crisis comes, every one plays the traitor, and the only cry heard is 'the craven and selfish one, 'The Union is going to pieces;' if, when a Letter is required, it is found that the institutions of the country have been inefficient to form him; if, when the voice of some one speaking, regardless of self-interest, a rebuke for a whole people is wanted, the schools and the churches have been unable to produce him, then the government is a failure. It was well said by Dr. Crosby, when analyzing the causes of the French Revolution, that the church must have been false, and society was rotten, for when the tempest began to howl over France, there were none capable of conducting the public affairs of the nation, and they were confided to men dissolute in private life, and incompetent in public, till the throne and the altar went down in blood.

Now, how do we stand? When our fathers needed men in 1775, the churches (the Edwards and Hopkins) and schools of Boston, the former where Otis had spoken and Adams had led, gave them men, ready for every sacrifice, single-eyed; ready to sever a government; ready, for the right, again

——'to launch their Mayflower,
And steer boldly through the desperate winter sea.'

We have a great cause, but where are the men? Where are the politicians? Where is the pulpit, with its stern and rigid adherence to principle, at the present hour? When Wilberforce summoned the virtue of the nation to his side, England not only produced a Clarkson, a Heyrick, a George Thompson, a Buxton, but 800,000 men and women to stand up behind them. The Garrisons and Chapmans are not the produce of institutions; they are born of instive and inherent vigor; often in spite of institutions. But when you look around for the multitude to answer to their call, if they come, the nation has done its work; and if they do not come, these institutions are a failure. Such is the test by which I would try this much-praised nation of ours. Has it given us statesmen? Has it given us divines? Has it given us heroic men? Neither! Instead of statesmen, we have politicians, who so little understand their office that they do not know who holds the helm of government. Mr. Webster calls our movement, with the intention of belittling it, a 'rub-a-dub agitation'; a 'going about from schoolhouse to school-house, and stirring up men and women for no purpose.' 'It is the work of fanatics,' exclaims he. Yes, it is the work of fanatics; and so is Mr. Webster a fanatic at the present moment. The only difference between him and ourselves is this:—He is a fanatic for tyranny, and we are fanatics for liberty; he is a fanatic on the wrong side, and we on the right. (Cheers.) Anti-slavery 'rub-a-dub agitation'! Where has there been a 'rub-a-dub agitation' from town to town—yes, from railroad station to station—in the State of New York, more inefficient than his own? And he imagines, perhaps, because he perpetually hobbles of railroads and harbors, fishing smacks and cotton mills, that he is *the statesman!* and it is his hand on the helm that steadies her, 'with an upright keel.' We are too petty for his notice, too abstract to exert any influence! No man that speaks fails to exert a political influence. *We* are politicians at this moment. We cannot be otherwise. Men describe us as the moral-suasion party—as men seeking only to exert a moral influence. Impossible! No men who raises his voice in the nation can fail to influence the civil character of the country. Why, there sits a man, (turning to Mr. Garrison,) who has done more than a horde of Websters to influence and ameliorate the civil institutions of the United States, and to determine the fate of the Union. (Tremendous cheering.) Because it is of very few men to that they know the difference between a Whig and a Democrat, between a tariff and internal improvements, between those questions that relate to property; what is manly and what is craven—these are the questions on which the great common mind broods everlastingly, through all ages; ideas on these points see the capital of the masses. Such ideas are at once the pleasure and the pride of the men and women of the country in which they live—on which they vote, on which they trade, in which they are poor or rich, happy or miserable, progressive or going backward. Men are selfish enough for themselves, and can do and defend the meanest act, without a blush, to advantage themselves. But this must selfish of us are keen-sighted enough to discern and despise the selfishness that only enriches somebody else. So the verdict of a whole people hardly ever fails, in time, to mark with scorn a base act or a cruel law. He, therefore, who, on questions like these, trusts himself to the common sympathies of mankind—whose downright correctness of conscience is confident fidelity to what is high and manly, turn all beside aside to himself—he is the true Representative Statesman of an age; and his is the spirit that will pass into and take possession of the people, jostling aside all petty issues of politics or property.

I read, in the *Commonwealth*, of this morning, an article, from the Boston *Atlas*, which the editor of the *Commonwealth* says expresses the sentiments of the Free Soil party. In this extract, Colonel Schouler says—'We act only on the defensive. The Whig party has never sought to act on the aggressive. It only asks to be let alone. It only asks to have this element of slavery taken out of politics'—or something to this effect. Now, this is not abolition! (Loud cheers.) It neither asks to be let alone, nor does it consent to let any body else alone. (Renewed cheers.) We profess to be aggressive; we mean to be aggressive. So long as A beats down the rights of B, we are as was with A. If there is a law in the country that undertakes to rob a man of his rights, we do not mean to let that law alone. We mean to disobey it while it lasts, and to wipe it out from the Statute Book just as soon as we can. (Loud cheers.) The *political* element of anti-slavery, if it exist at all, must, I know, be defensive, and defensive only; it is not possible, at the present moment, to organize a political party on the aggressive movement—that is, a technically political party. We are not ready yet to be *such* politicians. The day will come, when we can be politicians. The day will come, when we shall just as naturally be politicians—go into the ballot-box and into the election just as naturally and directly as we now go into the churches and the religious questions. The man who attempts to place himself to that position now, must of necessity compromise his principles. He cannot profess to believe that all men are created equal, and act openly and rigidly upon that principle, with any hope of political success. The harvest is not yet ready to be reaped—it is not yet white. We are not yet ready for the action that requires a distinct political anti-slavery organization. The political work that calls us to claim, of all men and parties, in opposition to the policy of the *Commonwealth*, that this question of slavery shall be made the great political question—that it shall cut every other political well-cut question up. Educate the people to demand this bread—and every political party will haste to bake its surplus dough to suit the market. (Cheers.)

The policy of some men is to go about and convert Dr. Smyle (to whose address Mr. Phillips had alluded) to a better exegesis of Scripture, in the hopes that he will then come and help us in freeing the slaves. The policy of some reformers is to convert Daniel Webster to an understanding of the true value of the Union. The policy of some is to bring Dr. Dewey to repentance, and then ask him to help us. (I wonder, by the way, if, when Dr. Dewey discovered that it was his duty, as a citizen, to save the Union by sending his mother into slavery, he ever thought to ask himself whether it was not the duty of a son to save his mother by going back himself. This alternative does not seem to have entered his mind.) It has been the policy of some men to convert these gentlemen, and then hope that they will be with us. This is not the policy of anti-slavery. Men's ideas of politics, and their ideas of Christianity, square very much with the facts around them. Theories are of a very thin and gassy quality. They have no very substantial character; and if you will once get an ugly, solid fact sot in the centre of the community, it will always jostle those fine-spun theories right and left. No matter what method, provided it be an honest one, you use; go to work and free the slaves, and when you have got them free, the man who believes the Old Testament will find out that the negroes did not descend from Ham, and that they are not at all in similar circumstances; and the believers in the New will discover that Paul did not send back Onesimus to slavery. They will find the law, if you will find the evidence. It is not for us to trouble ourselves at all about interpretations of the Constitution or the Scriptures. Get the slaves free, and the Scriptures and the Constitution will fall readily into place. Lawyers and ministers are not obstinate men at all. So claible souls, they see known always to swim with the current. The most pliable and compliant men of the community, they never stand out against their own interests. Men will only make it necessary to find more law, the law will be sent for you. When Thomas Sims stood in the Court House of Boston, there was simple law to set him free; and the Chorus might have found law enough, if they had wished to. If State street had spoken the word, Chief Justice Shaw would have found the logic. No man, after that case, will ever retain the fond idea that in Massachusetts, law is any thing but the reflection, at one remove further than the press, of the opinion of the dominant party or class. Create such a clashing of the great interests of society as shall free the slaves, and courts will call for you, from the simple and somewhat miscellaneous repository of the Commonwealth, any principle you wish to sanction it; and the pulpit will make haste to claim for the Bible the credit of the anti-slavery agitation. I will guarantee that you shall find clergymen ready to exhume Drs. Bethune, Dewey, Cox, Smylie, etc., just as soon as anti-slavery shall be as popular in America as it was in England in 1834. Let these men stand, therefore, as evidence of what the corrupt institutions of America produced in 1851, and let us give those heed to our work. These men are but manufacturing an article for the market; we have got to change the market, and then we shall have a different commodity.

Why, look a moment as the law appeals that our greatest statesman, as he is called, makes—the selfish passions and interests upon which he harps. Mr. Webster has been writing to Cape Cod, and has been making speeches in Virginia, for the salvation of the Union. To what does he appeal for the preservation of this invaluable Union, to which Charles Sumner alludes also in his letter to the Legislature? It is easy to wrap up any base thing in fine words; it is a great gain to dress up a sordid appeal in glowing language; it is a great thing to cover wrong with pleasant terms. I remember the case of an old clergyman up here in Pepperell, who, having obtained leave of absence from his parish, sent a young man to supply his pulpit. The youngster was something of a sporting turn, and fished, and shot, and took the amusements of his people, all out of the pulpit. The people thought that he was not much of a minister, and when the old clergyman returned, he asked his deacon how he liked his deputy. 'Not at all,' said he; 'if you could not send us a good man, you might at least have sent us a hypocrite.' (Laughter.) Well, there was sound philosophy in the answer of the deacon. And these men who laud the Union, why, they dwell in such a glorious, cloud-land of beautiful imagery, that one would suppose heaven itself had come down in the fields of the Constitution. But what is it? Mr. Webster tells his friends of Dennis and Harwich, on Cape Cod, that they must love the Union. Why? Because, when they go on the ocean, it is the stars and the stripes that make the skiff safe. And he tells the people of Massachusetts that they must love the Union. Why? Because, when the tariff is in operation, the cottons of Lawrence and Lowell sell for seven cents instead of six. He tells Pennsylvania she, too, loves the Union. Why? Because coal is $5.00 a ton with, and $4.00 without the tariff. Let us then translate into the common tongue the invaluable blessings of the Union—Bread and Butter! (Cheers and laughter.) Six per cent. on your bank stock; profitable voyages to the East Indies and the Mediterranean; wharves crowded with ships; banks full of coin; shuttles always in motion; busy villages; well-covered barns; carpets on the floor, sofas in the front room, and every man able to have his daguerreotype taken, and those of all his children; the comforts of life—that is the Union, translated into plain English; it is nothing more.

I have seen one other argument beside this. It is, that if there had not been Union, the North would have quarrelled with the South over slavery. Slaves running into the North could not have been got back. 'Bread and butter again! A peace betwixt the sinner and the saint; peace betwixt light and darkness—this is the value of the Union. Now, the Bible tells us, 'First pure, then peaceable.' The peace that comes from honesty, that is the only peace we ought to value. Now, what are you required to do to secure these tariffs, to enrich your manufacturers, and make the counter more profitable to him who stands behind it? I allow, all these things are good—anybody is more ready to allow it then I am. No man ever heard a sensible abolitionist deny the real value of the Union. It is a good thing;—so is a broadcloth coat. It is a good thing;—so is six thousand a year, a well-covered table, a good house. These are all good, but they may be bought too dear. The man who buys his house by fraud, buys it too dear. The seaman of Harwich who buys that strip of hunting at his mast-head at the price of carrying Thomas Sims back to bondage on the deck of the Acorn, buys it too dear. (Cheers.) Charles Sumner, who rejoices in the precious bond that keeps thirty-one sovereignties together, buys his chair in the Senate too dear, if he buys it by swearing that, with proper securities, he will return Thomas Sims back into bondage. (Loud cheers.) The question is not, is the whistle a good one, but whether we buy it cheap or dear—as Dr. Franklin taught his countrymen seventy or eighty years ago. The prosperity that is bought at the cost of justice, liberty, manhood and honor, comes too dear, though it paves every street with gold, and builds a marble palace in every village. Now, all the appeals of the Unionists are powerless to convince me that union is valuable enough to be worth the sacrifice of my manhood, the sacrifice of my sense of right, the sacrifice of my soul.

Emancipation in the West Indies, as our friend Bowditch told us this morning, saved the soul; and all that was *pretended* against it was, that it would injure the body. Well, suppose it had been so; would not the interests of the immortal soul have infinitely transcended the welfare of the body? All this argument about disunion is only that it will starve the body! Suppose we granted that; the question still remains, which is the rightier starved, the body or the soul? Has the body a right to fatten at the soul's expense? Dr. Johnson used to say, that if you put sixpence on the thitherweed side of hell, and a Scotchman on the hitherward, he will make a spring for it, at the risk of tumbling in. Now, Daniel Webster is going up and down the highways, writing letters and making speeches on the idea that the Yankee is so concerned for the safety of his fishing smack, and the profit on iron and coal, that if you put a tariff on the other side of the pit, he will make a spring for it, at the risk of falling in. (Laughter and cheers.) Shame on him that thinks! Shame on him who would pander to it, if it be so, in New England!

Let me read from the *Daily Advertiser*. Of course, you will not doubt that; if you do, 'Sigma,' of the *Transcript*, will have you indicted for blasphemy. (Laughter.) Mr. Choate says, in the *Advertiser*, that the preservation of the Union is the 'virtue of virtues.' Then he goes on to say, that philanthropy is a very good thing, but, says he, 'let us make our philanthropy prudent and worldly.' Yes, our philanthropy is to be 'prudent and worldly'! There was a merchant once who took a boy as an apprentice. The father said he was a very honest boy, and after making the agreement, went home. The master, indoctrinating the boy with the principles of trade, told him he must never sell by slack weight or short measure; that he must always be very honest, and not put any water into the rum nor sand into the sugar. For about six months, the boy obeyed him, to the letter; but at the end of that time, the master sent for the father to take Joseph home. The father wanted to know why. 'Is he not honest?' said he. 'O, yes.' 'Then, what is the matter?' 'He lacks discretion!' He did not know when to obey that rule, and when not to obey it. His obedience was not 'prudent and worldly' enough—that was it! Now, Mr. Choate, differing from Mr. Webster, is afraid the Yankees will be too imprudent and unworldly! He says it is very easy to deduce from the Declaration of Independence the duty of immediate emancipation. So it seems. He says it is easy to sketch the dark details of the life of the slave; but he says, 'it requires so much sobriety! so much power of combining ideas! such, discerning reason, to grasp all the details of the policy of the National Commonwealth, and to appreciate the good of which it is the source!' that men are easily led away by the Abolitionists! No doubt! A child can deduce the immediate emancipation from the Declaration of Independence; a child knows that the details of a slave's life are dark; but it takes a philosopher to make black look white. And so, take care that your philanthropy is 'prudent and worldly'—that is the principle. They mistake the Yankee character; they mistake the moral sense of this community, who counsel thus. Did you ever remark, in reading accounts of those balloons that are sent up in Paris and London, full of gas, that they sail well over the hospitals, but fall flat and empty in the country? It is an emblem of great many other things beside balloons; and of nothing more than of these speeches of Webster and Choate. They go sailing up, distended and gassy, over the city, and even Cambridge sometimes gazes, astonished, at them from her Law Hall; but soon some higher law spire or Town Hall cupola touches them, and the breath is all out of them; they fall powerless to the ground. (Great cheering.) The prevailing sentiment of Massachusetts is against this 'patriotic' attempt to dignify 'bread and butter' with the high-sounding name of 'Liberty and Union, now and for ever.'

My friends, there is another point I wish to touch upon. Our Free Soil friends are not frank enough. Mr. Mann, Mr. Giddings, and the other leaders of the Free Soil party—(honest men all; I do not find fault with their honesty)—are ready to go to the death against the Fugitive Slave Law. It never should be enforced, they say. It robs men of the jury trial, it robs them of *habeas corpus*, and forty other things. This is a very good position; but, Mr. Chairman, how much comfort would it be to Ellen Craft, if she had been sent back, to Macon, to know that it had been done with a scrupulous observance of all the forms of *habeas corpus* and jury trial? 'My dear Ellen,' some excellent friend would have said, when she got back, 'you had the blessed virtues of *habeas corpus* and jury trial—what ails you so sorry about? You were sent back according to law and the Constitution.' The German troops that fought against Napoleon did not complain of being beaten; that was out it. What they complained of was, that he did not beat them according to rule. He actually did not go into winter quarters, nor march and countermarch as of old, but indulged in all sorts of heresies in military matters.

Now, you would think, from the statements of our Free Soil friends,—of Mr. Mann, in his recent speech,—that the *habeas corpus* was the great safeguard of a slave's freedom; that it covered him as with an angel's wing. All well—but suppose *habeas corpus* and jury trial granted, what then? Is any man to be sven so surrendered, with our consent? You recollect the story of the man who told his friend, 'Yee lie—under a mistake,' and his friend replied, 'Put your words closer together.' 'No slave shall be sent back—except by *habeas corpus*.' Stop half short of that! 'No slave shall be sent back!' that's enough. (Peals of applause.)

I look through all these arguments on the fugitive slave, and find they act all on the Fugitive Slave Law. We want an argument on the Constitution of the United States. We want an issue made with the Slave Power, and with the abuses which it may have introduced into the statute book. Why, we are told, in the policy of that article from the *Atlas*, that all that is necessary to do is to prevent the farther extension of slavery. My eloquent friend, Mr. Burlingame,—recently said, from this very platform, in a speech of great power and eloquence, that the policy of his party was to drive slavery back to the slave States, where it might die of insanitun. My steps are always guided by the lamp of experience. Our fathers drove this monster back in 1789; they said, to die of starvation. I should like to see how it died. This monster, that went out to die of starvation, why, he looks quite fat and hearty. He flew hobbled to Missouri, then to Louisiana, then Texas; and now he opens his rapacious mouth for Cuba. Drive slavery back to the Southern States, and hope for peace! Twenty years ago, in O'Connell's time, there was a man who fancied one of his legs was Catholic and the other Protestant; and he put the Protestant leg into water to punish it for its heresy. (Cheers and laughter.) You might as well expect health in a real body, one half of which was well and the other sick, as look for peace in a country one half of which was for slavery and the other for freedom. We are one community, and while we are one, no honest man can be neutral on this question. It is impossible for an honest man in this country to keep peace with the slave system, while we are one nation. The command of God, the nature of the human mind, forbid it. The free soil party, the idea of light and darkness set together and not contending, is as ridiculous as what old Fuller tells his reader to try to do—to make a man laugh on one side of his face and cry on the other. (Cheers.) While slavery exists, as matter on what conditions, or how legalized, an honest man can or ought to be any thing but its public, pledged, utter, unconditional foe. Every American owes it, a sacred duty, to the purity of his religion and the honor of his country, to show that slavery has not eaten out all the manhood of the land; but, spite of its upas poison,

'Man is the noble growth our realms supply,
And souls are nurtured in our Northern sky;'

that some of us still learn and practise, snour first duty, till the land ceases to bear fettered feet, the great Roman lesson, *Parcere dejectis et debellare superbos*,—to make war on tyrants and help the weak.

Ten years ago, all the Southern talk about breaking from the Union was hesvado; but it is possible that a change may have taken place. Once the idea was preposterous. It is still so for any single State, like South Carolina. South Carolina secede from the Union! Let her try and stand on her sovereignty first! She never has done it yet. But there has been, for a long time, a plan on foot in the Southern States, and if the policy of the Free Soil party prevails, it will be a successful one. That plan is, to accumulate so great strength by the acquisition of Texas and Cuba, by taking advantage of every opportunity to increase her territory, that it shall be possible for the slave States to form an independent nation. To strengthen herself, to keep us friends so long as to gather such an amount of strength into her hands that she can venture to dissolve the Union,—that is her plan, and when she accomplishes it, (if we permit her to go on and do so,) she builds up round the slave system a wall that will permit it to last a century longer. We should make our resistance now. The South has gained a great advantage by strengthening herself with Mexico, and she means to reach out her right hand for Cuba, to extend and fortify her other boundary.

It takes a long time to abolish a system like slavery. It is no affair of a day. Great Britain attempted to abolish aristocracy in the days of Cromwell; and I think she gave it its death-blow at the battle of Naseby, and on the scaffold of Charles the First; but it has been two hundred years dying. Whenever slavery is abolished, it will take a long time to do it. It has got so inwoven into the very heart of the institutions of the country as to make it hard to kill. I do not know, I do not yet believe, that this government is strong enough to root out the slave system. No government ever yet stood against the money power, especially not in this century. Slavery, among us, not only panders to the social pride, the lust and the indolence, which have been its strength elsewhere, but

[Concluded on fourth page.]

THE HIGHER LAW.

Extracts from an admirable Discourse on 'The Three Chief Safeguards of Society,' by Theodore Parker—just published by Crosby & Nichols.

An attach is made on another safeguard of society, yet more important. We have been told there is no law higher than a human statute, no law above an act of the American Congress. You know how this doctrine of the supremacy of the lower law has been taught in the high places of the State, in the high places of the church, and in the low places of the press. You know with what sneers men have been assailed who appealed to conscience, to religion, and said, 'The law of God is supreme; above all the enactments of mortal men.' You have been witness to attempts to howl down the justice of the Almighty. We have had declamation and preaching against the law of God. It is said the French Assembly, some fifty or sixty years ago, voted that there should be no public worship of God; that there was no God to worship; but it was left for politicians and preachers of America, in our time, to declare that there is no law above the caprice of mortal men. Did the French philosophers decree speculative atheism? The American 'wise men' put it in practice. Will they do the function of God. 'He has nothing to do with mankind.' This doctrine is one of the foulest ever taught, and tends directly to debauch the conscience of the people. What if there were no law higher than an act of parliament? what would become of the parliament itself? There is such a thing conceivable as personal, speculative atheism. I think it is a very rare thing. I have never known an atheist; for, with all about us speaking of God; all within us speaking of him; every telescope revealing the Infinite Mind in nebulæ resolved to groups of systems of suns; every microscope revealing the Infinite Father, yea, Mother of the World, in a drop of water, a grain of perishing wood, or an atom of stone; every little pendulum revealing law unchanging law on a small scale; and the whole group of solar systems, in its slow and solemn swing through heavenly space, disclosing the same law on a scale which only genius at first can comprehend,—yet is not easy to arrive at personal speculative atheism. It would be a dreadful thing, the stark denial of a God. To say there is no infinite Mind in finite matter, no order in the Universe, in providence only a fate, no God for all, no Father for any, only an unfathomable nothing that fills the desert and illimitable ether of space and time, the whence and whither of all that are,—such a belief is conceivable; but I do not believe that there is a single atheist living on the whole round world. There is no general, much less personal, speculative atheism. When M. Lalande declared that he saw no God through his telescope, though he meant not to deny the real God of nature, the world rang with indignation at an astronomer undevout and mad. But practical political atheism is a very common thing in America, in New England. This is not a denial of the essence of God and his being, but of his function as Supreme Ruler of the Church, of the State, of the people, of the Universe. Of that there is danger. The devil of ambition tempts the great man to it; the devil of covetousness, the little. Both strike hands, and say, 'There is no higher law;' and low men lift up their mean foreheads in the pulpit and press, and say, 'Here the voice of a god, and not of a man. There is no higher law.' The greatest understanding of this land, with haughty scorn, has lately said, 'The North Mountains are very high; the Blue Ridge, higher still; the Alleghanies, higher than either; and I say this higher law ranges farther then an eagle's flight above the highest peak of the Alleghanies.' This impious taunt is received with 'laughter' by men who have long acted on the maxim that there is no law of God for a State whose State is impoverished by the attempt to tread Him low under foot.' I know men in America have looked so long at political economy that they have forgotten political morality, and seem to think politics only national housekeeping, and the best ruler who 'buys cheapest and sells dearest.' But I confess I am amazed when statesmen forget the lessons of those great men that have gone before us, and built up the social state, whose deep foundations have been laid with prayer.' What! is there no law above the North Mountain; above the Blue Ridge; higher than the Alleghenies? Why, the old Hebrew poet told us of One 'which removeth the mountains, and they know not;' which overturneth them in his anger; which alone spreadeth out the heavens, and treadeth upon the waves of the sea. Lo! he goeth by me, and I see him not; he passeth on also, but I perceive him not; Yes, there is One—his law 'an eagle's flight above the Alleghanies'—who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven, whose strong hand setteth fast the mountains; yea, One who hath weighed the mountains in scales; before whom all nations are as a very little thing. Yes, Father in heaven! before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. Yes, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations. Thy name alone is excellent; thy glory above the earth and heaven!

No higher law for States than the poor statutes they occet!

> 'Among th' assemblies of the great,
> A greater Ruler takes his seat;
> The God of heaven in Judge surveys
> These 'gods of earth' and plots their ways:—
> 'Why will you frame oppressive laws?
> Or why support th' unrighteous cause?
> When will you once distinction make
> That foes may vex the saints no more?
> They know not, Lord, nor will they know,
> Dark are the ways in which they go;
> Their name of 'earthly gods' is vain,
> For they shall fall and die like men.'

It would be a great calamity for this nation to lose all of its mighty riches, and have nothing left but the soil we stand on. But, in seven or eight generations, it would all be restored again: for all the wealth of America has been won in less time. We are not two hundred and fifty years from Jamestown and Plymouth. It would be a great misfortune to lose all the foremost families in the nation. But England lost here in the War of the Roses; France, in the Revolution. Nature born great men know, and fresh families sprung up as noble as the old.—But, if the generation in America could believe that there was no law of God for you and me to keep,—say the acts of Congress what they might, say,—no law to invite the ambition of men of mountain greatness, and catch the eagle's flight of human tyranny, that would be a calamity which the nation would never recover from. No, then religion would die out; affection fall dead; conscience would perish; intellect give up the ghost, and be no more. No law higher than human will! No watch-maker can make a long pendulum vibrate so quick as a short.—In this body there is that law: I wake and watch and will; my private caprice turns my hand, now here, now there. But who constants my breath? Who bids this heart beat alike by day and all the night, sleep for warm? Whose subtile law holds together these particles of flesh, of blood, and bone, in marvellous vitality? Who gives this eye its power to see, and opens wide the portals of the ear and who enchants, with most mysterious life, this wondrous commonwealth of dust I call myself? 'Tis the same Hand whose law is 'higher than the Blue Ridge,' an 'eagle's flight above the Alleghanies.'—Who rules the state, and, out of a few straggliers that fled here to New-England for conscience' sake, built up this mighty, wealthy state? Was it Carver and Winthrop who did all this; Standish and Saltonstall? Was it the unowing craftiness of mightiest one that consciously, well knowing what they did, laid the foundations of our New England state and our New England church? Why, the boys at school know better. It was the Eternal God, whose higher law the Pilgrim and the Puritan essayed to keep, not knowing whereunto the thing would grow. Shall the fool say in his heart there is no God? He cannot make a hair grow on his head but by the eternal law of his Father in heaven. Will the politician say there is no law of God for states? Ask the morrowing world; let Austria and Hungary make reply. Nay, ask the Southern States of America to give their rapid increase in riches, in civilization; to show us their schools and their scholars, their literature, their science, and their art! No law of God for states! It is writ off the iron leaf of destiny. Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a curse to any people.' Ask the wicked land of the South join with the Northern wicked land, iniquity shall not prosper. But the eye of the wicked shall fail; they shall not escape; their hope shall be as giving up the ghost, because their tongues and their doings are against the Lord; to provoke the eyes of his glory. Their root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom shall go up an dust, if they cast away the law of the Lord, and despise the word of the Holy One.

In America the people are strongly attached to the institutions, constitutions, and statutes of the land. On the whole, they are just establishments. If not, we made them ourselves, and can make them whatever we please, will we, nill we. Law is almost popular. No where in the world is there a people so orderly, so much attached to law, as the people of those Northern States. But one law is an exception. The people of the North hate the Fugitive Slave Law as they never hated any law since the Stamp Act. I know there are men in the Northern States who like it,—who would have invented slavery had it not existed long before. But the mass of the Northern people hate this law, because it is hostile to the purpose of all just human law, hostile to the purpose of society, hostile to the purpose of individual life; because it is hostile to the law of God—bids the wrong, forbids the right. We disobey that for the same reason that we keep other laws; because we reverence the law of God. Why do men keep that odious law which makes us hated wherever justice is loved? Because we must sometimes do a disagreeable deed to accomplish an agreeable purpose? The purpose of that law is to enable three hundred thousand slaveholders to retake on our soil the men they once stole on other soil. Most of the city churches of the North seem to think that is a good thing. Very well; is it worth while for fifteen million freemen to transgress the plainest of natural laws, the most obvious instincts of the human heart and the plainest duties of Christianity, for that purpose? The price to pay is the religious integrity of fifteen millions—the thing to buy is a privilege of hunting three hundred thousand slaveholders to use the North as a hunting-field whereon to kidnap men at our cost. Judge you of that bargain.

What shall we do? Nobody would dare pretend to think a church except on righteousness; that is, the rock of ages. Can you build a state on any other foundation, that house upon the sand? What should you think of a minister of the church who got his decorous together, and made a creed, and said, 'There is no higher law; no law of God. You, laymen, must take our word for your guidance, and do just as we bid you, and violate the plainest commands of conscience?' What would be abhorrent in a minister of the church,—is that patriotism in a minister of the state? Shall law is a most powerful instrument to demoralize and debauch the people. If it is a law of their own making, it is all the worse. There is no real and manly warfare for a man, without a sense of religious obligation to God; none in the lowly, none in the lofty, none in a man. We want righteousness in the people, in their establishments, in their officers. I adjure you to reverence a government that is right, statutes that are right, officers that are right; but to disobey everything that is wrong. I entreat you to have your love for your country, by the memory of your fathers, by your reverence for Jesus Christ, yea, by the deep and holy love of God which Jesus taught, and you now feel.

From the National Intelligencer.

CORRESPONDENCE—RIGHT OF SECESSION.

Hon. Daniel Webster:

Dear Sir:—The question of the right of a State to secede from the Union is as you are doubtless aware, producing at this time, in this part of the Union, no inconsiderable degree of excitement. And as it is a question in which every free American is directly concerned—a question, upon which every free American should be correctly informed, as upon its decision may depend the future prosperity and happiness or misfortune and ruin of the great country—and believing as I do, that from your intimate acquaintance with the principles upon which our government is based, and the operation of all its machinery, you are entirely competent to give upon this, as upon all other questions of a like character, correct information; and being anxious myself, as many others are, to possess correct views with regard to this subject, I have taken the liberty, in your time to be, to devote a moment in giving an answer to the following interrogatory:—

'Do you believe that a State has a right to secede from the Union?'

By answering this question, sir, you will confer a favor upon many of your countrymen here, who believe as I do, that an opinion of yours, thus expressed, would go very far toward quieting the excitement that the agitation of this subject has produced in this section of the Union.

With profound admiration for your character as an American statesman, and sincere regard for you as an American citizen,

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

July 20, 1851.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of the 20th July.

The Constitution of the United States recognises no right of secession as existing in the people of any one State or any number of States. It is not a limited Confederation, but a Government, and it proceeds upon the idea that it is to be perpetual, like other forms of Government, subject only to the dissolved revolution.

I confess I can form no idea of secession, but as the result of a revolutionary movement. How is it possible, for instance, that South Carolina should secede, and establish a government foreign to that of the United States, that a Government, which does not secede, from the rest of the Union?

Depend upon it, my dear sir, that the secession of any one State would be but the first step in a process which must inevitably break up the entire Union into more or fewer parts.

What I said at Capon Springs was an argument addressed to the North, and intended to convince the North that if, by its superiority of numbers, it should defeat the operation of a plain, undoubted and undeniable injunction of the Constitution, intended for the especial protection of the South, such a proceeding must necessarily end in the breaking up of the Government—that is to say, in a revolution.

I am, dear sir, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

From the London Times.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN ENGLAND.

To the Editor of the London Times:

Sir—Since the separation of the American provinces from the mother country in 1776, many thousands of slaves, escaping from the Southern States, have sought a refuge and a home in Canada; and the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' recently enacted by the American Congress, has already added greatly to that number, so that the fugitive population is now estimated at about 30,000; and as these people are mostly without education, and have but little knowledge of mechanical branches, they find many difficulties in the way of getting employment, and thereby earning for themselves an honest living.

This being the case, many of these people have, within the past six or eight months, come to this country, seeking employment and that liberty and protection which are denied them in their native land. On reaching England, they find similar difficulties in the way of getting employment that they had to encounter in Canada, and they, therefore, become a burden to the benevolent or inmates of the unions. I wish, Sir, to call the attention of those interested in the West India estates to this fact, and to suggest the propriety of adopting some measures to secure the services of so many of these fugitives as may feel inclined to go to the West Indies.

Having been a slave myself in the United States for more then twenty years, and being prevented from returning, on account of the Fugitive Law, and knowing that most of the fugitive slaves have been accustomed to the raising of cotton, sugar, rice, and such other products as are raised in the West Indies, I am satisfied that a proposition of this kind would, if made upon fair terms, meet with a favorable response from my down-trodden and enslaved countrymen, and thereby be a benefit both to the owners of the West India estates and these fugitive slaves.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

WM. WELLS BROWN.

22 Cecil street, Strand, July 3.

LETTER FROM VICTOR HUGO ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

☞ The following letter from Victor Hugo, the eloquent French orator and statesman, to Mrs. Maria W. Chapman, will be read with a thrill of pleasure and satisfaction by every friend of freedom in this country:—

Madame:

I have scarcely any thing to add to your letter. I would cheerfully sign every line of it. Pursue your holy work. You have with you all great souls and all good hearts.

You are pleased to believe and to assure me, that my voice, in this supreme cause of slavery, will be listened to by the great American people, who, I love to think, are closely linked to the mission of France. You desire me to lift up my voice.

I will do it at once, and I will do it on all occasions. I agree with you in thinking, that within a definite time—that within a time not distant—the United States will repudiate slavery with horror. Slavery in such a country! Can there be an incongruity more monstrous? Barbarism installed in the very heart of a country which is the type of civilization; liberty weaning a chain; blasphemy echoing from the altar; the collar of the negro chained to the pedestal of Washington! It is a thing unheard of. I say more, it is impossible. Such a spectacle would destroy itself. The light of the nineteenth century alone is enough to destroy it.

What! slavery sanctioned by law among that illustrious people, who, for seventy years, have measured the progress of civilization by their march, demonstrated democracy by their power, and liberty by their prosperity! Slavery in the United States! It is the duty of this republic to set such a bad example no longer. It is to abase—and she was never born to be low her head.

It is not when slavery is taking leave of old nations, that it should be received by the new. What! when slavery is departing from Turkey, shall it rest in America! What! drive it from the hearth of Mahomet, and adopt it at the hearth of Franklin! No! No! No!

There is an inflexible logic which developes more or less slowly, which fashions, which redresses according to a mysterious plan, perceptible only to great spirits, the facts, the men, the laws, the morals, the people; or better, under all human things, there are things divine.

Let all those great souls who love the United States, as a country, be re-assured. The United States must renounce slavery, or they must renounce liberty. They cannot renounce liberty. They must renounce slavery, or renounce the Gospel. They will never renounce the Gospel!

Accept, Madam, with my devotion to the cause you advocate, the homage of my respect.

VICTOR HUGO.

6 Juillet, 1851, Paris.

FOR THE RAILROAD CELEBRATION.

BY CHARLES F. BRIGGS.

No more we sing as they sang of old,
To the tones of the lute and lyre,
For lo, we live in an Iron Age
In the age of Steam and Fire!
The world is too busy for dreaming,
And both grown too wise for War;
Science, for the glory of Science,
Let us sing of the Railway Car!

The golden chariots of ancient kings
Would dazzle the wondering eye,
And the heads of a million slaves might bow
As the glittering toy rolled by;
But what is the Car of the People,
And before it shall bow all kings;
So they warned when they hear the shrieking
Of the Dragon with iron wings!

The blood-stained car of the Juggernaut
O'er millions of necks hath rolled,
And the Israelite have cried, 'Such a triumph as one
The world shall never behold!'
But wo! when this harnessed Dragon
Comes vomiting smoke and fire,
For the Pariah, with their ear and idols,
Shall perish beneath his tire!

And we go all, who uphold the wrong—
Love darkness rather than light—
For Science hath opened a broad highway
For Knowledge and Truth, and Right
And beneath such his car to grind
The people of many lands,
Until the aftermost nations
Are grasping each other's hands!
And thus, when the people, as one, are joined,
And each to his fellow known,
'Land of Art,' and 'Skill shall work
At the bidding of Science alone.
And who can tell of the greatness
The world may hope for then?
For the Angel of Peace, with olive wreath
Hath entered the tents of men!

Then sing no more, as they sang of old,
To the tones of the lute and lyre,
But sound the praise of the Iron Age—
Of the age of Steam and Fire!
And sing the glory of Science—
Exalt in the downfall of War—
And shout for the fiery Dragon,
As he flies with the Railway Car!

Correspondence of the N. Y. Evening Post.

Ohio, July 25, 1851.

Gentlemen: I again crave your indulgence, while I penciled to your readers the reasons which induce the democracy of Ohio to believe that Congress has power to keep slavery from entering our territories:

1st. If Congress has the power to legislate at all for our territory, (and that power is exercised every day,) it surely has the power to keep slavery out of it, as the majority should govern, and our fathers contended for and practised this principle.

2. Mr. Jefferson, in the Congress of the confederation, March 1, 1784, reported the memorable provision against slavery—yes, as early as 1774, in the Virginia Convention he said: 'The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in these colonies.'

3. George Washington was in favor of the principles of the Proviso, and in his letter to R. Morris, April 12, 1786, he maintained that it was 'the only proper and effectual mode to arrest this blighting evil.'

4. In April, 1798, an act was passed establishing the Land Ordinance, and prohibiting the importation of slaves from the territory.

5. Madison, Gerry, and Dr. Franklin advocated this doctrine in Congress, March, 1790.

6. In 1804, an act was passed dividing Louisiana into two territories, providing for a government, and prohibiting the importation of slaves.

7. The laws of Louisiana were extended over Missouri, and Mississippi and Alabama. No one then thought of its power over territories.

8. In the Missouri compromise, this principle was applied to all the territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. Hate we not now the same power?

9. The right to acquire territory necessarily grants the power to govern it.

10. Congress said to Oregon, your legislature shall sit but sixty days, and all your laws shall be submitted to us.

11. Jefferson, Madison, and Polk signed bills with the Proviso in them, and nearly every democrat from Ohio voted for the same principle.

12. Congress has made governments for Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, Oregon, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Utah, Deseret, Texas.

13. Congress also exercised the power of governing and restricting this 'peculiar institution' in Florida.

14. Admitting the power to legislate for the territory at all, surrenders the argument. If Congress can say you shall not, she can say you may. If, as in the Omnibus measures, you say you shall, not legislate on the subject of African slavery, you can certainly restrict its extension.

15. Territorial governments were established by the Congress of the confederation, and by Congress under the present Constitution, and have existed and flourished for more than 60 years, and tyros and hoodlums politicians have discovered all this to be unconstitutional! Miraculous discovery!

16. Gen. Cass once favored this doctrine, and does yet in his heart, but he thought it inexpedient the South by his Nicholson letter; and the Southern democracy were foolish enough to go for a fool-hat because he wen a slaveholder, and thus strike at the national democratic flag! Cass said in Senate, February, 1850—'I have never concealed nor denied that I was intimately in favor of it.' How could he, when he pocketed more then $100,000 in the operation of governing territories, &c.?

17. The words territory and territories, as used in the original charters of the various colonies in the Articles of Confederation, and in the Ordinance, and contemporaneous legislation of Congress, included land, water jurisdiction, domain and sovereignty, and the same meaning is attached to them in our treaties with foreign powers, and our resolutions for admitting States.

18. Title by discovery, purchase, conquest, or in any other way, by the nation, confers the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the soil and inhabitants, until they make their own constitution.

But I forbear to pursue the proof further. This new born 'Non-intervention,' interpolated at Baltimore into the good old democratic creed, has not, (bad as it is,) been lived up to. Slavery was forever excluded from Oregon and Minnesota; and the South demanded that it be legalized there, and that they be permitted to fill it up with slaves? But who will care so little for his political standing in the community in which he lives, as to deny that Congress has power to govern our territories?

The non-intervention doctrine, however, only applied to States. The Democratic Convention of 1848 expressly refused the adoption of a similar resolution to include territories. But I must close for the present.

Yours, as ever,

BUCK-EYE STATE.

From the National A. S. Standard.

ENGLISH UNITARIANS ON SLAVERY.

The American organs of Unitarianism, the *Register* and *Inquirer*, are still as silent as they can, be on the earnest remonstrances which the English brethren are offering to those of the faith in this country. They will not even let it be known that a set of Resolutions passed at the meeting at Exeter Hall, but was have just so much faith in the impartiality and fairness and independence of that paper as to believe that it publishes those Resolutions because it fears it may give offence to the individual slaveholders, place in its columns to a letter of Dr. Hutton's by which they are accompanied. The *Register* dares attempt to another equitely the voice of English Unitarians on the Slavery question, because for the it does not hold itself responsible to any individual, but it has not the courage to offend any one man of influence who may take it upon himself to ask that some particular expression of opinion shall be made manifest. Or, it is no unusual thing to see a measure set who will set it indirectly the will and the rights of the whole community, but who is none the less abject and obedient to any one man who may threaten to endgel him if he ventures to commit any depredations on his property.

Dr. Hutton's letter the *Register* accompanies with a few words of comment, written in a tone both vexed and flippant. It rejoices that the English Unitarians have 'so much leisure on their hands' that they can attend to this subject; as if Christians were to fulfil their Christian duty when they have nothing else to do; no customers to wait upon—no goods to sell—no bushes to post—no worldly matters, in short, nothing to look after. And then also the *Register* rejoices that the influence should be so large enough to reach even us; a sneer which would not be worth even a smile in reply, did not the writer, himself, seeing evidently when the words were written, that he was indulging a bitter spirit, adds hypocrisy to that by insinuating upon his own authority in this well-meant rebuke, 'That he has such satisfaction, however, he acknowledges in the same breath by declining the proffered advice inasmuch as we—these American Unitarian divines, to wit,—are 'in the midst of the scene,' and are 'the principal judges of the specific modes of action' suited to this warfare with Slavery!—as if *they* ever did anything but resolutely refuse to have part or lot in the battle which is now waging around them, among our people, and had not always declared that this only 'specific mode of action' in this case, was to decline any action whatsoever. If the *Register* really thinks that the members of our society abroad are so stupid as to be blinded to this sneer of hypocrisy, we think it hardly so much be surprised at its contemptuous insinuation that the Anti-Slavery sentiment, of the English Unitarians is 'manufactured' to answer the private ends of some unscrupulous person here.

The letter of Dr. Hutton which the *Register* has such animadversions from the *Register*, we give below:

Fairfield, Glasnevin, Dublin,
July 26, 1851.

My Dear Sir,—I have great pleasure in transmitting to you the accompanying Resolutions. Most sincerely and deeply do I rejoice in the unanimity of the meeting. It will prove to our American brethren, I trust, that, however we may hesitate to pass judgment upon them, we are united in our opinion of your vile Fugitive Slave Law, and of the secret duty incumbent upon you of disobedience to its wicked requirements. I have indeed been grieved to learn, what I was not in *the least* prepared to hear, that the American Unitarian Association have determined by a majority not to express any opinion or take any action upon the subject. It only proves to me more clearly what I have long thought, that the tendencies of the voluntary principle, as it is called, (which nevertheless I advocate as accompanied with fewer evils on the whole than the opposite one,) is not unfrequently to make the shepherds unrighteously subservient to the sheep, and to give the latter the choice of, the pastures into which the former are to guide, or rather to seem to guide them. I verily believe that the majority of those who, in *America*, hesitate as to their duty with respect to this law, possessing the same knowledge of all the pros and cons, but exempted from the bias of interest and vulgar opinion, would have no hesitation in *Boston*. You will say perhaps that in expressing this opinion I am doing the very thing that I cry out against, and judging those who profess to take a different view of duty from myself. But no. In no one individual instance would I venture, without positive evidence, to pronounce upon motives. I merely state a general, and, in my mind, indisputable fact,—that 'a gift blinded the eyes'—that interest darkens the judgment—and that none are of our profession, more so in this as those of any other re a bias. Priests are men. It does not follow, however, that we have authority to say in any single instance—here the man acted and here the priest! Jesus denounced the Scribes and Pharisees with a generality,—which it would perhaps be more becoming in us not to imitate,—as hypocrites; but in so doing, I am persuaded he did not mean to stigmatize any unspecified individual. He knew that there was Paul, and, in all probability, many another honest and true man, amongst the Pharisees. He could see distinctly to what influences the members of a sect or profession were exposed, and would, doubtless, in many cases, succumb, and yet his injunction to all those who did not, like himself, 'know what was in man,' would, I am sure, have been 'Judge not.' You will see, therefore, why I cannot sympathize with many of my friends in America, and with some in England, in their denunciations of the Fugitive Slave Law, and of the compromises of the American Constitution, which prepared the way for it, as essentially wicked,—and in their assertions of the sacred duty of labouring for its immediate repeal, or refusing to obey it, as contrary to the law of God, so long as it remains unrepealed. Of the sentiments thus expressed make what each you please; and believe me to remain with sincere personal regard, and warm sympathy with you in the great object which you have at heart, my dear sir.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH HUTTON.

Rev. S. May, Jr.

☞ The London Advertiser holds the following emphatic language in regard to the treatment of the abolitionists of slavery:—

'We go much further than the proposed exclusion of American pro-slavery divines from our pulpits, and American pro-slavery laymen from permission to partake of church privileges. We propose going so far as to exclude all who are involved in the guilt of slavery from our houses. We would not be friends in insincerous with them. We do not say that they ought to be treated with rudeness or insult. But they have no claim to our hospitality,—no right to the ordinary friendship of life. We regard them as men to be abhorred—as persons whose character is written, in legible characters, the nature of their guilt. Men less deeply steeped in crime have stood at the bar of our criminal courts. Men are arraigned before our courts of criminal jurisprudence for stealing a sheep—a calf, or a bird; these persons have stolen their fellow-beings. Men stand at the bar of our criminal courts for beating, or otherwise inflicting injuries, on the persons of others; these American slaveowners not only practice the most brutal cruelty towards their poor slaves, but they murder them in myriads, by their systematic oppression. They are, therefore, persons who have been convicted at a moral Old Bailey-bar, and their society ought much more to be shunned than that of the man who bears on his person the brand of the convicted criminal. With such persons we would hold no terms whatever. A ban of exclusion from society ought to be put upon them. They are outcaste from the pale of humanity, and as such ought to be regarded. It is only by the adoption of the course we are recommending, that the system, hatched in the lower regions, and nipped and fostered by ministers and members of Christian churches, can ever be effectually destroyed.'

SONNET.

BY D. P. BRANCH.

Man was not made for forms, but forms for man;
And there are times when Law itself must bend
To that clear spirit that hath still entran'
The speed of human progress. The tide and
Potentates, not Humanity, must fall.
Water will find its level, Air will burn;
The wave will force its way around the sandy bar;
The earthly ball by the sun and light must turn.
Freedom is typed in every element;
Man must be free; if not through law, why then
Above the law; until its force be spent,
And justice brings a better. When, oh, when?
Father of Light! shall the great reckoning come,
To lift the weak, and strike the oppressor dumb?

From the Houston (Texas) Telegraph of July 18th.

A Speck of War.—Several persons who have lately visited the towns of Santa Rosa, Merlos and the Presidio, for the purpose of recapturing runaway slaves, have returned, and report that the fugitive slaves are harbored by the Mexicans, and in some instances force has been used to prevent our citizens from recapturing these slaves. This has so exasperated many of the citizens of the West, that they are actually in arms in a force sufficient to overpower all opposition, and recapture their slaves at all hazards. At the last accounts a large party of armed Texans had assembled near the Presidio, and threatened to take back by force if the fugitive slaves were not given up. It is intimated that there are not less than two thousand fugitive slaves in the Mexican towns between the mouth of the Rio Grande and the Presidio. In Santa Rosa, there are forty fugitives who escaped from one plantation in Arkansas. The owner of them has made many efforts to induce them to return to Arkansas, but in vain. They boast that they are in a free country, and permitted to enjoy equal privileges with the Mexicans. We have been informed that about two hundred fugitives from Texas have crossed the Rio Grande at Presidio on the Rio Grande, during the last week. It is evident that these things will not long be tolerated by our citizens; and unless some measures are adopted by the Government to prevent the Mexicans from harboring our slaves, will arm themselves and make a foray upon the Mexican towns to recover their property. We have much reason to fear that difficulties will arise between the two governments on that frontier, and some fugitive slave treaty be concluded with Mexico, another war may, ere long, be inevitable. We are informed that a company of citizens, well armed and equipped, will soon be marched into Santa Rosa, if certain slaves are not given up, and we should not be surprised if few hundred or a thousand men should follow them to return the property they meet with opposition from the Mexican authorities. Our information is derived from such respectable sources, that we think there can be little doubt that difficulties will arise along our Western frontier, that may prove far more serious than those relating to the Cuban invasion. It may be well for the Government to look well to this subject, and take timely precautions to prevent another rupture with Mexico.

African Exploring Expedition.—A Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce* writes that the Secretary of the Navy has under consideration a plan presented, by Lieutenant Walkie, to explore the rivers St. Paul, Nigger, Congo, etc., and the vast interior regions. He proposes to take an iron portable steamer, himself as commander, one midshipman, one engineer, and six mechanics, besides a draughtsman, naturalist and physician. The estimated cost is ten thousand dollars. Mr. Walkie is confident, from the information which he derived in Africa, during his former visits, that he can find coal fields on the St. Paul's, and if so, one of the chief obstacles to the establishment of steam communication between this country and Africa will be removed.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.
AMOS G. BEMAN, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1851.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

MY DEAR RANDOLPH:

I visited Detroit, a second time, upon my return from Chicago. I can not very well compare the condition of the black people in the two places. There are but very few of our people in Chicago, and I fied, as a general rule, that the prejudice against negroes, in a locality, is in direct ratio, to their numbers. Where there is the largest colored population, there is the most prejudice, and where that population is the smallest, there is the least prejudice. Accordingly, I found much less negrophobia in Chicago, where our people number but about 300, than in Detroit, where there are about 900. But I do not believe this rule would hold good as between Detroit and Chicago, were the case reversed; for the white population of the two cities differ materially on this subject.

In Detroit, as, I said, there are about 900 of our people. They have two or three churches. There are out more than enough to compose one good congregation, and restain one good preacher, if you deduct the number of them who do not go to any meeting, and who do nothing to pay preachers. And by the way, the number of blacks who do not attend religious meetings is *always* and *every where*, smaller, in proportion, than the number of whites. Did you ever notice this, Randolph? Whites, when drunkards, licentious or otherwise abandoned, keep away from meeting, and have nothing to do with religion. Blacks, as a general thing, go to meeting, and not unfrequently get converted, as often as once or twice a year, in spite of their degradations and immoralities. Except the Irish Catholics, our people pay more attention to religious matters than any other class of people in the country.

The largest number, in Detroit, attend the Methodist Church, a respectable congregation assemble with the Baptists, and there is an Episcopal Society, but the Pastor, Rev. W. C. Monroe, (like a good many other black gentlemen who have axes to grind,) is in Europe. Some very active, stirring, business men, are among the disfranchised class in Detroit. Robert Banks has long been known as a very active and enterprising clothing dealer. Messrs. G. De Baptiste and Garrett have been and are now aiding him in that business. Cyrus Clarke, brother of Lewis and Milton, is in good and lucrative business, and he is acquiring real estate rapidly. Mr. George De Baptiste owns a two story brick house, on one of the best streets, which is as good as one half the residences of the gentry who rob black Wolverines of the right to vote. Mr. Wallace has, by his industry, made himself able to purchase one of the best farms in the State of Michigan. I was indeed no one friend, a blacksmith, who is doing as much business as his useful trade as any one in the city. Mr. Robert Gordon is a barber, but, unlike the mass of his profession, he shaves black men and white men, alike. That's a good deal for a barber to do, is'nt it? But Gordon won't sell out his principles and his manhood for half dimes. He does not try to teach his customers that black men have no rights. One such man is deserving of especial notice, because the opposite sort are so numerous. I was pleased to find, that our eloquent friend, Henry Bibb, editor of the *Voice of the Fugitive*, has property in Detroit, worth some $5000. That shows what a fugitive can do. Henry Bibb and Cyrus Clarke were slaves but yesterday, as it were. One is now worth some $2000, and the other some $5000. Many a young black dandy has been strutting, swalling, and smoking, in New York and Philadelphia and Baltimore during the time these men have been accumulating, and, like myself, they are about as well off to-day as they were ten years ago. Their money is spent, their wine drunk, (and they *drunk*, too, sometimes,) their cegars consumed, their fine clothes worn out, and what better are they for all they once had? Many now go to Chagres, earn quite a 'pile,' come back to the St. Charles, or some other such gambling hell, and spend all their earnings, and then go to Chagres again. They have always been free, they are well educated, they make a great deal of money; but they get rid of it faster than they make it. Fugitives, like the Clarkes, Lewis Hayden and Henry Bibb, after being enslaved the best years of their lives, come North, and, without education do more, in ten years, to redeem the race, to improve their minds, to support their families and to acquire property, than these precious gentry do in a lifetime.

I spent the afternoon of the last Sunday in July at Windsor, Canada, opposite Detroit, a mile or two from Mr. Bibb's office and residence. In a most beautiful shade, on the back of Detroit River, was assembled to the number of about 400, many coming from Detroit. Very much was I pleased with the appearance of the noble blacks who had torn themselves from slavery's devilish grasp, threaded their way amid peril in which the barefooted march of the Revolutionary soldiers to Valley Forge was mere pastime in comparison, and settled in strange lands, to get rid of the combined and horribly inexpressible development of American politics and American religion. They are doing well, and are under bright and brightening prospects. They live in the midst of prejudice, of Yankee importation, and there are many of the lower class of French who are none too friendly to our brethren. Their, the total and perfect lack of all manner of enterprise among the Canadians is my thing rise than members to the refugees. Staff, in Windsor and Sandwich, the only two places I visited, our people are doing remarkably well, and comparing most favorably with any class of Her Britannic Majesty's peasantry. And it is in the power of our people, in Detroit, among whom there is no suffering, subject poverty, and among whom there is as much refinement, elegance, grace, as among any class of that community, of the same number, to do much to improve and develope their neighbors on the other side of the river. Mr. and Mrs. Bibb being among them, and so many very respectable colored families living so near them, very much may be expected from them, in a few years. And as the improvement of our people in Canada progresses, the reflex influence of that improvement upon the free black population of the States, and upon the enslaved, will be most happy and powerful. I never before felt and saw the importance of labor among the formerly down-trodden in Canada. Most heartily do I rejoice that the indefatigable Bibb, and his accomplished wife, have cast in their lot with that people. Were I free from debt, or should I be obliged through the shameful neglect of our delinquent subscribers, to retire from my present field of labor, I should not hesitate to pitch my tent among *other* refugees in Canada. Surely, no field of labor, and less it be that now occupied, in part, by the devoted George Thompson, in West Africa, demands so much labor, and offers so abundant success. If now, my body wants me out of the country, the way is open. Just help me to a 'bursting up' of my business and complete prostration of my credit, by abusing the confidence I have reposed in those who owe me, and I am off.

Well; I left Detroit on Monday the 28th of July, *en route* for Pittsburg. I was obliged to take passage on the same steamer Baltimore (called Baltic in a former letter) which had treated Mr. Langston and myself, *sad my son*, so badly a few days previous. But through the interference of my good friend, Mr. G. De Baptiste, I was readily offered a cabin passage, and a state room, and the passage from Detroit in Cleveland was every way agreeable. From Cleveland we were *carred* to Ravenna, *staged* thence to Warren, *canal-boated* thence to Beaver, and *steamboated* thence to Pittsburg, where we arrived on Wednesday, July 30th, at 3, P. M.

Our treatment on board of the cars was the same as that of any other passenger. The same was true of the stages from here to Ravenna. But the presence of five or six black persons in the coach we rode in, drove a few gambling, rum-drinking, rowdy-ish-looking youngsters to the top of the stage, where in the hot July sun, all the grease in them might have broiled out for aught we should have cared. A gentleman, however, got inside with his daughter, and seemed to be put to no inconvenience by our presence. But you know there is a difference between gentlemen and lesfers.

On the packet Niagara, Capt. Truby, we had good fare, good treatment, comfortable beds, &c. Truby may be a contraction of *True Boy*, and it may out. But I am sure that, in this case, it is the name of a very *True Man*. And should you find it necessary or expedient to travel on the canal from Warren to Beaver, you will find it to your advantage to wait a day for the pleasure of sailing with Capt. Truby. The passage up the Ohio River to Pittsburg was a sort of dell, so-so affair. The boat was slow, the weather scorching at times, and then cool, varying almost every hour, the river low and muddy, the scenery uninteresting, and a sort of 'Monday-ishness' rat over every thing until we got to the smoky city of Pittsburg, when we were certainly not relieved from the passage tedium by the endless and changeless gloom which overhangs that bustling emporium of industry, until we were met by the bland old-fashioned hospitality of our most kind and most excellent hostess, Mrs. Vashon, lady of J. B. Vashon, the courtly and accomplished father of G. B. Vashon, Esq., of Syracuse. When we, (that is, son Sam and I,) sat down to the amply spread board, over which Mrs. V. presided with mingled kindness and dignity, we did, some how or other, forget the wearisomeness of the steamboat passage, and the gloominess of the Pittsburg atmosphere, and what is more, we forgot what, when we left the table, bad ceased to be anything more than a mere historical fact, viz.—that we arrived at Pittsburg with empty stomachs. But I must not extend this letter. Adieu.

S. R. W.

THE BARBERS OF BOSTON.

MR. SAMUEL R. WARD:

Sir, in your paper of July 19th, over the signature of J. W. R. is found a column of misrepresentations, directed to and against the Colored Barbers of this city. I shall not pretend to answer for the personal refinal the gentlemen may have received. The complainant seems to be ignorant of the fact that we know believe him to be as much the creature of circumstances and interest as we are, notwithstanding his loud professions of independence and sacrifice for principal.

The would be gentlemenly Mr. R. has the honesty perhaps from some interested motives, to call the names of two good exceptions from the general rule, and upon the remainder he seems to delight in heaping endless charges of corruption, and from his wide vocabulary of impurities, stretches himself to charge the barbers with the want of principal.

Now how much principal there is in general attached to keepers of porter houses, &c., I will not attempt to say, (the gentleman says farther, no man has a moral right to live, if he has to sacrifice principal in order to do so, and he and society alike will be materially benefitted by his death) now what benefit society would receive by the death of the hosts of barbers he here describes, remains to be seen, unless the gentleman himself desires after our departure, to take up the trade, open an extensive barber shop, and gather all the rusty fourpences spoken of by himself into his own pocket, (rather a bright idea after all,) as he seems to know what rich the barbers would use, or what profit or loss they would sustain, in conducting business to suit his sublime notions.

The gentlemen speaks personal of one something who keeps a barber shop. He cannot vouch for its being a man—he should know it only from the costume. But I can inform the gentleman of as real men that keep barber shops, and are men capable, and ready at any time to defend themselves in all cases, save from such unjust assaults as the one referred to. As I abhor newspaper discussions I pass unnoticed many items in yours.

G. W. LOWTHER.

We publish the above without any reference to its intrinsic merits; but merely for the purpose of making such comments as we think it deserves, though, as it is evident, the gentleman was not in a very good humor when he penned the article, we will not be so hard on him as we otherwise might.

Mr. L. commences by saying, "Sir, in your paper of July 19th, over the signature of J. W. R., is found a column of misrepresentations directed to, and against the colored barbers of this city."

"Misrepresentations" our columns are open to the public. Why did Mr. L. not attempt to expose the "misrepresentations" as an honest man should do, and let those who take an interest in the matter see who is in fault? O no, that would not suit his purpose, for his object seems to be to declaim and not reason, to assert but not prove, but as we wish to deal with facts and arguments, and not with empty assertions and gasconade, we will pass over that part of the gentleman's article for something more tangible.

Mr. L. continues, "The complainant seems to be ignorant of the fact, that we know, and believe him to be as much the creature of circumstances and interest as we are, notwithstanding his loud professions of independence, and sacrifice for principal."

Now, as the gentleman blends several propositions, and speaks enigmatically, he must pardon us for confessing our inability to comprehend him, unless he wishes to endorse, by implication, the course. I presume he and others of the same ephemeral, and intangible stamp see fit to adopt.

Mr. L. resumes his feeble essay, "The would-be gentlemanly Mr. R. has the honesty, from some interested motives, to call the names of two good exceptions from the general rule, and upon the remainder he seems to delight in heaping endless charges of corruption, and from his wide vocabulary of impurities, stretches himself to charge the barbers with the want of principal." We see but little worthy of remark in the last sentence, except as unpardonable ignorance of orthography and grammar, and an utter disregard of truth which, from its dark hints, insinuations, innendoes, and absurdities carries its own antidotes. Hear the gentleman again, "Now how much principal there is in general attached to porter house keepers, &c., I will not attempt to say." What connection porter-house keepers have with the question at issue, we cannot conceive; however, the gentleman in his court epistle to the editor of the "Impartial Citizen" will, no doubt, inform us, unless he is too much disgusted with the "wide vocabulary of impurities" to condescend to enlighten a poor ignorant individual, how superlatively fastidious Mr. L. is getting in his old days. He quotes that part of the article where we say, "No man has a moral right to live if he has to sacrifice principal in order to do so; he and society would alike be materially benefitted by his death." Then wishes to know, very complacently, with the same softness and simplicity which is the leading characteristic of his article, "what benefit society would receive by the death of the host of barbers he [i. e. we] describes," &c. We will not quote the whole of the paragraph, as the gentleman appears to be merely jesting and playing with words. We think if it is true, and we are willing to be governed by the decision of the enlightened, and liberal minded in the matter, that those barbers who barter their own manhood for few or many fourpences, do to the full extent of their ability, impede the progress of the anti-slavery movements, and therefore the onward march of the sublime and imperishable truths of Christianity, which even Mr. L. professes to love and reverse; then, we say, if the learned and sagacious gentleman who rushes to the rescue of his confiditors, as Daniel does to the support of the Union cannot perceive in what respect society would be benefited by their removal he should cover look in a mirror, for he has not got penetration enough to enable him to see himself in it. Don't you agree with us, Mr. L.?

We passed over much of the gentleman's article, thinking we might possibly cross something a little more remarkable than the rest, even if, only on account of its absurdity, we have at last reached the culminating point of absurdities.

Hear him once more. Speaking of ourselves, he says, "The gentleman speaks of one something who keeps a barber's shop, he cannot vouch for its being a man?" Mr. L. says he, [i. e. the writer of the article relative to barbers] "should know it only from the costume."

Now friend, if costume is an evidence of manhood, then according to your mode of reasoning, if women choose to don the male costume, and things are evidently tending in that direction, we should know they were men by the costume. Not wishing to institute any comparison, but again, the organ grinders very often dress monkeys in male attire; so mutter, Mr. L. has recently discovered an infallible test; "he should know it only by the costume; why, he far surpasses young Mr. Lunt, of Essex, in his recent discoveries. Now if Mr. L. refuses to shave men, on account of color—and he has got denied it—then he is just as much of a bunker as is Lunt. However, success to the Lowthareean discovery.

Hear the gentleman for the last time, "But I can inform the gentleman of several men that keeps barber's shops, and are men capable, and ready at any time to defend themselves in all cases, save from such unjust assaults as the one referred to." Have we doubted the readiness or ability of the barbers "to defend themselves?" There the legitimate inference is, that they are neither ready nor capable of defending themselves against the charge of proscription. Are we right, Mr. L.? Well, whatever may be the gentleman's ability to defend himself against ordinary charges, we think, and believe our readers, as well as Mr. L.'s friends, will agree with us, that he has demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt, his utter inapacity to defend himself against the charge of proscription on account of color; we must admire the gentleman's fruckness in thus acknowledging his inability. Now in conclusion we will say, if we have misrepresented any one, we regret it exceedingly, and if any person will point out wherein we were wrong, we will be very happy to publish our condemnation. We wish for the sake of humanity that our statements were incorrect, but we have seen nothing since to convince us of our mistake. New, Mr. G. W. L., adieu.

J. W. R.

☞ The senior Editor will travel most of the time for two years, making the most vigorous efforts to sustain the *Citizen* and to double its paying list, and to diminish its non-paying list. Five thousand of the former would give us an ample income; as many millions of the latter would be a curse. The less of them the better.

THE ALBANY CONVENTION.

MR. EDITOR:

By accident, I was present at the Albany Convention of last week. I was not disappointed to find but few there. Not a single individual from the city of New York. There was doubtless some mistake in the mode of operation in getting up this Convention. The leading men in New York were invited, but not consulted, therefore they would not attend." Not only this, but they had a convention in the spring. The Albany Convention was well attended by the neighboring villages, the consequence was to confine their deliberations chiefly to local matters. There was, doubtless, unity of feeling and sentiment. But with all the interest and anxiety manifested, there was a decided disinclination to enter into any practical measures, like the accumulation of funds to aid individual or united enterprise, the settlement of the Smith Grants, or the establishment of the Protective Union system. There seemed rather fire-sign to their considerations. Well, perhaps we are not ripe enough for these things yet. The Convention, however, was conducted as well as any I ever saw. Its officers were gentlemanly, intelligent, and impartial. Of them and the business of this Convention, I shall speak in future.

A. B. C.

SCRIBBLINGS.

The glorious blacks of Pittsburg, with the aid of a few white friends, aided us in getting 98 subscribers, during our recent sojourn there. 70 subscribed during one evening. Best that, if you can, or dare, in any city of the Union!

Martin R. Delany is travelling in Canada, lecturing on physiology.

Rev. Charles Avery, of Pittsburg, is one of the most benevolent man of the age. He is about as rich as Gerrit Smith, and he uses his fortune in a similar manner. Generations to come will have occasion to bless the names of Gerrit Smith of New York and Charles Avery of Pennsylvania.

The Abolitionists of Illinois are almost all of them Free Traders. Those of Pennsylvania are tariff men to a man. Free Trade and Direct Taxation is our idea, and next week we shall begin to tell you why.

We unite with Frederick Douglass in calling for those black Americans who once labored for the down-trodden in our land, to return to their home. With the exception of Mr. Garnet, those gentlemen like Frederick Douglass, are man of some property; and they are not, like ourself, burdened with debt. We can not help thinking the responsibility of such man to be immeasurably greater than ours.

There are but 22,000 blacks in all New England. In all the New England States, save very pious Connecticut, black men vote on equal terms with white men. There are 22,000 in the single State of New Jersey, where no black man is allowed to approach the ballot box. So there are 52,000 in Pennsylvania, 53,000 in Virginia, 22,000 in North Carolina, and 73,000 in Maryland. The last has the largest free black population of all the States in the Union. In none of the States so named, except five of the New England States, is the right of voting accorded to our people. Indeed, there are 200,000 free blacks, in the North, and they are robbed and pillaged of this right in all of them, save those above referred to, unconditionally, and New York, robs them conditionally. Yet, strange to say, where we have the most rights, the fewest of us are, and where we have the least rights, the most of us are.

Corn in many parts of Michigan, would cost more than compare with the corn of Maine and New Hampshire, this season.

The State of Maine offers better advantages, in our judgment, to emigrants, than any other State in the Union.

A black lady in New York city is making lots of cash by renting houses and furniture to prostitutes.

Mr. Smith, a black gentleman, in Church street, New York, a friend of ours, by the way, personally, is keeping a drinking saloon which may rein many a young man. Can't we poor blacks get to the pit of misery fast enough, without such aid?

General W. Larrimer, Jr., of Pittsburg, Pa., Hon. W. H. Seward of Auburn, N. Y., and Mr. Watson of the former place, have our thanks for their liberal donations.

Friend King proposes to be one of 500 to give $5 a year, for five years, to sustain the *Citizen*. Who will be another? We know of some persons in Chicago on whom we might depend, and some in Pittsburg. But if one hundred of that sort can be found, or a like number who will give any other amount, the paper can not only float, but carry a great deal more ballast. Send in names, if you please, for the King Fund to sustain the *Citizen*. Who will respond? All such can have the paper sent to as many persons, whom they shall designate, as the amount contributed will pay for. How we should like to let Gerrit Smith know that his munificent example was followed. Names for the King Fund—who gives? Send to 21 Cornhill, Boston.

The Fugitive Bill don't work much during dog days. What is the matter?

Notices of Meetings, &c.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Notice is hereby given to those gentlemen who have received a circular from the undersigned, that the proposed meeting at Syracuse, September 9th, 1851, is necessarily postponed till another notice.

ROBERT MORRIS,
WILLIAM C. NELL, } *Committee.*
RICHARD CRAPMAN,

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

[Concluded from first page.]

holds political supremacy in one hand, and the omnipotence of almost incalculable wealth in the other. This country, powerful as republics always are, has yet to prove whether the masses have strength enough to do battle with an aristocracy such as the world never yet has seen,—politically powerful, and representing a species of property with which the present interests of all other kinds of property are bound up.

That the Fugitive Slave Law is the turning-point, on the due observance of which hangs the safety of the Union, I have no question. Daniel Webster is correct on that point, provided you will leave Southern men enough to mature their plans sufficiently to dare to break away from the North. We lost one great moment that God gave into our hands—that of Texan annexation; but all the leading men turned traitors, and so we lost it; and now comes the closer and more decisive issue betwixt the people of the country and the wealth of the country. It is between the masses and the money. It is between property and the people. The question of slavery. It is the capital of the South, and the capital of the North arrayed together against the principles that lie at the root of our institutions. So great already is our loss, that no man, who knows this country, can doubt, if the question was to be decided to-day, afresh, whether the Government should be Republican or Aristocratic, it would be hazardous to predict which way the vote would be—whether in New England possibly, and in the South certainly, the organized wealth of the community is not strong enough to control and smother the popular love of free forms of government.

Such, then, is the question—whether we shall have such a day as this in the history of America, is synonymous with the question whether the people can make headway against the pulpit and the politicians arrayed together to crowd down the advancing principles of the nineteenth century, for the profit of their class. Power is always stealing from the many to the few. It is stealing into the coarts of wealth. The wealth of Boston dictated the charge of Chief Justice Shaw in the Sims case—dictated the course of the city of Boston in that case. What we need is, that the country should throw off the thraldom of city rule and dictation. It remains to be seen whether the present seeming interest in this enterprise is zealous and enduring enough to rouse the country from its apathy and indolence, and lead it to exert its acknowledged superiority. Then only will anti-slavery be called to triumph in this country.

Our cause is broader than at first. It has ceased to be a simple question. Mr. Webster, with an insolence which the history of this country cannot parallel, standing upon the steps of a hotel, tells his fellow-citizens that this agitation must stop! 'Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed, that he is grown so great?' (Great cheering.) This agitation must stop! Not while God creates tongues! (Tremendous cheering.) That is all the comfort Massachusetts men get when they venture to whisper about the laws of Massachusetts, and look with clouded brows at chains round the Court House, and dream that every man ought to find refuge and protection on the spot where Hancock and Adams have trod.

'Stop that noise!' — ends the first lesson. And then the preacher goes down to Virginia, and considers Southern agitation. Does he say that noise stop? No. Southern disunionists are learned and eloquent,—indeed! 'animated and full of spirit,—truly! 'high-minded and chivalrous,'—no 'rub-a-dub men' those! 'I am not disposed to reproach these gentlemen, or to speak of them with disrespect!' though he candidly confesses that these 'learned,' and m be 'respected' men have not a shadow of ground for their complaints! But then, recollect, they were born South and own slaves!—conclusive evidence, both these facts, of their right to complain without cause, disturb the Union, and break it up, if they please, and still be the 'respected' of Mr. Webster; while as far North as happy Faneuil Hall, no man may peep or mutter—not even when his chosen Senators cheat him before his face. 'Stop that agitation!' You are neither learned nor eloquent, high-minded nor chivalrous, and I'll speak as I please of you; for were you non born as far North as myself? And judging others by myself, it's your vocation to be spaniels and dough-faces.

And we deserve it. Ay, the bone that is thrown at us is good enough, unless we vindicate our right to speak, by speaking so loudly that even the deafest ear can hear. Let us teach these politicians that we know well enough what they mean when they would hold up to us the value of the Union in protecting ice, and cotton, and the chains of fishing vessels; remind them that we share the love of property with the brute creation; with the Greenhat fashions in tiny warehouse, and the beaver that builds dams across the stream; but that we possess also a higher attribute, the gift of thought and speech, and mean to value them accordingly, as the distinguishing characteristic of our superiority, and allying us to God.

This is the true spirit of the Constitution. Mr. Webster said in Virginia that he trod in the steps and spoke in the spirit of Samuel Adams, and Chancellor Wythe, and Luther Martin, and Elbridge Gerry, and Hancock and Jefferson, and that noble band of freemen of the Revolution. He never told a bigger lie, even when he said slavery could not exist in Mexico, and that is saying a great deal. Chancellor Wythe was poisoned for his anti-slavery sentiments, in the very centre of Virginia. Does Daniel run such risks? Sam Adams, on going home one day, found a colored woman sitting at his fireside, and on asking his wife who she was, was told that she was a slave that a friend had presented her. 'No, woman,' said the old patriot, 'no woman crosses my threshold who does not bring her liberty with her.' (Long-continued cheering.) 'Spoke in the spirit of Sam Adams!' He is not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe! (Applause.) Compare Samuel Adams, the incorruptible Cato of 1776, to the Whitingly McSycophant of 1851! the man who always forgot himself, and therefore became immortal—to one who never forgets himself, and hence the ages will forget him;—as well liken an English bulldog to a lady's fan.

These men did not worship the Constitution as an end; they looked upon it as a means. They no more mistook it for liberty than you mistake the railroad which brought us here to-day for the city we sought. They thought of it only as a mode for the attainment of an end, and trusted that their children, if it did not serve that end, would, in the spirit of its founders, beat it down and build better.

Why, it is known that Washington was met walking on the banks of the Susquehannah, while the Convention on the Constitution was in session, and asked upon what he was reflecting. 'I am thinking,' said he, 'that perhaps it would be better to adjourn without offering such a Constitution to the States, then to offer such an one as we have drawn up.' (He referred to the slave compromise.) Luther Martin went home to Maryland, and pretested against the slave clause. Franklin gave his vote with averted face. Elbridge Gerry has left on record, in writing, his protest against it. Sam Adams doubted the Constitution, which in Massachusetts owes its adoption to the chicanery of Hancock. The Constitution was adopted in Massachusetts by the skin of its teeth. Judge Harrington, of Vermont, one of the earliest Judges under the Constitution, asked the first slaveholder that went to him for his property, for his bill of sale. The slave-hunter asked how it should be signed. 'Signed,' said he, 'if signed at all, by the Almighty. If you claim a man as your property, He alone is competent to give a bill of sale.' This is the spirit of the Revolution.

The Senate speech of March in the spirit of Washington! These demagogue appeals to the lowest interests and passions against the noblest impulses, in the spirit of Washington! Those sneers at Massachusetts prejudices in the spirit of Washington! The claim in a libel, which every American sharing in the common inheritance of Washington's fame is called on to denounce. (Cheers.) There is in existence a letter from George Washington to Gov. Langdon, of New Hampshire, asking him to exert himself to recover for Washington a slave woman who had fled from Mt. Vernon, who died recently in Stafford, N. H. 'But,' the letter, says, 'let no attempt be made if it would excite public indignation.' Where, then, was the doctrine of 'disagreeable duties'? Where, then, the advice to 'conquer prejudices'? Washington did not attempt to lay even his finger on what he thought his property, if it would grate harshly on the feelings of New England;—and this recreant son of New Hampshire, volunteering to hunt slaves *for others*, and ordering us, with cool effrontery, to conquer these very feelings which Washington respected, proclaims 'I speak in the spirit of Washington'! He robs each one of us of the rightful pride we own in his honorable reference of Washington to principles which he knew to be just and sound, but had not strength to adopt.

No! it is an insult to the old fathers to say that they ever contemplated such a descent as from themselves to Webster—(loud cheers.)—that they framed institutions designed to form such men. No man who does not read our history upside down can believe it. They erred, erred broadly, erred lamentably, erred egregiously, but it was, in many of them, history will allow us to believe, an error; they did not mean to perpetuate slavery. There is another thing they did not mean to produce—dough-faces over the Northern States. Never did they mean to create such a state of public sentiment as we see about us at the present moment. But whatever they meant, this remains true—the true traitor to the Constitution is he who upholds the Fugitive Slave Law. The worst foe to the Union is he who proves such a law necessary for its preservation. As well put gunpowder under the Capitol as wickedness into the statute book. The man who would do his whole duty either to his country, his religion, or his ancestry, is bound to devote himself, heart and soul, to get rid of this great blight that rests upon our national escutcheon. We owe it to the purity of our common religion, to prove that Christianity does not sanction bondage. We owe it to our fathers, and their great pride, our institutions, to prove them fathers and formers of men capable and ready for the great work God lays upon us—doing justice and making atonement to the colored race in our midst. (Cheers.)

SELECTIONS.

From the Christian Parlor Magazine.

THE FEAR OF BEING AN OLD MAID.

BY MRS. E. R. HALL.

When I was a little girl, I was a fat, merry, jolly dumpling, as happy as the day was long. Every body pinched my red cheeks, and I waddled about with my doll in my plump arms, finding fun in everything, and fully believing that my doll was as sensible as myself; and perhaps she was, almost. But, though I had a natural antipathy to a spelling-book, and no fondness for spending a long summer's afternoon in poking a needle in and out of a bit of calico; though I coveldered patchwork all foolishness, and guessed at utter superfluities; though I was called a simpleton for asking my mother why she cut cloth up and then sewed it together again; still, I was fond of picking up ideas after my own fashion. When the wise people around me supposed I was thinking of nothing but play, my two little ears were open to every word spoken in my hearing. And many was the word impressed on my memory, which the speaker forgot the next moment. The talk around me was my real education, as it is of all children, seed them to what school you may.

When I was ten years old, I had one sister aged fifteen and another seventeen; and, as some fond girls of that age, they had a set of cronies, some very like and some quite unlike them in character. One afternoon, as I was tending my doll Ophelia, who was sick in bed, I heard a brisk discussion among these girls, which, I may almost say, decided my fate for life.

The first words that caught my attention came from an animated, romantic girl of sixteen, scolding because the heroine of a novel she had just read was left unmerried at the end of the story! 'What a surprise was expressed at this catastrophe; what indignation!

'Why, my sisters did not seem to sympathize with this burst of disapprobation, and then came the pitiy question, 'What, would you be willing to die an old maid?' Mary said, very quietly, 'Yes;' and sister Elen added, 'So would I.'

Then such looks of amazement and incredulity! 'You can't mean what you say,' cried one. 'If I did not know you too well to think you a hypocrite,—' said another. 'Why, it was meant that all women should be married!' exclaimed a third. 'Then why are they not all married?' asked Mary, with her usual simplicity

Eager and hot grew the controversy, and I lost not a word, while Ophelia lay flat on her back, her stiff kid arms sticking out, and her crop quite forgotten. Then first did I take notice of that terrible combination of monosyllables, 'Old Maid.' In how many different tones of contempt, dread, and derision, did I hear it uttered by those juvenile voices! What anecdotes came flying about the cross old maids, and fidgetty old maids, and ugly, and deceitful, and learned, and pious, and flirting, and mischief-making, old maids! Never did a bevy of regular fifty-year-old spinsters utter so much scandal in one afternoon as was poured forth by these blooming young creatures. Two or three friends of my mother, whom I had always cherished in my innocent childhood because they talked so pleasantly and were so kind to me, now appeared like new personages, 'Miss Z. was so ugly, she never could have had an offer!' 'Miss Y. dressed so shabbily, and wore green spectacles, to look literary.' And 'Miss X. was for ever telling about Sunday school and society meetings,' and so on.

You may be sure that the next time these ladies came to our house, I scanned very closely the face of Miss Z.—then that I had always loved before; but now I saw that it was exceedingly plain. I looked hard at Miss Y's. drab-colored bonnet and shawl, perceived that they were old-fashioned and ordinary, and that her green spectacles looked pedantic. Then Miss X., whom I had always squeezed in upon the sofa, encouraged by her kindly smile and delighted with her conversation—how uninteresting she had become! They were *old maids!*

It must be observed that my sisters—right good, sensible, domestic girls they were—had no part in this bewilderment of my young ideas. They were in the minority; so I took it for granted they were in the wrong. Besides, what children ever was much influenced by what is uttered in the familiar voices of their own family, as by words of comparative strangers? Who cares what you say at a friend's house, with the young folks catching up every random sentiment you drop. Many a judicious mother's morning exhortation has been blown to the moon by some light dinner guest, who did not after all mean to give his real opinion, or whose opinion was not worth having.

And now, I assure you, my education went on rapidly. It is perfectly marvellous in how many ways, and by what different sorts of people, a young girl is taught that it is a terrible thing to be an old maid. Fools never show their folly more than in their hackneyed jests upon this topic; but what shall we say of the wise folks, who sin almost as often in the same way? What shall we say of the refinement of him who is gentlemanly in thought and expression on all subjects but this?—of the humanity and chivalry of him who assails the defenceless?—of the justice of him who traces a class with the faults of individuals, and wounds with the meanest of weapons a sacred?—or of the Christianity of him who indirectly censures and ridicules one of the arrangements of Providence?

I learned my lesson thoroughly, for it came to me in some shape every week. I read it in every novel and newspaper, and heard it from every lip. The very men who spoke truth and sense on the subject, sometimes neutralized it by an idle jest in some moment of levity, and the jest drove out the truth from my young heart. At eighteen, I lived only for the agreeable purpose—I cannot bear to say—of getting married; but what could have been the ruling wish of one who had been taught by society to dread celibacy worse than death? I dare say I betrayed it every where. I dare say I was duly laughed at.

At last, quaking on the verge of nineteen—twenty, I had an offer—a most a beard one. I was six years older than my lover, had ten times as much sense probably, except on one point. I knew that he was 'rather wild,' in the gentle phrase goes. In short, I neither loved nor respected him; but I was willing to marry him, because then I should be Mrs. Somebody, and should not be an old maid.

My parents said 'No,' positively. Of course, I thought them unreasonable and cruel, and made myself very miserable. Still, it was something to be sad, to 'an offer' of any kind, and my lips were not hermetically sealed. I had several confidants, who took care that all my acquaintances should know the comfortable fact that I had refused Mr. S.

I went on with increasing uneasiness a few years longer, not seeking how to be useful or trying to find out for what good purpose I was made. Neither was I looking for a companion who could sympathize with my better aspirations and elevate my whole character, for I had no right views of marriage. I was simply gazing about in anxious suspense upon every unmarried man of my acquaintance, for one who would lift me out of that dismal Valley of Humiliation into which I felt myself descending. Had I met Apollyoo himself there, with the question on his lips, I believe I should have said 'Yes.'

At thirty-six, I wore more pink ribands than ever, was sour every where that a respectable woman could go, wondered why girls went into company so young, found that I was growing sharp-faced and sharp-spoken, and was becoming old-maidish in the worst sense of the word, because I was becoming an old maid against my will. I forgot that voluntary celibacy never affects the temper.

My sisters, be it remembered, were older than I. They, too, were single. But they had lived more domestic lives than I, had read fewer works of fiction, had been cultivating their own natures, and seeking to make others happy, and found them happy. And every body reverenced them, and loved to look upon their open pleasant countenances—I mean every body worth pleasing—and they were very happy.

At last our good parents died, and left each of us a little independence. Within a year I was married.

I was married for my money. That was ten years ago, and they have been ten years of purgatory.

I have had bad luck as a wife, for my husband and I have scarcely one taste in common. He wishes to live in the country, which I hate. I like the thermometer at 75 degrees, which he hates. He likes to have the children brought up at home instead of school, which I hate. I like music, and want to go to concerts, which he hates. He likes veal, which I hate, and I like minced veal, which he hates. There is but one thing which we both like, and that is what we cannot both have, though we are always trying for it—the last word.

I have had bad luck as a mother; for two such huge, selfish, passionate, unmanageable boys never tormented a feeble woman since boys began. I wish I had called them both Cain. At the moment they have just quarrelled over their breakfast, the tablecloth has torn off Orville's collar, and Orville has applied his collikin heel to Mortimer's ribs; while the baby Cecelia, in my lap, who never sleeps more than half an hour at a time, and cries all the time she is awake, has been aroused by their din to scream in chorus.

I have had bad luck as a housekeeper, for I never kept even a chambermaid more than three weeks. And as to cooks, I look back bewildered upon the long phantasmagoria of faces flitting stormily through my kitchen, as a mariner remembers a rapid succession of thunderbolts and hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico. My new chambermaid bounced out of the room yesterday, flinging her dustpan and sweeping, 'Real old maid, after all!' just because I shoved her a table on which I could write 'shut' with my finger, in the dust.

I have had my plump, happy sisters, and then glance in the mirror at my own cadaverous, hungry doleful visage, without wishing myself an old maid. I do it every day of my life.

Yet I am of my sex many as I did;—not for love, but fear!—for fear of dying old maids.

They base their reward; and they whose idle tongues create this mischievous fear, and thus make so much domestic misery, have their responsibility.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

THE GREEKS AT OUR DOORS.

When John Randolph was appealed to to aid the starving and ragged Greeks, he turned upon the solicitors, with the shrill cry, 'The Greeks are at your doors!' He was not devoid of sympathy for the suffering anywhere, but he was provoked at the zeal which those manifested for suffering at a distance, who turned their backs upon the destitute at home. While we do not advocate redress for the inside sufferers, we do cry out on our own citizens in Hungary, those most vociferous either forget or are indifferent to the fact, that the persons of other American citizens have been more grossly outraged in South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. Indeed, in several States there is a law *compelling* the imprisonment of free citizens, and their sale into slavery under certain contingencies; and this, too, in the very teeth of the Constitution of the United States. Such imprisonments are frequent, and there are well authenticated cases of freemen having been sold into slavery from their inability to pay the costs of their unconstitutional imprisonment! Suppose the Austrian Government should order Mr. Brace to be sold to pay his prison fees. The whole American people North and South, would demand an instantaneous declaration of war. But what is Mr. Brace more than any other free American citizen? The Austrian Government would perpetrate no greater outrage in the one case than South Carolina would in the other. And yet this outrage *may* be perpetrated in South Carolina with impunity!

Within a few days, we have had occasion to notice the illegal arrest and forcible expulsion of a citizen of Connecticut from the State of Georgia, because he did in Georgia what Mr. Brace was imprisoned for doing in Hungary,—expressed his sympathy with the oppressed. But the General Government,—which can issue Proclamations to secure the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law,—hears of this outrage upon a free citizen and upon the Constitution of the United States, in silence! Nor does this silence excite any remark.

And we publish to-day a still more aggravating case—the arrest and tarring and feathering of a cripple citizen of the State of New York by the law-loving citizens of Alabama, for doing what Mr. Brace is said to have done—'conversing with the down-trodden people of that country.' The outrage was inexcusable, disgraceful and cowardly. But, although its enormity is a hundred-fold greater than that meted out to Mr. Brace; and although it was not only in violation of the local law, but of the Constitution, which guarantees to every man freedom of speech, there are no appeals to the General Government, and no Proclamations to enforce the observance of the Constitution! Freemen must not resist the capture of 'fugitives from service;' but South Carolina may imprison and sell into slavery free men—and Georgia and Alabama may tar and feather citizens of Connecticut and New York! The 'Compromise' requires the return of 'fugitives;' but it is merely the *Constitution* which guarantees the liberty of speech and equal rights to the citizens of the several States!

From 'Household Words.'

BEAR THEE UP BRAVELY.

Bear thee up bravely,
Strong heart and true!
Meet thy woes bravely,
Strive with them too!
Let them not win from thee
Tear of regret,
Such were a sin from thee—
Hope for good yet!

Rouse thee from drooping,
Care-laden soul,
Mournfully stooping
'Neath grief's control;
Far yonder the gloom that lies
Shrouding the earth,
Light from eternal skies
Shows us thy worth.

Nerve yo yet stronger,
Resolute mind;
Let care no longer
Heavily bind.
Rise on the eagle wings
Gloriously free!
Till from material things
Pure thou shalt be!

Bear ye up bravely,
Soul and mind too!
Droop not so gravely!
Bold heart and true!
Clear rays of streaming light
Shine through the gloom,
God's love is beaming bright
E'en round the tomb!

FIRST OF AUGUST IN NEW BEDFORD.

The enterprising colored citizens of liberty-loving New Bedford early sounded the busy note of preparation this year for a general observance of British West India Emancipation. Invitations had been extended to various localities in and out of the old Bay State; and the numerous delegations attested the interest such an occasion had inspired.

Boston and Providence were the most largely represented; and as, at the several stopping places fresh accessions were made, spectators could not but perceive the significant fact, that those Americans identified by complexion with the freed men and women in the British isles were commending the glorious example to those who yet withhold the boon of liberty from millions in this, their own, their native land.

An immense concourse was in waiting at City Hall during the formation of the procession. Escort was furnished by a colored military company of cadets from New York. After the barouche containing the orators and chaplain followed several societies;—The Union Club—a body of citizens—a fraternity of seamen—the Good Samaritan Lodge, with barouches of Masonic and other bodies from sister cities. An assortment of toys, under their banner—Sons of Freedom—attracted marked notice, as did also the sail filled with the smiling and happy faces of school children. This car was appropriately decorated with evergreen and flowers; and, altogether, the wayside incidents of the juvenile department awakened a reciprocal feeling among their schoolmates, who at various points along the route, arranged themselves on the sidewalks to greet them as they passed. This, in a community like New Bedford—all honor to her!—is but a legitimate result of her system of school education; whence no child is colonized from public teaching because of a complexion unlike the majority. For in this instance, let it be remembered, the tokens of recognition and greeting were mutual; in fact, typical of the coming day, even in Boston, the 'Athens of America,' when justice and not proscription shall control the action of School Committees.

To this one fact, isolated and insignificant as it may seem to a superficial observer, is to be largely attributed the respectful attention of the entire citizens of New Bedford relative to the procession and the day's observances—the most sensative colored person, meeting with no chilling pro-slavery look, word or deed, which here, though the exception, is, as all know, but a general rule of treatment from white to colored Americans.

The potency of example in deepening this principle of equality has been illustrated at New Bedford by blended word and deed—by Charles Sumner and Ralph Waldo Emerson, both of whom refused to lecture before that Lyceum which proscribed the colored citizen; and thus a train of influences was generated which now compose, as fondly trust, an Insurmountable barrier to any manifestations of colorphobia.

The procession, during the march through the principal streets, was enlivened by the alternate music of the New York Brass and Howard and Clary's Boston Bands.

On reaching the grove of Hon. Jehu A. Parker, the procession, with its banners, regalias, nic., disposed gracefully around the platform, halted, and the meeting was called to order by Henry O. Remington, Chief Marshal. The arrangements for order were noticeably preserved, in the promotion of which the Chief Marshal was ably seconded by Henry Johnson George Marshall, Augustus W. Monroe, Mr. Wood, and others.

The Throne of Grace was addressed by Rev. Mr. James, after which Rev. Leonard Collins was introduced, who presented an historical account of the day as had assembled to commemorate. His address was well written and well delivered.

Charles Lenox Remond briefly addressed the audience on the hopeful signs of the times, as suggested by what his eyes had seen and ears heard during the day; and of the results such an occasion as the present was calculated to hasten.

The weather was now too unfavorable for further speaking, and the friends were invited to repair to the tables, where, while refreshing the physical man, their mental appetites might be excited for the evening 'feast of reason and flow of soul.'

The procession having re-formed, marched again, and was then dismissed.

The interval between this and evening was devoted to social calls; a happy and profitable medium of keeping bright these festivals of freedom.

In the evening, City Hall was crowded by the Africans generally, who gave close attention and hearty applause to the several speakers.

Charles Lenox Remond occupied the principal portion of the time by an eloquent speech, alluding to the promises reasons why a day like the present had its significance with an American audience, and the propriety of annually stamping its impress upon the community. He regarded it as an occasion when the phases of American anti-slavery and pro-slavery character could be appropriately considered. This paved the way for a searching rebuke of the stupendous scheme of colonization, as projected and matured by that ever-active enemy of the colored American, Henry Clay. He detailed recent plans, by which some colored men, of whom better things were expected, had been beguiled by this Delilah, and would, he much feared, have to regret their adhesion to such an institution, which, while it opposed a sean's elevation on the soil of his birth, proffered unnumbered favors on the pestilent shores of Liberia.

He concluded by an earnest exhortation for the colored man to stand firm in his own integrity, presenting an unyielding front to Pro-Slavery and its handmaid, Colonization; and ere long their rights, so long withheld, would be acknowledged, and they and the bondman join hands in a jubilee of freedom.

Robert Morris, Esq., of Boston, gratified the meeting by a narration of the emotions excited in him by the scenes and associations of this auspicious day. He alluded to the prosperous condition of the colored citizens of New Bedford, promoted, as he was glad to believe, by a favorable public local sentiment, which he hoped would soon extend itself throughout the entire Bay State and New England. He took a bird's-eye view of the Shadrach case, and its influences, immediate and future, upon the fugitive slave question, and concluded by a warm appeal to the friends of freedom.

He was followed by Wm. C. Nell, Rev. Mr. Crawford, and Wm. T. Watkins, each of whom contributed their mite to the interest of the occasion.

The meeting adjourned amid huzzas for Liberty, and the friends separated, again to gather as inclination led; and whether in prayer or speech, song or dance, all, all were acceptable garlands, hung on the altar of Freedom.

Among the civilities extended in honor of the day was an invitation to the military and strangers to view a splendid regiment and ornamental grounds of James Arnold, Esq., who, with his family, lendered the utmost kindness and courtesy, in exhibiting the beauties of nature, and art so lavishly adorning this New Bedford palace. Rodney French, Esq., also, with characteristic courtesy, threw open the doors of his hospitable mansion to the military visitors, and a few invited guests. These voluntary manifestations of good-will, at once honorable to the donors and grateful to the recipients, should be accepted as a harbinger of a better day coming.

Boston, August, 1851. W. C. N.

From the Liberator.

LINES TO A 'COTTON' CLERGYMAN.

BY GEORGE W. DUNDAY.

Thou art a great and wise high-priest,
Whose teachings we will be forgotten,—
A small sun rising in the east,
In fleecy clouds of unspun cotton!

I know thou hatest the 'sons of Ham,'
To thy fair hopes they are a blot on!
So 'tis no sin to smother them
In Southern fields of snowy cotton!

Oh! holy man, when thou dost die,
No polished stone shall mark the spot, on
Which thy mouldering bones shall lie,—
But there shall stand a bale of cotton!

Thy cotton heart and cotton head,
The wicked masses say, are rotten;
And they will say, when thou art dead,
'There's been a fall of late in cotton!'

But thou shall win a mighty name,
While fools on other bobbies trot on;
And we will celebrate thy fame
In words of cotton, *cotton*, cotton!

COLORED JURYMEN IN CANADA.

It has been but a short time since a colored gentlemen was put on the Grand Jury in Toronto, C. W., which appears to have been very offensive to some of the 'olive skin' Yankees there, who complained and curled up their noses at it. But the following paragraphs, from the pen of John T. Hazzard, which we clip from the *Patriot*, will show that the outburst of ignorance and Yankee prejudice found no favor with the Judge, Sheriff, &c., who look deeper than the color of the skin for honest, intelligent men to sit as jurors.

Mr. R. Larwill, the disappointed pro-slavery aspirant, has again dipped his pen into the gall to kindle up the fire of prejudice against color. But it is a palpable failure, and this poor deluded man is politically dead, and should not be spoken of.

In reply, to Mr. Larwill's observations upon the address of the jurors, I will only add, that 'fair play' to say to the gentlemen, that the colored man in question has been impanelled twice on the jury, three times in one day; that is, on three different cases. Thus the complainers saw that their complaint originated in prejudice and ignorance, which is the same case with Mr. Larwill.

How revolting is it to find any man, in the middle of the nineteenth century, undoes the blazing sunshine of civilization and Christianity, and in a land of Bibles, engaged in propagating such doctrines!

Daguerreotype of the Moon.—Mr. Bond, a son of the celebrated astronomer of Harvard College, Massachusetts, at the sitting of the Academy of Sciences, held lately at the Grand Institute of France, presented his daguerreotype of the moon to the audience. He is said to have been supported in the course of his invention.

The Impartial Citizen.

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SUCCESS OF BRITISH WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

The following are the closing paragraphs of an exceedingly able and lucid speech, delivered by Wm. I. Bowditch, Esq., at Worcester, on the First of August, instant, as copied from the *Liberator*:—

By what arguments or objections are these conclusions usually impeached? It is generally admitted that slavery is an evil, which is not, by any means, to be perpetuated, but which will, at some day or other, die out. This is Dr. Fuller's notion. But such persons insist that gradual emancipation is the only right and safe mode of removing the evil—that the slaves should be prepared for freedom, otherwise they won't work, and will not be able to take care of themselves.

But we maintain that gradual emancipation is neither right towards the slave nor safe for the master. First. It is not right. Will you *gradually* cease robbing a slave of himself—*gradually* cease darkening his mind? Will you cease doudening his soul by degrees? Will you wait a little longer before you cease brutalizing his affections, depying him the rights of marriage and the sanctities of home? As well talk of the rightfulness of *gradually* ceasing to murder—for slaveholding is murder of the soul. As well talk of the rightfulness of *gradually* ceasing to there, for, as the Rev. Doctor Jenethan Edwards said in 1791, slaveholding is man-stealing. Nor is gradual emancipation safe for the master. *Any* gradual process of emancipation cannot fail to teach a slave his rights, at the same time that it deprives him of those rights. The apprenticeship system, as it existed in some of the West India islands, is substantially what any gradual system must be. The Supreme Court of North Carolina makes 'uncontrolled authority over the body' the corner-stone of slavery. But the apprenticeship system deprived the master of the 'beneficent' whip. It took away from the master the only or main motive which he possessed to induce his slave to work, and gave really nothing in its place. The apprentices were entitled to no wages for the nine hours given to their former owner. They had no right in those hours to leave the plantation without permission. They could acquire no right to a portion of the soil. They had no right to select their own business or occupation, or even their employer. Any such system is obviously nothing but slavery under another name—a modified form of slavery—such, indeed, the apprenticeship was constantly styled by the planters. During the hours by law given to the master, the apprentice was as much his slave to all intents, (except so far as punishment by the master is concerned) after, as before the apprenticeship system was introduced. It made the *owner* discontented, because it left him the right to four-fifths of the labor of his former slaves, but deprived him of all sufficient power or motive to secure its performance by the slave. It made the slave discontented, because, while it plainly admitted that they had been grievously wronged all their lives, continued to wrong them in substantially the same way to nearly as great an extent. Both parties are necessarily made discontented by any system of gradual emancipation; and from mutual discontent, in the nature of things, must arise mutual difficulties and quarrels; ill-blood is created, and there arises danger that the boon which would be received with tears of gratitude if given outright, will be seized by force by the half-freed slaves; and the practical working of the system in the West Indies has verified the truth of this reasoning. There was a continual quarrel going on between masters and apprentices, until finally, after four years experience, the gradual system, which was originally intended to last twelve years, was set aside, and immediate emancipation proclaimed. If slavery is unsafe, *a fortiori*—virtual slavery, minus the whip, will be unsafe.

But it is said that the slaves should be prepared for freedom. What is the *professed* object of those preparing them? We say professed, because the real object, in the case of the West Indies, was to give the master a chance to make a little more money out of his slaves. What are the professed objects? They are two-fold.

(1.) That the slaves may be taught to respect the rights of persons and property.

(2.) That they may be able to take care of themselves.

But in what surer way can you teach them to respect the rights of persons and property, than by showing them, by an act of immediate emancipation, that their own rights of persons and property are respected? And in what more certain way can you teach them to outrage and disregard the rights and property of others, than by showing them, by an act of gradual emancipation, that their own admitted rights are shamefully invaded? The first professed object of gradual emancipation is therefore much better obtained by immediate emancipation than by any gradual system.

As to the second object, viz., that they may be taught to take care of themselves, it is said that the slaves are naturally indolent and improvident, and that their vices have been aggravated by slavery. It is true that holding a man in slavery teaches him habits of indolence and improvidence, and if so, how is it possible for the continuance of substantially the same system for a few years longer, more or less, to produce contrary results? Not only this, but this instruction must necessarily be imparted by their masters. And for slaveholders, among the most indolent of men, to set themselves up as teachers of industry, is preposterous; for slaveholders,—proverbially improvident,—to propose to give lessons to their slaves in thrift, is absolutely ridiculous. But it is idle to expect this preparation, even if these fatal objections could by removed. Gen. Coddrington, in 1726, gave a plantation of slaves, in Barbadoes, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel. This estate had then been under the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his associates, for over a century, when emancipation was proposed. The slaves on the estate had been educated till they were twelve years old. The men and women always worked in separate gangs. The slave families had separate houses. Yet although this system had been pursued for over one hundred years, and the slaves had thus received as much, certainly, if not more preparation for freedom than they could ever expect to receive under any system of apprenticeship, still the slaves on this estate were declared to be wholly unfit for freedom. After working over a hundred years, and on three generations of slaves, the slaves of the Coddrington estate were still found unprepared for freedom, apparently as much so as those around them. We cannot resist the conclusion, therefore, that the *system* of slavery prevented their education farther, and that if you would fit a man for freedom, you must, first of all, strike off his fetters.

Still it is said that the slaves, if immediately set free, will not work. Suppose they won't, who has a better right to sit idle than the man who has worked through life fifteen and sometimes twenty hours a day? Has the slaveholder? But what does this objection amount to? It is not that the negroes will not work enough to support themselves, and their wives and children, but the fear is, that they will not produce as much cotton, sugar, rum and molasses as before. To use the elegant diction of Mr. Carlyle—there is no fear but that Quashee will raise pumpkin enough, but the fear is that he will not raise spice enough for the delicate palates of the whites. Their reason for continuing slavery cannot be equalled in deep atrocity. We make three millions of brutes into men and women, and you say this is nothing, unless they will raise as much cotton as before! We destroy utterly this vast incentive to licentiousness, and you reply, this is nothing, unless they will produce as much rum as before! We secure the blessings of home and education to an entire nation, and you say, this is nothing, if the crops of sugar and molasses will fall off! To such an objector we say, with the lady in Comus—

> Enjoy your dear wit, and gay rhetoric,
> That hath so well been taught her dazzling fence,
> *Thou art not fit to hear thyself convinced.*

But the objection is not true. Mr. McDonough, merely by giving a gang of eighty of his slaves the prospect of being able to earn their freedom, induced them to labor in sixteen years hard enough, not only to pay him the value of the labor of their whole lives, but also to pay him a sufficient sum of money to enable him to purchase in North Carolina or Virginia a gang of 150 negroes. So remarkable was the assiduity of his slaves, that a neighbor offered him $5000 for the foreman of the gang—thinking, innocent soul! that the secret of their willingness to labor was the capacity of the overseer, and not in their own willing minds.

In Antigua, the wages of the freed slaves average a shilling a day. They are, according to all the testimony within our reach, ready enough to work by the job, and when so employed, they will work two or three times as hard as on ordinary occasions. When thus hired, they will frequently get up at three o'clock in the morning, and work by moonlight, or if there is no moon, by the light of fires made in the fields. In the days of slavery, every plantation had its sick house, to which slaves who were unable to work were sent. Then there was a great amount of 'skulking,' as it was called, and the sick houses were always full. Now, what is the fact? The sick houses have become almost useless. On one estate, the sick house was turned into a stable, because it was wholly useless, and on another it was converted into a chapel for the same reason. The average produce of the Island of Antigua, for the last five years of slavery, viz., 1829—1833 inclusive, was—sugar 12,159 hogsheads; molasses, 3305 puncheons; rum, 2408 puncheons. For the first five years of freedom, viz., 1834—1838 inclusive, was—sugar, 13,545 hogsheads; molasses, 8308 puncheons; and rum, 1109 puncheons—and two of these years were years of severe drought. In the year 1830, these were produced, sugar, 22,383 hogsheads; molasses, 12,438 puncheons; and (we are glad to say) only 582 puncheons of rum. Emancipation has here enhanced the value of the exports.

In Jamaica, the average wages of men are from eighteen to twenty-four cents a day, and for women and children proportionably less. These are the wages which the planters declare to be ruinously and extravagantly high, although in the largest market on the Island flour sells at $16 and $18 a barrel, butter for thirty-eight cents a pound, eggs from three to five cents a-piece, and ham at twenty-five cents a pound! But it is said that the exports of Jamaica have greatly fallen off since emancipation, and that the land has fallen almost to a nominal value. These objections are both true, but they do not by any means prove that slaves, if emancipated, will not work. There were exported from Jamaica, in 1834, 84,756 hogsheads of sugar, 23,111 puncheons rum, and 17,725,781 lbs. of coffee—whilst in 1848, only 42,212 hogsheads of sugar, 20,194 puncheons of rum, and 6,884,941 pounds of coffee were exported. Mr. Bigelow, in his recent work, entitled 'Jamaica in 1850,' pp. 55, 57, gives several instances of this deterioration in the price of land. He mentions one estate, once worth £65,265, which has been sold for £34081! But other causes beside emancipation have been in operation in Jamaica, fully sufficient to account for its present condition. These causes, which are very clearly explained and established by Mr. Bigelow, are, (1.) The degrading estimate put upon all physical labor by the whites. (2.) Nine-tenths of all the land under cultivation was owned by absentees, and, of course, managed as all such estates are, in the most expensive and poorest manner, by agents. This system has been always found disastrous in its effects, wherever it has been tried. (3.) All the estates on the Island were very heavily mortgaged to foreigners. It was estimated that the whole real estate which was under cultivation in 1832 would not have sold for enough to pay off the incumbrances! The Island was hopelessly insolvent prior to emancipation! Mr. Bigelow names other causes, but these are much more than sufficient to account for the present condition of the Island, confessedly poor as it is so far as the *planters* are concerned. Emancipation did not, by any manner of means, cause the present state of things—as the very worst, it only precipitated that result which had already become inevitable. It revealed *immediately* the utter and hopeless insolvency of the island, instead of the planter being able to maintain, for a few years longer, an appearance, and only the appearance, of real prosperity. What, then, is the state of the case in relation to the indolence and improvidence of the slaves?—(1.) Out of the low wages which they thus receive, they are obliged to support, and they do support in comfort, themselves and families, and aged relations, except only those who were infirm at the time the act of emancipation passed. There are no poor taxes for the benefit of the slaves. (2.) In the days of slavery, there was scarcely a single negro or colored householder on the Island of Jamaica. Now there are a hundred thousand free negroes who each own and cultivate on an average three acres of land. This has been done by them even in the short space of sixteen years—whilst notwithstanding the whites have been in possession of the Island for centuries, they have brought under cultivation only 500,000 out of 4,000,000 of acres. What fact can be imagined which more clearly demonstrates the care and thought of the negroes than this? (3.) The exports of domestic produce from the United States to the West Indies were very greatly increased—as appears by the following table, showing the value of our exports to the West Indies for the year ending June 30, 1826, $1,765,487; 1836, $1,748,555; 1848, $4,344,536. Since the abolition of slavery, there has been a steady increase in the consumption of our articles of domestic produce; and to whom, except the freed slaves, has this increased consumption been owing? (4.) The contributions by the slaves to the funds of the Friendly Societies (so called in Antigua) have very greatly increased since emancipation. These Societies are supported *wholly* by freed negroes. Members 18 years of age pay a shilling, and those under 18 and over 12 pay six pence a month to the funds of the Society. The objects of these Societies are to afford relief in cases of distress, to help the infirm, and, as the Constitution of one of these Societies states, 'to encourage sobriety and industry, and to check disorderly and immoral conduct.' In 1834, there were eleven of these Societies connected with the Established Church, with 1602 members. In 1835 there were 4197, and in 1836, 4556 members! The Societies of those connected with the Moravian Church had, in three years after emancipation, doubled the number of their members and the amount of their funds. In 1837, their funds amounted to $10,000! There were four of these Societies among the Wesleyans. The largest, numbering, in 1837, 550 members, was organized in the very month when they obtained their freedom. Two years after, it expended in one year £700 currency, and had in its treasury £627 currency! And these are the men who were to be engaged to cutting throats! These are the men who will not work unless they are whipped! These are the creatures who are so very improvident that they cannot take care of themselves, until their slaveholding owners have given them a few more of their valuable lessons on thrift and industry! (5.) The emancipated slaves are improving in morals. In Antigua, for the nine years ending Dec. 31, 1832, there were only 107 marriages between slaves. Less than 200 marriages in 9 years in a population of 35,000! In 1833, the last year of slavery, there were 61—whilst in 1835, the first whole year of freedom, there were 420 marriages duly solemnized. The churches are all crowded, and the contribution to the funds of churches is very large. Thome and Kimball mention two societies, almost entirely composed of blacks, about 1350 in number, who contributed, in 1835, in little weekly subscriptions, $1550—besides contributing to special objects occasionally. In 1835, the collections in the several Wesleyan chapels, independent of occasional contributions to Sunday Schools, missionary objects, &c., amounted to more than $4500. (6.) The emancipated slaves feel anxious to have their children enjoy the benefits of education. In Antigua, in 1834, not one tenth of the adult population knew their letters. In 1837, six thousand children were attending school daily. The master in a Sabbath School in St. Johns said that the sudden increase of his scholars after emancipation could only be compared to the rising of the mercury when the thermometer is moved from the shade into the sun.

We have thus seen that gradual emancipation is neither right for the slave, nor is it a safe course for the interest or life of the master; that it has been tried under as favorable auspices as can any where exist, and been abandoned with the full consent of the very planters who originally asked it; and that nothing but the stimulus of freedom is needed to teach the slaves how to take care of themselves. In other words, we have seen that immediate emancipation is the right of every slave—is the duty of every master, and that sound reason and experience unite in demonstrating that in this as in other cases it is not only safe to do right, but unsafe not to do it.

EXTRACTS

From an able and eloquent Speech delivered on the Anniversary of West India Emancipation, at Worcester, by Parker Pillsbury.

A good deal was said, and eloquently and truly said, by those who have addressed us, about the results of emancipation in the West Indies. I love to contemplate the results which have followed that event; but while I do, I always remember that we have a multitude of people in our country, who seem to think that if these results had been other than happy, why, then, emancipation would have been a crime, or, at least, an evil. I think the great mass of the people of America feel to-day, that unless more sugar is made, and more poncheons of rum are exported to this and other countries, emancipation is to be declared a failure, and an event to be deprecated. Now, I love to see prosperity anywhere, whether it be in the West Indies or the East Indies; but I do not like to dwell too much on that prosperity which attends the performance of a great and good action. Supposing there had been exported no sugar and no rum—(for I believe our country is about alike concerned in both)—then what? Must slavery continue, lest we should not have sugar or rum? That seems to be the sentiment which prevails. Why, men do not complain that the morals of the islands are at a low ebb; they do not complain, so far as I have heard, that education has declined at all,—it could not well have done so, as to religion or morality. I suppose total depravity expresses their condition, at least as well as that of every other portion of the world, before slavery was done away. But suppose the reverse of all this. I believe it is generally complained of emancipation, not that those results followed, but that less sugar and less of rum were manufactured and exported. Now, Mr. Chairman, I say I do not like to consider the act in that light, for the reason that it seems a sort of concession, on the part of the friends of freedom, that if emancipation had been productive of evil instead of good, it ought not to have taken place. I do not so look at it. If God requires us to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, the obligation is none the less binding because it may lead to very different results from these. I suppose it is best for us to observe and comply with the requisitions and the laws of justice and of God, no matter what consequences shall follow. The command was not to keep certain observances as long as we can do it with profit. I do not recollect any such condition appended to the ten commandments, when they were given on Mount Sinai. The command is, 'Thou shalt not steal;' but there is no clause appended, providing for an ample maintenance without stealing. So, too, there is a command, 'Thou shalt not kill;' but are men to sit down and calculate as to what the consequences will be if they do not kill, and, like the soldier, inquire how they shall get a living, if they do not get it by destroying the lives of others? But we talk as if we thought that, unless immediate and direct blessing and prosperity attend the doing of a good act, we are under no obligation to do that act.

A man is indeed promised the bless of heaven, on condition that he obeys the will of God, but I rather expect he had better obey, heaven or no heaven. He is threatened with the pains of hell,—at least, in some churches,—if he do not obey God and justice; I think he had better obey, even if there be no hell. But that does not appear to be the principle on which the world acts, or is taught to act. Now, I care not when a command is given from God in thunder, or when it is uttered up from the deep voice of nature, I care not what consequences are to follow the observance of that command. Be it there is to be less sugar manufactured, and less orders for spirits imported or exported—still the obligation is the same. What though emancipation in our land should overwhelm the entire nation in an ocean of fire and blood? Suppose it should deluge all the plantations of the South in the blood of their owners and their owner's children! Suppose the doing of the good act of emancipating the slaves should even result in greater horrors than these! What though it might shake down all the principalities and powers of the world? What though thrones and dominions totter and fall? What though kings should turn suicides in desperation, and quacks go mad in despair—that time and all nature should give up the ghost together, and the universe be overwhelmed in the general ruin? Still, the command is none the less binding. That sentiment which was echoed round the world twenty centuries ago—*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*—is of binding force to-day, was yesterday, and shall be forever.

It is only when contemplating emancipation in that light, that I contemplate it with any great degree of satisfaction or pleasure. I do not wish to calculate consequences. Let the Being who gave the command, be responsible for the consequences.

* * * * * * *

I have said that the Church was sanctifying these efforts at preserving the Union. They have wrested their Lord's words, to prove that the compromises are, in very deed, the only hope of the country. Daniel Webster seems to be the great anchingod, and the great apostle of this Union's salvation. The Church and State seem to think that '*there is no other name under heaven, given among men, whereby it can be saved*.' (Loud cheers.)

And what the State has not been able to demonstrate in this regard, the Church has been able to supply. I have here a little specimen of it, Mr. Chairman, that has just come to my hand. The clergy are not quite certain that Daniel Webster is equal to the work, and so some Doctors of Divinity are lending a helping hand. They seem to think, in order to make the salvation sure, some theology must be mingled with the State policy, as if, by faith and works, the salvation might be secured. Rev. James Smylie, D. D., a member of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, whose divinity has recently been doctored—and it is, I think, not too soon—has come to the aid of Daniel Webster in his defence of the Fugitive Slave Law, which seems to be the main thread on which salvation hangs. As the blood of Christ is represented as being the salvation of the saints, so the blood of the *returned slave* is the sacrifice in which God is to smell a sweet savor, and extend the blessings of salvation over this Union. Dr. Smylie has come to the rescue of the Fugitive Slave Law. Somebody has said that it takes a Doctor of Divinity to do the meanest thing that is done. I think the defence of the Fugitive Slave Law is among the meanest things to be done. The work requires the meanest men. There was a man down east, who had a son who went to the western country and settled there, and, what is not very unusual with a Yankee, he succeeded in getting property there; and this was a good thing, for you know the chief end of man is to get money. [Laughter.] The old man,—which is also not very unusual,—was something of a politician, and had the reputation of being an office-seeker. Possibly you have heard of such. After a while, the son wrote to the old gentleman, and told him that he thought he ought to sell out and come there. He said the soil was magnificent, the crops beautiful, the markets near, the roads improving, and the schools and churches almost good enough; and then he adds, as probably the clenching argument in this estimation, '*Most almighty man men get into office out here.*' [Roars of laughter and applause.] We have room and work for that kind of officers now. Here is a Doctor of Divinity worthy of that company: and now listen to what he says.

[Mr. Pillsbury here read the following extract from a work by Rev. Dr. Smylie, in defence of slavery and less of the Fugitive Slave Law, interspersing it with satirical and humorous comments, which created much mirth in the audience:—]

'The epistle to Philemon was written by Paul, while a prisoner at Rome. As Philemon was converted under the ministry of Paul, and had a church in his house, it is probable that Philemon's slaves were acquainted with Paul. This acquaintance might have been the reason that Onesimus, the slave of Philemon, after he ran away from his master at Colosse, and now in Rome among strangers, called, as was natural, to see an old acquaintance. He this, it may, now thing is certain, he was converted under the ministry of Paul, and, for some time after his conversion, served Paul. The apostle, however, *sent him home*, with this letter, which we are considering, *to his master*, with an urgent request on the part of Paul, to Philemon, that he would not treat his slave harshly, but receive him in the two-fold capacity of a slave and a brother—both in the flesh and in the Lord.

'This is the substance of the whole letter. That Onesimus was a slave—that Paul recognized him as the lawful property of his master, Philemon, I refer you to Scott, Clark, and McKnight—the two former thorough going emancipators. In this epistle, we find Onesimus advertised as a runaway from his master's service. 'Paul advertises that he will pay Onesimus' debts, whether they were for goods stolen and wasted, before his conversion, or whether the debts accrued for the loss of time he was absent, or both. It is not stated how he became in debt, but Paul promises to will pay what Onesimus owed.

'It is not stated, whether Philemon ever advertised a reward for apprehending Onesimus, but it is evident, from the letter, that Paul expected to be rewarded with the gratitude of Philemon, for *sending back* to him *his slave*; especially as he had reason, from what he had learned from Paul's letter, to believe that his slave would now be more profitable to him than he was before his conversion.

'Here then, we have an Apostle, 'with a view of restoring him to his master,' sending back a runaway slave. Here we have, in Philemon, an eminent Christian, holding his fellow-beings in Slavery. Here, also, we have Onesimus, verily, now bearing the image of Jesus, sent home as a slave, by Paul the aged.

'The advertising and apprehending a runaway slave, against whom no crime is alleged, is not the full extent of Paul's iniquity. But he, professing to have the mind of the Spirit, is guilty of the sweet unpardonable omission. He knew that Philemon lived at Colosse, and that he would, of course, see the letter he wrote to the Colossians at the same time that he wrote to him a private letter. In the letter to the Colossians he directs masters to 'give unto their servants that which is *just and equal*,' without mentioning whether it was intended by 'just and equal,' that their masters were to emancipate them. Philemon would look at the private letter he sent to himself, to learn from it his duty, as now he had, in the person of Onesimus, a slave, whom Paul owns as a 'brother beloved.' And there, instead of emancipation being required, he finds Paul comforting him with the hope, that Onesimus would quit his old tricks, and never run away again; 'for,' says Paul, 'perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that then shouldst receive him *forever*.' If he had not run away, and in the providence of God been converted, he, perhaps, would have been of no service to you, but now, being converted, he will never run away from you again, but serve you '*forever*,' not, with eye-service, as formerly, 'but in singleness of heart, fearing God.' Yes will find now, that whatever service you require of him, he will 'do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men.' So that now, 'you receive him' back, purged by the Holy Ghost of the Abolition principles he had adopted, which caused him to run away, and which caused him, even when he staid at home, to do his work reluctantly and in a *slovish* manner, 'with eye-service.' But now he is under the influence of holy principles, so that you may now receive him, 'not as a slave, but as a brother beloved, especially to me,' who have for some time enjoyed his services. Although I have not the additional circumstance of his being my property, to increase my attachment to him, yet I do love him as a brother. If then, his Christian principles, and the short service he has rendered to me, make him stand so high in my estimation, '*in the Lord*, how much more should I esteem him, if he was 'mine in the flesh.' That is, if he was my *property, and constituted part of my household, as he does yours.* (!!!)

There, that is a Doctor of Divinity;—that in defence of the Fugitive Slave Law. That is a defender of the Secretary of State, (*as they call him*) in the salvation of the American Union. Daniel Webster gave the text in the Fugitive Slave Law; Dr. Smylie, and other Doctors of Divinity, are writing the commentary; and there is the Bible, as it comes to us interpreted by the Doctors of Divinity in our country. When Paul speaks of Onesimus as his son, &c., after what is called regeneration, or the new birth, when he speaks of himself and Onesimus as one flesh—Christian (!) Dr. Smylie says he meant 'one flesh in the same sense as you might speak of the quarter of lamb you bought this morning of your butcher.' And here, some of us are blasted, from one end of the world to the other, on account of our want of faith in that book! I tell you, Mr. Chairman, that though France may have produced a crop of infidels under the teachings and influence of the Catholic clergy, this country, with such Doctors of Divinity as this, will produce a harvest of infidels, compared with which the rankest infidels of France would be considered innocent as angels in the presence of the eternal God. I speak of infidelity as understood by the Church.

☞ The celebrated comedian, John Reeves, was once accosted by an elderly female with a bottle of gin in her hand: 'Pray, sir, I beg your pardon, is this the way to the work-house?' John gave her a look of clerical dignity, and, pointing the bottle, gravely said, 'No, madam, but that is.'

Emancipation of Slaves.—A provision has been adopted by the Virginia Reform Convention, in Committee of the Whole, prohibiting the Legislature of the State from passing any law for the emancipation of slaves.

From the New York Tribune.

TALK FOR THE MARINES.

President Fillmore has just visited the White Sulphur Springs of Virginia, accompanied by some members of his Cabinet. On his arrival, he was addressed, in behalf of the citizens and guests, by Hon. John Barney, of whose speech the following is a specimen:—

'In your tour through the entire length of this ancient Commonwealth, you have realized that the home of the slave is not the abode of the oppressed, and that the misplaced sympathy of the Northern fanatics is as gratuitous as it is impolitic; for you cannot have witnessed that their comforts are cared for, and their every want supplied—the master, still more frequently the mistress, (always the lady Beautiful,) are them selves *enslaved* by their devotion in sickness and health to watch over, protect and make them happy; and my own experience justifies the assertion that the fair daughters of wealthy Eastern farmers perform daily as much domestic labor as our *overworked* slaves.'

It is amazing that men will thus persist in misapprehending or misstating the question, which they attempt to discuss. Why should a Northern President or other citizen, be perpetually lectured on the subject of slavery in his travels through the South? Does not this incessant pettifogging for slavery betray a consciousness of its wrongs and a tender for behalf of its offenders? Suppose a Southern President were travelling through the North, who would consider it proper or decent to lecture him at every stage on the wisdom and beneficence of *our* peculiar institutions? Mr. Fillmore has travelled some three or four days in Virginia, driving rapidly from place to place, stopping in the most stately mansions, and being hospitably entertained by the most princely masters. It is utterly improbable that he has once entered a slave hut, inspected its furniture and bedding, or seen what its inmates had for dinner. It is not at all likely that any master, however anxious to exhibit to the President some of the 'peculiar blessings' of the South, would call up his negro to lash him in Mr. Fillmore's presence. How, then, unless by inspiration, is Mr. Fillmore supposed to have 'witnessed' that the slaves of Virginia are so admirably treated and their every want supplied? How is he to have learned so suddenly, after many years familiarity with slavery at Washington, that the 'sympathy of Northern fanatics is gratuitous and impolitic?'

But Mr. Barney informs us that the Virginia *masters are* 'enslaved' by the system they upheld. There is far more truth in the remark than its author intended. Slavery *does* involve in its fetters the despot as well as the serf-race, and injures the one as well as the other. The master is enslaved by his fears, his apathies, his indolence, his remorse. Not for the sake of the blacks alone, but for that of the whites also, do we plead for the speedy triumph of Emancipation. And we go beyond Mr. Barney on another point, maintaining that one well-schooled, well-trained, free, self-respecting, pure-minded daughter of a New England farmer accomplishes more work than two average female slaves. Bondmen may be overworked, but as a general rule, they are incapable, indolent, careless and inefficient.

But Mr. Barney grievously misstates the main point, when he asserts of the slaves that 'their *every want* is supplied.' Admit all that he affirms specifically, and it only appears that their animal appetites and weaknesses are duly ministered to—that they are treated as well as their master's cattle. But their 'every want' includes much more than this. They 'want' opportunity and aid to develop their moral and intellectual faculties—they 'want' legal protection against the sale of husband from wife, parent from child, at the auction-block or to the travelling man-monger. They 'want' a chance to enjoy what they produce, to clothe and educate their children, and to obtain such distinction and consideration in society as their talents and virtues may fairly command. All these are imperatively denied them by the system which Mr. Barney tells the President that he sees, have 'realized' it so beneficent and admirable. We venture to assure the orator, that there was never a career set in the prospective Owl Creek City of Lithograph on which it would be so difficult to 'realize' as on the picture of slave blessedness which he so gratuitously presented to the President.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Evening Post.

THE FUGITIVE LAW, ETC.

Ohio, August 7, 1851.

The following are our reasons for not allowing the miserable equal of Hunker politicians in this State, to engraft the Fugitive Slave law into our platform at the Democratic State Convention:

1st. Because we believe it to be unconstitutional.
2. It is oppressive, and repugnant to a free people.
3. It converts this Republic into a mere slave-catching machine, and makes the North, as well as the South, *participes criminis* in the sin of slavery.
4. It commands all good citizens to assist the man-stealer!
5. It opens the door for perjury, and allows slave-drivers to swear their opposers upon the general government.
6. It offers a bribe to the base wretch who accepts the commission.
7. It makes the marshal responsible at all hazards.
8. It permits the slave-driver to compel us to pay for his worn-out negroes, by mercing the marshal for involuntary escape, or a citizen for giving a crust of bread or a cup of water to the panting fugitive!
9. It don't allow the slave to prove his freedom, or that the papers against him are forged.
10. It don't compel the claimant to prove that the *fugitive owes him any labor.*
11. Because the evidence may be taken in another State, and the slave cannot meet his accuser face to face, nor be heard by counsel.
12. Because the proceedings are summary, the testimony ex parte, and the liberty of every citizen jeopardized.
13. Because it uses the words, '*fugitives from service or labor,*' and '*persons* held to service,' &c., including, as we contend, *white* as well as black, thus permitting our sons and daughters to be liable to be driven to Southern cotton fields and auction blocks.
14. Because it shows a disposition to Northern tyrannies.
15. Because it is an insult to the independence of the State, and a stab at the revered doctrine of State Rights.
16. Because it abolishes the trial by jury, one of the safeguards of every citizen's rights.
17. Because it supersedes the *habeas corpus* act, one of the bulwarks of civil and religious freedom.

As Cridenden would say, '*Because it is a hunker law,*' or as the Detroit *Free Press* (that miserable Hunker slave) says, because '*a negro is a chattel, and cannot have a trial by jury, or be allowed the habeas corpus act.*' But remember the law says, '*persons* held to service.'

18. Because it answers the question, 'What have we to do with slavery?'

19. Because the Constitution only binds us to not hinder the slave-catcher from getting his slave—but no where compels us to pay his bills. We say, '*Let him pay his property, pay charges, and take him away.*'

20. Because, were we to resolve in our State Convention, that we were in favor of this most *infamous of all laws*, we should place a falsehood upon the record, and take a position as a party that would bury us beyond the most distant hope of a resurrection.

21. Because, were we to fall down and worship the Moloch of the South, they would decline us as they did General *Case*, and go for some Southern slave breeder.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe the friends of a high protective tariff are endeavoring to get up a Union with the South, sans excuse for the passage of their favorite hobby.

Our language to the slave hunter will be:

'Go back, haughty Southron! thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the blood of the hearts thou hast sold!
Thy home may be goudy, but around it I hear
The crack of the whip, and the footsteps of fear.

'Full low, at thy bidding, thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
Yet know that a freeman for sooner would be
Ye fetters with them, than return them to thee!'

If democrats will run after strange gods, and be bamboozled by the present pro-slavery administration and its compromises, better let them alone to be joined to their idols like Ephraim of old—they won't make good democrats, anyhow; for the old saw is, 'You can't make a whistle out of a pig's tail.'

With sentiments of esteem,
BUCK-EYE STATE.

From the Liberator.

REV. WILLIAM MOUNTFORD.

Mr. Mountford is an English Unitarian clergyman, settled at Gloucester, in this State. Whether he belongs to that class,

'Who love to their country for their country's good,'

or not, his short residence here has already made it very clear, that he is no acquisition to the land of his adoption. The almost entire recreancy of the American pulpit to the cause of the hearts-broken and the populous at the South renders it quite insupportable that it should be upheld and extended by foreign importation. The most despicable, as well as the most dangerous of all trimmers and time-servers is he, who, claiming to be a minister of Jesus Christ, (the most fearless and radical reformer who has ever appeared,) is disposed to connive at popular wrong, and to cry 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace. He is both a coward and a traitor of the basest type.

The Anti-Slavery cause, in this country, is not strictly a conflict between those who are native-born: if it were, it would be soon terminated by the triumph of truth, and the emancipation of those in bondage. But that cause is retarded, assailed, injured, beyond calculation, by the vast foreign emigration to these shores. Of the millions of Irish, scarcely one in ten thousand feels, or exhibits, any sympathy with our down-trodden slave or free colored population. The entire mass, almost without an exception, become pro-slavery almost as soon as they touch our soil. Their formidable political strength is exerted to the upbuilding of the slave power; and so low are they in intelligence and in morals, so hemmed in and controlled are they by their religious prejudices and superstitions, that it is impossible to reach them with Anti-Slavery light and truth. Making the most liberal allowance for them, in view of their dependance and degradation, the fact is none the less true, and none the less frightful, that they stand a consolidated body in the way of negro emancipation. Religiously, they are taught nothing as to the inherent sinfulness of making men the property of men. We have yet to hear of a Catholic priest, in the United States, who is an Abolitionist: of course, a Bishop, hostile to slavery, is out of the question. We do not know of a single Catholic journal—religious, political or literary—that is not wholly on the side of the oppressor, where there it power.'

The same declaration is substantially true of the millions of Germans, and other foreigners, who now constitute a formidable portion of our population. They cannot be collected together like Americans: they cannot be reasoned with as such; our Anti-Slavery publications are never read or seen by them.

We repeat it—the chains of the slave are made heavier, and his liberation incomparably more difficult, by the presence among us of a vast foreign population, which is fearfully augmenting, and which is wholly subservient to the wishes and designs of the Slave Power.

It is not our purpose, here, to inquire why such a paradox exists—how it happens that they who, starved and oppressed at home, on coming over here on secure competence and liberty, should be found the adherents or apologists of a system of tyranny which has no parallel for atrocity in the darkest portions of Europe. Such is the fact—as melancholy as it is unchristible.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the guilt of an intelligent foreigner, especially if he be an Englishman—more especially if he claims to be both a disciple and a minister of Christ—who, whether travelling or residing among us, is dumb in view of our great national transgression, or seeks to cover its enormity, is greatly enhanced beyond that of any other man.

Such a man is the Rev. William Mountford, English Unitarian minister at Gloucester.

Since the passage of the horrible Fugitive Slave Law, the philanthropy and piety of England have been powerfully awakened to the enormity of that system which makes such a law necessary, and to the guilt of those who can tolerate either the one or the other. Various religious bodies have adopted resolutions, in exact conformity with the views so long promulgated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, setting forth the sinfulness of slaveholding under all circumstances—the gross impropriety of admitting slaveholders and their apologists to the Christian church—and the duty of every occupant of a pulpit in America to lift up his voice like a trumpet against the traffickers in human flesh, the enslavers of their fellow-men. Of all these, the Unitarian body appears to be the most earnest and outspoken; yet somewhat divided in sentiment on the subject. To resent this 'interference'—to help strengthen whatever pro-slavery feeling is lurking in the breasts of English Unitarians—to quench the flame of anti-slavery sentiment, which is spreading among Unitarian ranks—and to conciliate popular or denominational favor in this country—Mr. Mountford has written a letter to the Editor of the London (Unitarian) *Inquirer*, such as becomes a coward, time-server, and apostate. That letter was copied into the *Liberator* of August 15th. No other comment is needed, to show its real character, than to reiterate the fact, that it has been promptly republished by the most notorious pro-slavery journals here, and its author highly extolled by them—to his everlasting condemnation. On both sides of the Atlantic, it will exert a deleterious influence, not because of the character or standing of the writer, but on account of the peculiar circumstances under which it is published, and the pervasive zeal which the enemies of emancipation display in the circulation of such a missive.

Mr. Mountford commences his letter with a quibble about the Unitarians of America not existing 'as a body,' and, therefore, 'as a body,' they are not to be blamed if they have not protested against the Fugitive Slave Law. To the question, have the separate congregations and individual ministers acted on the matter? he coolly answers—'*Quite seriously*, and yet conscientiously, so far as I know.' That is, some have condemned the law—others have approved of it; some are for obeying God—others are for recognizing the supremacy of the devil; some think it is right to take pity on the outcast, and not to betray the fugitive—others deem it wrong to do so, because the law a. Congress expressly forbids it; some believe in a higher law, even the eternal law of justice—others believe in the lower law, even the law of man-stealers and pirates; some acknowledge it to be 'a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty'—others affirm that it is right to buy, sell, hold, hunt and recapture human beings as living property! But whether it be they who serve God or the devil—have hearts of flesh or hearts of stone—it is all the same! They all act 'quite consistently'—i. e. so far as Mr. Mountford knows!

'It has been proposed,' says this teacher of *liberal* (!) Christianity, 'to question every American clergyman who may visit England, on his conduct regarding the Fugitive Slave Law, and if he has not raised his voice against it, then to exclude him from all pulpits.' And this very humane proposition fills Mr. M. with very great indignation! He says that 'most high-minded Americans will feel themselves insulted by such inquisitorial treatment as is proposed for them.' Insulted if they are asked, in the name of Christ and in behalf of bleeding humanity, whether they have borne their testimony against a law which aims to dethrone God, to stifle every sympathetic emotion, to render those acts treasonable which Christ has declared to be essential to religion! (See Matt. 25th ch.) 'High-minded Americans,' indeed! Yes, such as impiously strive to exalt themselves 'above all that is called God!' Such 'high-minded,' says an apostle, who deemed humility a Christian virtue, and considered it a sacred duty to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' They whose hands are clear will never object to their examination, where it is impossible at once to know are guilty and who are not, and where nothing personally offensive is intended. The real friend and advocate of the slave will never deem it an insult to be questioned as to his faith or practice, in any part of the world; on the contrary, solicitude evinced to ascertain his views, on the part of those who have helped to emancipate eight hundred thousand British bondmen, will be an additional claim upon his respect, admiration and gratitude. Mr. Mountford is himself guilty of a great outrage, in implying that British Christians are animated by a self-righteous or impertinent spirit, to their enquiries or materials of such American clergymen as happen to be with them, claiming their hospitality and confidence, whether in the mighty struggle going on in America for the abolition of the most oppressive and impure system ever known, they are true to the perishing slave. They have not only a right, but are in duty bound to make the inquiry as a test of religious fellowship. With his animal nature aroused, he may haughtily declare, 'Englishmen though I am, I should disdain in England to answer such inquiries, even though for myself I know that with some persons they are more kindly.' But all this is as empty as the whistling wind. The affectation of independence, in this instance, is supremely ridiculous. Nothing is more certain than this—place him in England or America, in Russia or Turkey, this facile trimmer would instantly conform to the state of popular opinion, and throw principle to the winds.

From the same.

☞ Here is an emphatic and much needed testimony, by a true Briton, who carries his principles and love of impartial liberty with him. We trust it will not be wholly ineffectual, but may his own spirit be infused into the minds of such of his countrymen here as have basely bowed the knee to the dark spirit of American slavery.'—*Ed. Lib.*

REORIANT ENGLISHMEN AND IRISHMEN IN AMERICA.

Boston, July 29, 1851.

My Dear Sir:

According to promise, I now proceed to review the conduct of many of my countrymen on the subject of slavery.

For many years, I have been congratulating myself on the strength the English and Irish emigrants would give to the cause of abolition, when leaving the old country for America; ever dreaming that they could be recreant to Truth and Freedom, on the a voyage across the Atlantic; could, by any possibility, transform born freemen into the do meanest of all mean slaves; for

'They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, suffering, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.'

The English and Irish generally, (and I have talked with many,) seem to take one of two positions: either they are silent altogether, and so aid and abet the wrong, or they become compromisers of the matter. For my own part, I hardly know which is the worse; but, certainly, I think absolute silence the meaner of the two. To all my countrymen, who come to this land, I say, they should either array themselves in opposition to slavery, or be honest enough at once to declare their intention of not contributing it, in whatever form it may present itself. To condemn it at home and abroad is their bounden duty; and if they fail, they are traitors to their Fatherland and the Truth.

The history of Great Britain, for many centuries, presents one continued warfare against oppression; and can we, by a journey of a few days, obliterate from our memories the glorious deeds of our fathers? Can we blot out the remembrance of Cromwell, Hampden, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and all the other host of protestants against wrong, and turn round to aid and abet it towards our colored brethren? If we can, we ought not!

We all dislike the name of coward; let us take care not to deserve it. Let us not forget the struggles of the past; but, by the remembrance of the foul blots we have wiped away, strive to wipe away the stains of others. Let us be truly dauntless, where Freedom is concerned.

We are sometimes told that England entailed slavery on America; but it is not the truth. To the Dutch *this honor* belongs. But, even supposing we had done so, we have shown, in our own acts, that if we can commit wrong, we likewise know how to repent. Let America take example from England, and when sometimes tempted to condemn that dear old land, do her at least the justice she deserves. Let it be said of her children, that when already overburdened with taxation and suffering, they did not hesitate to give their millions to free their negro brethren in bonds. Let it be said of her, that while she has poverty, misery, starvation and wretchedness, within and about her possessions, she holds not one human being in bondage as a chattel slave; her paupers can go where they please, stay in their own land or not; they breathe a free air. They know, for certain, their wives cannot be torn from them, their little ones are secure, their manly sons and daughters free from the hands of the polluter of virtue, from the foul forced lust of the destroyer of the peace and happiness, even of the humblest home. Let America publish the faults of the mother country—proclaim them loudly to the world—and I, for one, will thank, will bless her for it; but do not malign her knowingly. Compare her sins and her repentance with your own! Tell the sons of Britain, who come here, of the wrongs of themselves, injurers of America, enemies to her progress, if they are not faithful to Justice, Mercy and Truth! When our great once come here, and give sanction to institutions they dare not uphold at home, tell them—as I do now—they are mean, contemptible hypocrites; they have forgotten their manhood, they disgrace their country, and should hide their heads in shame.

When we see men, like Father Mathew and Sir Charles Lyell, stooping to declare slavery an evil, asserting that the poor freemen of other lands are worse off than the slaves of America, we can scarce wonder at the little-minded bending beneath the superincumbent load; but at such men as the above mentioned, we marvel indeed. Father Mathew especially,—the Temperance Apostle, the man who has said so much, done so much, strives so hard to abolish the slavery of drunkards in his own and other lands—the man who has loved so fondly and so cherished in the hearts of thousands,—to stoop to the encouragement of that system which he knows in his heart to be a libel in the face of God and Man—which, though he advocate here, he must play the hypocrite and contemn at home, or well he knows that the virtuous and the good will despise and shun him; that those, both in England and Ireland, who have so helped and aided, will sever the tie that bound them together in the common cause of Humanity for ever!—Father Mathew, above all others, should be the last to uphold wrong, when the best part of his life has been a protest against it. He may have done good since he came here, but it is a thousand times outweighed by the evil he has likewise done. Had he been as manly in opposing slavery as he has been in condemning intemperance, he would have done much towards the annihilation of this system, which even its warmest advocates know in their hearts to be a lie, and hundreds of his countrymen, who have either sunk in silence or pro-slavery, would have gone over to Truth and Freedom, to the abolition of human slavery and every other foul wrong, and would have blessed others while they blessed themselves. But the day of retribution will come, when Father Mathew shall feel the stings of conscience, the terrors of remorse, and will curse the day when he sold himself shamefully and shamelessly to Error, Prejudice, Falsehood, and Dishonor. Once the honored friend and compatriot of Daniel O'Connell, he has disgraced that friendship, and sunk in forgetfulness the memory of that great and good man.

So of Lyell,—the scholar, the man of science,—his pro-slavery opinions in his works are a disgrace; and I do not hesitate to accuse him of meanly seeking popularity with the Americans by pleasing them there. They are no necessary part of his work, and such opinions as he has therein expressed do credit neither to his head nor his heart.

To every emigrant who has landed or who may land in this country, I would earnestly beseech them to declare themselves on this side of freedom; not with violence or arrogant pride, but with humility and firmness of purpose, never fearing to speak out their horror of slavery, or their condemnation of evil that is wrong; but while they censure the faults of other people, let them not be blinded to their own, but let all strive to realize the brotherhood of mankind, and to prove ourselves at all times willing, as far as in us lies, 'to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us.' And, lastly, let me remind those who have gone over to the oppressor, that it is never too late to repent, and that to correct the errors of yesterday is to confess ourselves wiser today. To those who fear to speak out, I would say, dare all for the Truth; for, says the poet,

'He is the freeman whom the Truth makes free;
and while claiming freedom for ourselves, let us not forget to demand it unceasingly for others.

Let those who, like myself, come to seek a home here, fall not to call their adopted country's fame as well as vaunt her virtues. Let them be truthful, impartial, and just; let them show America they are worthy her confidence, and they will alike serve her and themselves. If they are poor, let not poverty make them mean; if rich, let not riches make them arrogant; but at all times bear themselves with the dignity of men, ever remembering that

'An honest man's the noblest work of God.'

Wishing heartily God's blessing and God-speed for Freedom and its advocates, and best wishes for yourself, I remain, with much respect,

Yours right faithfully, W. J. W.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

New York, Aug. 26.

Arrest of an Alleged Fugitive—On Monday evening, the U. S. Marshal arrested at Poughkeepsie, a young mulatto man, about 26 years old, named John N. Boilding, claimed as the slave of Messrs. Beasley & Anderson of Columbia, South Carolina. In the evening of the evening, a writ of Habeas Corpus, issued by Judge Hoffman, was served on the U. S. Marshal, calling on him to show cause why he held the man in custody. The U. S. Marshal brought his prisoner to the city, and this day he was brought before Commissioner Bridgham, who adjourned the examination of the case until to-morrow morning.

Another Fugitive Slave Case in Pennsylvania—Fugitive Name given up—A fugitive slave was arrested last week, near Columbia, Pa., and carried to Harrisburg, and after a hearing before Commissioner McAllister, was remanded to his owner. The use of the county prison being denied to the agent of the law, under the act of 1847, preventing the use of the jails of the Commonwealth for the retention of fugitives from labor, the prisoner was placed in the garret of a hotel for safe keeping until the next morning. During the night, an attempt was made to fire the house, with the design, it is supposed, of rescuing the fugitive.—*Harrisburg (Pa.) Journal, Aug. 14.*

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE.

Concord, N. H., Aug. 26.

Last night, at 11 o'clock, the paint shop adjoining the Eagle Hotel was set fire to, and the flames spread with fearful rapidity, until 3 o'clock this morning, destroying the finest business portion of our village.

All the buildings on the north side of Main street, from Low's block opposite the Post Office, through Stickney's wooden block, opposite Gasso's Hotel, and down Main street and the railroad track, are burned down. Among the buildings are the Eagle Hotel and stables, the New Exchange, with numerous stores and dwellings.

The lower part of the Exchange was occupied by stores, and the upper part by the Mechanics' Bank, the Merrimack, Concord and Claremont railroad office, law offices, &c. Three newspaper offices were burned out, namely, the New Hampshire Statesman, the Independent Democrat, and the Congregational Journal. The total loss is estimated at $125,000; mostly insured. John Robinson, a colored man, has been arrested on suspicion of firing the paint shop.

The Impartial Citizen.

If we have respect of persons, we commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, Editor.
AMOS G. BEMAN, Corresponding Editor.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1851.

TARIFFS VS. FREE TRADE.

We said we should, in this number, give our reasons for opposing both a Revenue and a Protective Tariff. We believe in, we advocate neither. We are, on the contrary, so opposed to both, that no political act of ours shall favor either. And wherefore?

1. Because, Free Trade is the most natural, and, by far, the most advantageous policy for all governments to adopt, in respect to commerce. Commerce has its laws, its perils, and its dependencies. Among its laws, are those regulations which give it free scope, and means and power and facility to overcome its obstacles, so as to make it a blessing to the producer of one country, and the consumer of another. Abundant are the reasons why restrictions upon it, which cripple it, make the commerce, a very different thing to the nations of the earth from what, if left to its natural laws, it would. The produce of wheat in Wisconsin needs the cotton fabrics of the manufacturer in New Hampshire. Commerce conveys these products to those who need them, and thus serves as a bondmaid to the great law of supply and demand—the law of exchange. So the Wisconsin farmer has cotton cloth brought to his door, and the New Hampshire manufacturer has bread brought to his. Both are supplied. Each enjoys the fruit of his labor. Commerce, through her numerous channels, and with her thousand and one facilities, is their medium of inter-communication. Like all other workers, she serves as best when left to herself, and to the action of her own natural laws. She will employ canals, railroads, &c., for the cheap, quick, and easy conveyance of these commodities, if she be left free enough; or, if otherwise, some less scientific, less economical and less speedy means of carrying must be employed. Her usefulness to both ends of the country, no one doubts. Her entire freedom all should seek.

But the same is true, when a man in Hungary produces something that a man in New York needs, and vice versa. Says commerce, 'Gladly will I supply and exchange for you both!' 'No no,' say the governments of Hungary (or more properly of Austria) and the United States, 'You shall not supply those two brothers without our leave, and then, only upon our terms.' Now, these 'leave' and 'terms' are expressed and embodied in Tariff laws. They militate against the laws of commerce; the law of supply and demand; the law of rightful exchange—a law growing out of the considerable rights, and the diversified employments, and the various needs of man—a law of the universal brotherhood. So to cripple and embarrass Commerce, is to impair her usefulness, and thus to render her less serviceable to man than she fain would be. It is to place her in an unnatural and an unhealthy position. Against this, Free Trade offers her ample protection, and guarantees to make her and to keep her free.

We said commerce has its perils and its dependencies. Among its perils are the dangers of the Ocean. Its most precious treasures must cross the mountain wave and plough the raging main. The storm, the bold though unseen rock, the fog, the bank, the bar, the iceberg, the contrary winds, all belong to the perils of commerce. And these are no trifles. They are so many additional obstacles in the way of its progress, which make commerce more uncertain than those branches of industry which are only subject to ordinary accidents, and the common carelessness, and the more common 'knavery' of man. We believe that the perils of commerce are restriction enough, without the superadding of any in the shape of governmental duties. So believing, we go for unrestricted commerce, natural commerce, unhampered by any other weights, tethers and impedimenta that nature imposes.

Well, commerce has its dependencies. It must employ men. These men must live; they must be paid. Roads must be constructed, canals dug, boats, vessels, ships, built and rigged. Science must invent, develop, and explore and apply, new principles; agriculture must bring forth from the bowels of the earth; manufactures must produce wares; mechanics must adopt and apply the skill of genius; and upon all these is commerce dependent. Is it not true, that these dependencies of commerce make it so related to these things upon which it is dependent, as to make it as indispensable to *them* as *they* are to it? Should not commerce be left free and unrestricted? We believe it should. So believing, we advocate Free Trade.

But the laws of the brotherhood are superior to all others—we mean, superior to all, contrary laws. They are among the supreme laws of the universe. They are as immutable from the Supreme and Eternal Lawgiver. So is the law of Inalienable Rights. Both of these laws are violated by restrictions upon commerce. Governments have no right to contravene these laws. Their business is to declare and enforce them. Hence they ought at once to set about measures to secure the rights of Free Trade to all their subjects. What governments ought to do, voters ought to advocate. This is one reason for advocating Free Trade.

Are true friend and consistent advocate of the laws of brotherhood and of inalienable rights, as applied to commerce, we are opposed to all laws restricting commerce, whether professedly for collecting revenue, or protecting manufactures. We enter not upon the argument now. We content ourself in the present article by saying, that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, all are rightful, each in its sphere, and that no one of them should be sacrificed to any other or to the other two. And we deny that the agricultural interest is any more dependent upon (or any more connected with) manufacturing than upon commerce, nor half so much. We also deny that the manufacturing interest should receive the chief and especial support and protection of the government, while other branches of industry are neglected. We go for 'protection to American industry,' but we deny that manufacturing is any more 'American industry,' than are commerce

and agriculture. We deny, too, that protection to manufactures secures protection to the other branches of industry.

But we shall discuss these points at length, in future articles.

PITTSBURG.

We had a good time at Pittsburg. The celebration was held in a beautiful grove, two miles and a half from the city. Ample arrangements were made by the Committee. Good singing, a good band, and a good dinner were among the good things we enjoyed, and a *good rain storm* was among the things we suffered. But the earth had been dried and parched by so long a drought, that while it favored harvesting and haying, it had seriously injured grass, greatly diminished pasture, and by shortening that supply, had greatly raised the price of butter. Rain, therefore, was a blessing, although it rather dampened our speech and more than dampened some portions of the ladies' wardrobes. As there were no Bloomer costumes worn, you may imagine that *Desigledoo* was fully represented in some of its most interesting aspects.

Well, we adjourned from the grove to Bethel Church, when the order of exercises was finished, and the day and evening closed in good order, all concerned being in good spirits.

By the invitation of the Committee, after remaining over Sabbath, the 3d of August, and hearing a most excellent sermon from that great-hearted man, Rev. Charles Avery, we remained to address the citizens, on the 4th, 5th and 6th, in Lafayette Hall. We had large meetings, good attention, and a full attendance of the laboring classes. When we had, as we supposed, closed our labors in the good city of smoke, we were waited upon by a Committee of fifteen ladies, who requested us to remain another evening and address a meeting in Bethel Church, pledging us twenty-five new subscribers if we should remain. Mrs. Swisshelm, who set near us at the time, suggested that the inducement was ample. We complied. The meeting was held. We spoke, *and we got* SEVENTY SUBSCRIBERS *in that meeting!* That beats Harrisburg, don't it? We got fifty-seven in Harrisburg last fall, but Pittsburg takes the lead. Our Pittsburg list is now ninety-six. The largest list we have, except the Philadelphia list.

On that tour, we had the pleasure of making two most valuable acquaintances, Mrs. Swisshelm and Grace Greenwood. We met Mrs. S. twice; once at her house, and once in a meeting. Her appearance, manners, and *total ensemble*, in the social circle, are easy, natural and graceful, as they would, from her writings, seem to be. And her 'bigger half' as she calls Mr. Swisshelm, is a perfect specimen of a country gentleman, without the stiffness of Pennsylvania aristocracy in general, and with treble the intelligence, and an infinite deal more of the philanthropist, than that same aristocracy could, by any possibility, be suspected of.

We saw Grace Greenwood at home, (at her father's, rather,) in New Brighton, where we stopped on our way homeward, and talked. She is a real woman, a true reformer, and, considering the shackles usually put upon genius in this country, and the servility and conservatism of the men and women of the pen generally in our land, she deserves much praise for boldness and radicalism. In this, she has very few peers among our popular writers. Mrs. Swisshelm and Mrs. Child are bold, and true, and radical, but they are elder than Miss Clarke; and we doubt whether either of them was any more free from conservatism than she, when at her age. We place those ladies, in our own conception, at the very head of the list of American female reformers, and certainly Miss Clarke would be unjustly dealt by, were she not placed very near them. We know that she will thank us for our praise just about as much as she needs it—which is just none at all.

We had opportunities to see much of our own people in Pittsburg. Like our people elsewhere, they suffer from some of the evils inflicted by slavery, and from some others within their power of correcting. Why cling to the old-fashioned notion of maintaining a separate Black Church, and distinct 'black denomination called 'African,' while there is not an African any where belonging to it? They have a fine large Bethel Church, a part of the diocese of Rev. W. P. Quinn. Could the right sort of intelligent preaching be imparted to them and to their large and respectable audiences every Sabbath, much might be expected in the way of religious elevation.

The social line of distinction is not drawn with any more precision, consistency or good sense in Pittsburg than elsewhere among our people. There, as elsewhere for instance, a licentious man, or a man strongly suspected of licentiousness, is received into the highest social circle without a frown. But his victim—ah, that is another thing! She is scarce fit to be trodden upon. On the other hand, there is too much disposition shown to force upon society some who are unfortunate. The medium betwixt these two, in our judgment, were better and juster. Put a man under the same ban as a woman; admit neither to society without true reformation; admit both upon equal terms. But where a lady will marry a sodden and scorn his victim, or where we exclude unfortunate strangers from our circle, and embrace our own relatives, who are no better, or where we suffer riches and aristocracy to cover low dens in one circle, while it must be exposed in lower circles, no real love for virtue can or does exist.

Some of our young men in Pittsburg, who are good mechanics, and could earn $30 a month, paying for board about $12, and so saving $27 every month over and above their board, are working as waiters in hotels, for from $12 to $15 per month. A downright shame, we protest, 'in the name of the people,' as Orca Cravath says. Mr. Augustine Washington need not say there are no mechanic shops that will receive us as apprentices. Too many of us are like Mr. Augustus Washington, and like these gentlemen above referred to, dissatisfied with the following of the trades *they have learned*. Let Liberia and the whole African coast and continent be populated as densely as Pekin with such black gentlemen, and they would be more of a curse than a blessing to the country. Such men will be good for but little anywhere. It makes no odds where they go nor where they stay.

We did not find in Pittsburg the *policy gambling* of New York, nor the *indiscriminate tale-bearing* and *detraction* of Philadelphia. We think, indeed, that the people of color, in Pittsburg, live among very different set of neighbors from those surrounding our brethren in Philadelphia; and that they are on much more advanced then the metropolitans as their better circumstances, in this respect, would warrant.

Black mechanics get good employment, and there are numbers so employed. Mr. Edmonds, a latter in Smithfield street, is one of the most finished workman of his craft we know of any where.

The editors of Pittsburg laid us under obligations deep and lasting. Their notices of our meetings were serviceable in inducing the citizens to come and hear us. Their demeanor towards us, personally, partook of and represented the character of the profession—the most liberal, and generous, and courteous of all the professions. We return them, each and severally, our sincere thanks. Whenever it shall be our honor to receive a visit from any of them, we promise not to disgrace the craft by other action than such as they were pleased to exhibit towards us.

We were gratified to find the college erected, and partly sustained, by Rev. C. Avery, appreciated by our people in its vicinity. We hope it will be filled. We doubt not that it will be when our people shall know more of it. They shall know more of it, if our voice and pen can reach them.

THE MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY.

LEONI, July 18, 1851.

REV. S. R. WARD:

DEAR BROTHER—Through the columns of the *Impartial Citizen* I desire to give publicity to the 'Michigan Wesleyan University,' an institution under the fostering care of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection in America, and located in the town of Leoni, Jackson Co., Michigan, on the M. C. R. R., eight miles east of Jackson. This school is pleasantly and healthfully located, and presents inducements that few if any other schools in our country do.

The Trustees of the University propose to raise at least $150,000 as a fund of endowment, upon the following plain, practical plan:—The capital stock is divided into shares of $25 each, and the proprietor of each share is entitled to keep one pupil perpetually in the school, free of charge for tuition. And to accommodate the most indigent who desire education, the Trustees will permit the twenty-five dollars to be paid in five instalments, the first down, and the balance annually five dollars, with interest on the unpaid sum. Thus you will see, that while paying for the certificate of scholarship, it can be used by sending from the first payment.

The institution embraces a Primary, Academic, Collegiate and Theological department, either of which is open to any persons, male or female, of good character.

Our school is in successful operation, under the able supervision of five experienced and successful teachers. The annual interest accruing on the endowment already raised is sufficient to pay the board of instruction now employed, and we shall extend the board of instruction as our fund increases and the demands of the school from time to time require.

The school is not intended to be sectarian in any exceptionable sense, but we aim at a sound moral influence and thoroughly sanctified education, and cordially invite general patronage.

Any who may wish to become stockholders, or otherwise interested in the University, or to obtain additional information in regard to it, can be gratified by addressing (post paid) Rev. S. A. Baker, Agent, Leoni, Jackson Co., Mich.

Expenses of school besides tuition, as follows, viz: Board, $1 per week; room rent, for term, $1; washing, 6 1-4 cts. per day; students finding their own lights, fuel, bedding and towels.

Yours, obediently,

SEYMOUR A. BAKER.

THE BUFFALO SLAVE CASE.

As this is one of great importance, and as but few, if any, more such can occur of similar nature and character, we shall continue to comment upon it, till we shall have examined it through. We give now the words of the *Buffalo Republic*, and the *Buffalo Express*, the latter a Whig, the former a Democratic daily. These two papers keep up a brave testimony against the Bloodhound Organs of Buffalo. The name of Henry K. Smith, the Bloodhound Dogberry Commissioner, will stand beneath even Theodore Parker's conception of the Curse of our own city. We give below, from the *Buffalo Express*, the abominable decision of this beautiful specimen of a Commissioner, in respect to the case upon the papers which pretended to be authority for the arrest and enslavement of Daniel.

We have now got Daniel arrested, bruised, bagged, stupified and bleeding, ornamented with a sturdy pair of shackles. He was taken thus to the office of the Commissioner in Spaulding's Exchange. We were informed of the arrest and stepped down to the Exchange, and at the door met Mr. John L. Talcott. We went in at the moment the Commissioner arrived. After a few moments consultation, it was determined to adjourn the proceedings to the Court house. The Commissioner and the Counsel left immediately, and we, and Mr. Talcott, proceeded to the Court house, stopping on the way only to get a law book, and in a very few minutes after we were seated in the Court room, Daniel was brought in by the officers. The Commissioner announced to Daniel the claim that was made, and asked him if he had Counsel, and Mr. Talcott replied that he appeared for him. The Counsel who appeared for the claimant were Mr. Dennis Bowen, law partner of Post Master General Hall, and the Hon. Mr. Foster, forming the firm of Foster & Bowen. The Counsel for the claimant produced a paper, which they claimed to be a Record of the County Court of Jefferson County, Kentucky.

It should be borne in mind that two things are required to be proved, under the Constitution and the law of Congress, to entitle a claimant to a warrant to carry a man into Slavery. 1st. That the man is a *slave* to the claimant; or, in the less offensive language of the Constitution, that he owes service and labor to the claimant. 2d. That the case escaped from such service and labor in the slave State into a free State; or, in other words, that he is a 'fugitive from service and labor.' These two points being established, the case is made out, and the warrant for his removal issues.

To prove these two points, the claimants produced no witness or affidavits, but introduced the record and claimed that it proved the points. By reference to the 10th section, it will be seen that this record is conclusive upon the facts stated and cannot be contradicted or explained by the defendant. No proof can be introduced by him on those points. It will appear also, by reference to the record, that it is clear and conclusive upon the two points, and that it also gives a general description of a man called Daniel. It thus appears that if the record was admitted in evidence, Daniel could not be allowed to prove that he was a free man. The attention of the reader is called to the fact that the record purported to be impressed by the seal of the Kentucky Court, as required by the 10th section.

When that paper was offered by the Counsel for the claimant, Mr. Talcott objected to its admissibility and validity, on the ground that it did not have upon it the seal of any Court; the pretended seal being impressed upon paper only, whereas the law does not recognize a seal unless it is impressed upon wax, wafer, or other adhesive substance—except in certain cases, of which this was not one, when the statute expressly authorizes the impression to be made on paper.

To fortify this position, Mr. Talcott introduced the case of Coit and Milliken, which was exactly in point—and is perfectly conclusive authority against the validity of the Record. We quote the whole case, and ask from our readers an attentive perusal of it.

Coit and others vs. Milliken and others.

The seal of another State affixed to a copy of an act of its legislature, for the purpose of authenticating the same, pursuant to the act of Congress prescribing the mode of authenticating the public acts of the several States, proves itself and imports absolute verity, and is presumed, until the contrary appears, to have been affixed by the proper officer.

Per BRONSON, C. J.

Such seal, however, to be recognized in the courts of this State, must be a common law seal, i. e. an impression upon wax or other tenacious substances—*an impression upon paper alone will not answer.*

Action of debt tried before Dayton, C. Judge, at the Erie circuit, in November, 1845. The plaintiffs offered in evidence an act of the Legislature of Michigan. The act was certified by the Secretary of the State, and the great seal of the State was affixed, by *impressing it on the paper, without the use of wax or other adhesive substance.* A certificate of the Governor of Michigan was added, certifying that the attestation was in due form, and by the proper officer, and that the seal affixed was the great seal of the State. The plaintiffs also called a witness, who proved the hand writing of the Governor, and that the seal was the great seal of the State of Michigan. The judge decided that the exemplification was not sufficient, because the seal was not impressed upon wax or some other adhesive substance, and rejected the evidence. The plaintiffs excepted; and these submitted to a non-suit. They new move for a new trial.

J. L. Talcott, for the plaintiff.

M. Fillmore, for the defendants.

By the Court, Bronson, Ch. J.—Congress, under the power given to it by the Constitution, has provided, 'that the acts of the legislatures of the several States shall be authenticated by having the seal of their respective States affixed thereto.'—(Act of May 26, 1790, 1 Story's Laws, 93.) The plaintiffs have given us a literal translation of this law. It was not necessary to verify the seal, either by the certificate of the Governor, or the oath of a witness. The seal proves itself, and imports absolute verity: and evil is to be presumed, until the contrary appears, that it was affixed by the proper officer. (The U. S. v. Johns, 4 Dall. 412; 1 Wash. C. C. 363, S. C.; The U. S. v. Amedy, 11 Wheat. 392; The State v. Carr, 5 N. Hamp. R. 267)—But still there is difficulty. At the common law, a seal is an impression upon wax, wafer, or some other tenacious substance. An impression upon paper alone is not a seal, except where it has been made so by statute. (Warren v. Lynch, 5 John. R. 239; Bank of Rochester v. Gray, 2 Hill, 227;—Parsons & Mass. Rep. Rabin, 3 Hill, 493.) It does not appear that there is any statute in Michigan on this subject. But if there was, it could not aid the plaintiffs, for this question arises under an act of Congress, and that act requires a seal, no State can dispense with the requirement, except in its own courts. Our statute authorising impressions upon paper in certain cases does not reach the case. It only extends to such courts and public officers. (2 R. S. 404. § 61.) This is not the seal of a court or officer, but of a State. *And besides, our statute does not apply to courts and officers out of the State.* (Bank of Rochester v. Gray, 2 Hill, 227.) The evidence was properly rejected. New trial denied.'

The only reply made by the counsel for the claimant, consisted in denying that the case quoted was parallel to this, and by referring to 2 R. S. pg. 404; and by reading a part of the opinion of Judge Bronson, in the case above quoted, and adroitly omitting to read the sentence we have italicised. That omission was supplied by Mr. Talcott's reading the omitted portion of the question.

The Commissioner decided that the seal was a legal seal, and the record sufficient, without stating any grounds which distinguished it from the case of Coit and others vs. Milliken, and that it was only necessary to prove the identity of the man described in the record.

From the Buffalo Express.

THE UNION SAVED!

THE COMPROMISES OF THE CONSTITUTION VINDICATED, AND THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW OFFHELD!!

We had hoped that this cap might pass from the city of Buffalo, but it was not so ordered; now we trust that the Castle-Garden Committee & Co. will be content with our conduct.

A man by the name of Benj. S. Rust, with a Power of Attorney from Geo. H. Moore, of Louisville, Ky., applied to Commissioner H. K. Smith, for a warrant to arrest a negro called Daniel, claimed to be a fugitive and the property of said Moore, and as a foundation of the application, produced a paper claimed to be a record of the County Court of Jefferson County, Ky., under the 10th section of the Fugitive Slave Law. The Commissioner, granted the warrant for the arrest, and the officers made the arrest on the steamer Buckeye State, on which Daciel was employed as a Cook. We are informed (and for this part of the matter we are not responsible, as we did not witness it,) that the man Daniel was in the kitchen, which has no entrance under deck, and a trap-door leading up through the deck. The man Rust had armed himself with a billet of wood, and when Daniel came up through the trap-door, Rust struck him a severe blow upon the back of the head, which cut a hideous gash and knocked him senseless back upon the stove, where he was grievously bursed. Thus he was arrested and handcuffs placed upon him.

Daniel was brought before the Commissioner at the Court House, bleeding profusely at the back of the head and at the nose, and was moreover so stupified by the assault, that he fell asleep several times during the brief and very summary proceedings.

It is not possible, for want of time, to give to-day the proceedings in detail; they will be given in extenso on Monday. This case cannot fail powerfully to attract the public attention, because, 1st, by an obliquitous construction of the Commissioner, this man has been illegally consigned to slavery, and 2d, because it appeared by the witness introduced by the claimant, *that Daniel is a free man*, and that the ex parte record from the Court of Kentucky is false upon the point of his escape.

This proceeding proves what we have always claimed, that under this law, a man known and admitted to be free, can be taken by lens and consigned to perpetual bondage, and moreover, that it allows no remedy or appeal from the effects of perjury and the wrongful and stupid decisions of an officer.

The Commissioner, refused to wait until a messenger dispatched to the assembly to call a witness on the part of the defendant had time to return, and decided that the case was sufficiently proved on the part of the claimant, and issued the order for removal of Daniel to Kentucky. He took occasion to say from the Bench, while making his decision, that he would give $25 towards a sum to purchase his freedom, but whether others would give anything, he did not know. This would be $15 over his fee. The counsel for Daniel inquired of Rust, the agent of the owner, whether he would sell the man Daniel, forbearing now to raise the amount necessary for his purchase. Mr. Rest replied that he had no authority to sell, but he would telegraph to Louisville and ask authority and the price; and that he would consent that the Marshal retain him here until he received a reply. The Marshal consented to the delay and Mr. Rust asked the counsel of Daniel to state to the crowd this arrangement. Mr. Talcott, the counsel did state to the multitude 'that the agent would telegraph for authority to sell, and that Daniel would remain here until a reply was obtained.' Whereupon the Commissioner proclaimed, in a loud voice and in a very emphatic manner, as follows: 'I want to say to you colored people, that I have decided to give the order to carry off this man and there will be a force to execute it, telegraph or no telegraph, and if any of you resist, you will be shot down.' This announcement, so unseemly in a judicial officer, so far chimed with the passions of the slave-catchers who thronged the Court room, that it was greeted with a round of applause. Thus man Daniel is now in jail, *from whence we presume he will be taken into servitude, notwithstanding facts clearly proved by the son of the claimant show conclusively that he is legally a free man.*

We understand that the agent Rust has been arrested on a civil process for the brutal assault on Daniel, and committed to jail. It is to be presumed *he will be bailed.*

To sum up all, Mr. Moore wants the man Daniel because he is worth $700, to sell or use, and though he has no claim to him, *will get him.* The man Daniel wants his freedom, worth to him a sum that cannot be expressed in figures, and is entitled to it by the laws of God and man, *but will not get it*—for the Compromise must be maintained!

Slavery calls for a summary process to catch man claimed as slave; we think they have got it. This summary proceeding has been as summary as a guillotine and as inexorably cruel. Here a free man has been knocked down—handcuffed—dragged bleeding and insensible before the court, if court it is, and without being confronted with the witnesses against him—without opportunity to cross examine those witnesses—or time or liberty to introduce rebutting proof, and while so insensible from his wounds as to be incapable of making intelligible replies to counsel—ordered under the Compromise to perpetual slavery, and pretended republicans shout and chuckle over the achievement.

It is law long established and well known to everybody except the Commissioner, that a slave, brought by a person who has the right to control him, into a free State, is by that act enfranchised, and becomes free, if he chooses to assert his freedom. It appeared in this examination, by the testimony of the son of his claimant, an honest and well-appearing young man of 17 years of age, that this man Daniel was employed in the capacity of cook on a river steamboat and was brought by his employer into Cincinnati. When thus brought there, he was free and chose to exercise his legal rights by remaining in a free State. But the claims of political zeal has so far blinded men's judgment that an officer in found in this State, and we grieve to say it, in this city, who is willing to overrule the deliberate decisions of our own State courts, for the purpose of making a slave of a free man.

SENTENCE OF RUST, THE SLAVE-CATCHER.

After the court house was cleared yesterday of the large concourse of spectators, *Benjamin Rust* was brought up before Police Justice Gold, and plead *guilty* of a common assault. Whereupon, he was fined *Fifty Dollars* by the magistrate, and ordered to be let loose upon community.

☞ The public will learn, doubtless, with no little astonishment and no slight indignation, the sentence of our Police Justice in the case of Rust, the slave-catcher, convicted upon the clearest testimony of one of the most brutal and aggravated assaults we have been called upon to record. If our readers will but slightly review the testimony published in our paper of yesterday, and the examination before Justice Gold, they will see in a moment how the law has been made a tool to protect from anything save nominal punishment a man who in strict justice ought at this very moment to fill the place of a felon in our jail.

Let us glance at a few of the facts in this case. Rust, who is a man of no reputation, occupying the low position of watchman and slave-hunter in Kentucky, comes to this country under the special protection of our laws, and claims upon our citizens to see those laws, however repugnant to their feelings, carried out in good faith. While thus urging us to respect our laws, he wilfully commits a crime which would send one of our citizens to the workhouse for a long term, if not to the State Prison. He is apprehended and undergoes the mockery of a trial for this offence. It is brought home to him beyond a shadow of doubt, and is proved to be accompanied by circumstances of peculiar aggravation. The magistrate, on convicting him, remarks in the strongest terms upon the brutality and unprovoked violence of the assault. Knowing that the sentence which policy, for it could not be justice, necessitated him to pass would cause to a dangerous degree the indignation of the community, a trick is resorted to in order to get rid of a court house full of persons, anxious to see the law carried into effect, and then in private, and almost with closed doors, the prisoner is brought up to receive judgment. In accordance with a previous arrangement, he pleads guilty of the offence and receives the sentence of the court. And what is that sentence? A perfect mockery! A fine of fifty dollars, a very large amount, forsooth—is inflicted upon him for his brutal assault upon an unoffending man. Is this any adequate punishment for the offence—is it believed to be so by the court? Why, it is well known the slave owner whose agent he is will gladly pay the sum presented against the recovery of so valuable a slave, were they four times that amount. The offender, it is well known, will not pay a cent for the fine nor lose a cent by the operation. Justice demanded that the punishment should be such as would reach the offender. Imprisonment, which the law authorized the magistrate to inflict, could alone in reality reach the man who had committed the offence, and by imprisonment it was therefore the duty of the magistrate to punish the crime. We do not desire to make any extended comments upon this shameful affair. The people have watched the proceedings, and they will remember the actors in this gross outrage upon their rights.—*Buffalo Republic.*

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

MR. EDITOR:

It would afford me much pleasure, could I find the time, to enter fully into the investigation of some of the many important subjects which interest our people. I mean practical business subjects, not theoretical ones. But as I have not time for that, I must confine myself to simply giving you the local news of the place. Efforts are now being made to revive the temperance cause in this city. There was a public meeting at the High Street Church, in June last. Several speakers addressed the meeting on various subjects. The speakers were, C. B. Ray, J. J. Powers, Putnam, Zuille, H. Johnson; and others. Mr. Ray spoke in his old strain. The whole substance of his speech was, that slavery is a bad thing, and that we have suffered greatly from it, and borne it well. This we hear every day, but hear of no measures as a remedy. Zeile spoke of the Fugitive Slave Law, the progress of abolitionism, &c. &c., but recommended no measures. Putnam spoke with a great deal of warmth and effect in support of his African or Colonization enterprise, in which he is engaged, in reply to insinuations made by Mr. Ray. Mr. Putnam declared himself in no way connected with the scheme of Colonization, but was directly opposed to it. Mr. Johnson read a good, humorous story in manuscript—his own composition. Mr. Powers dealt a few words of severe rebuke on the clergy and leading men of the city for not entering into some anti practical operation, by which the people might benefit themselves. Mr. Hamilton came to the relief of the clergy and leading men, and charged Mr. Powers with being among the foremost of the leading men, and therefore, if any thing was neglected, Mr. P., with others, was responsible. Mr. P. intimated that he sometimes talked, and recommended measures, but he could not use the columns nor influence of the press as the gentlemen of whom he spoke could.

A. B. C.

ANOTHER SLAVE CASE!

The Telegraph wires which brought us the sad intelligence of the arrest, trial, and rendition to slavery of the unfortunate Davis, at Buffalo, have scarcely ceased to vibrate than they are again called on to perform what we hope is, even to them, though inanimate and devoid of human passion, a very disagreeable duty, viz., to announce the arrest of an unfortunate man by the name of John Bolding, who has, for some four years, been doing a nice little business in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. That he will be given up to the blood-hounds, there can be little, or no doubt; and, if it is necessary, to secure his safe arrival in Columbia, S. C., we venture to say that every member of the famous—or, rather, infamous—Union Committee of New York, with Drs. Spring, of New York, Lord, of Buffalo, and others of the same miserable, heartless, soulless, recreant, and infamously wretched and savagely cruel scoundrels, for their Chaplains, would most readily lure out and escort him, as an evidence of their fealty and servility to the South and the Union.

ANOTHER FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

A fugitive slave, named Postel, who was second cook on board the steamer Buckeye State, on Lake Erie, was arrested at Buffalo, last Friday, on a warrant from Louisville, Ky., and taken before H. K. Smith, the U. S. Commissioner, who remanded him back to Kentucky. Only one witness was examined, and he was the son of the complainant, A. Mr. Moore, of Louisville. His testimony was, as to the identity of the fugitive.

When Daniel was taken, the agent of the slave-holder, one Benjamin Rust, came behind Daniel, the man claimed as a slave, and with a heavy billet of wood struck him on the head with all his force. He fell down senseless against a hot stove, by which he was severely burned. In this condition, faint and bleeding, he was seized, manacled and dragged before Mr. Commissioner Smith of Buffalo. This persecuting, without waiting to give the alleged fugitive time to recover, proceeded at once to judge his case. He called upon the negro to 'stand up.' The man could not answer to his name, and was with difficulty painfully roused from his stupor to stand up.

His counsel offered to bring medical testimony to prove that the injuries inflicted on his client were of so serious a nature as to partially deprive him of his senses, and to prevent him from giving such information as was necessary for his protection and just defence. Upon this ground, and to afford the defendant an opportunity to procure the attendance of witnesses, he moved an adjournment of the examination. At this moment, the condition of the alleged fugitive, and the conduct of the Commissioner, is thus described by a Buffalo paper:—

'The poor fellow was all this time in a state of half stupor, *unable to talk with his counsel, and as doubtful with the blood slowly oozing out of his mouth and nostrils!*

Mr. Hawley thought it was necessary for the protection of the rights of the defendant, that the examination should be adjourned. The man was even now in a half sleeping state, and partially insensible from the blow on his head.

Mr. Talcott thought that parties who so brutally assaulted the alleged fugitive, had 'better, for their own sakes, not only agree to adjourn, but put the man under medical treatment immediately. It might turn out a little more seriously than they anticipated.

The Commissioner would not adjourn. The only question, submitted to him was a question of fact. He had waited long enough for the witnesses for the defence.

(Of course he had not *waited* at all, with the blood of the slave still flowing from the wound of his recent arrest, and he, poor fellow, in a comatose condition, and unable even to consult with or instruct his counsel.)

The Commissioner proceeded:

'It had been fully proven that the slave owed service to the man described in the record. The son of the owner identified the slave as the property of his father, from whom he is alleged to have escaped.—Nothing remained, therefore, but to find, as he did find, that the man was a fugitive slave from service, and as such must be returned to his master in Kentucky.'

At the conclusion of this mock trial, the Marshal, addressing the public, remarked:—

'I wish to say a few words to the colored people here present. The agent tells me he has at present no authority to sell the man, but I have promised him that he shall not leave the city until a telegraphic despatch has been sent to the owner, and an answer received as to whether he will sell. I would therefore exhort you all to go home peaceably.'

The Commissioner, Mr. H. K. Smith, immediately sprang from his seat, and in a loud and excited tone, exclaimed:—

'And I have a few words to say to the colored people here. If there is a single resistance at all, that slave shall go back to Kentucky to his master according to his decision, and if any of you dare oppose that decision by force, you will be SHOT DOWN!'

'The awful working of the Compromise (see Buffalo *Republic*) may now be seen by our citizens. Any person who witnessed the sight presented to the Commissioner's office this morning, must be satisfied of the 'healing qualities' and 'gentle mercy' of the Fugitive Slave Law. To behold the poor slave, a man after God's own image, with his bleeding skull, his dull, heavy, piteous eye, his hands clasped as if in inward prayer, and iron manacles upon his wrists, a sight of terror. The excited crowd around the door, and the gaunt image of the slave-catcher, who paced the room and shifted a brace of heavy revolvers to the most convenient pockets to have them ready to shoot down our citizens, spoke volumes of the efficacy of the Compromise Measures as a 'final settlement,' a healing of the sores of our country. We pity the poor slave, but his justice takes his course. We do not envy the miserable slave-catcher—the dealer in human flesh and blood, and we hope he may be arrested and punished according to the law for the wanton and cruel assault committed upon the negro.

The Boston Railway Celebration.—The invitation extended to the Canadians by the city of Boston, to join in celebrating the completion of the railway communication between Montreal and Boston, meets with a hearty response. The Boston Committee were very cordially received, and most hospitably entertained.

SELECTIONS.

FROM LIBERIA.

The *Boston Traveller* gives the following summary of news from Liberia, to the 16th of May:

The Presidential Election, full returns of which had not been received at Monrovia at the time of the sailing of the packet, had resulted in the re-election, by a large majority, of the present able and popular incumbent, Joseph J. Roberts. Judge Samuel Benedict was his opponent. The candidates for Vice-President were A. D. Williams and Stephen A. Benson. The former had undoubtedly been elected. James B. McGill was elected Senator from Montserrado, Edward Morris for Sinoo, John Hanson for Grand Bassa.

Two Representatives from Montserrado, elected, would not be entitled to their seats, having been discovered not to possess the constitutional property qualification. Party feeling is said to have run high during the election; and the people manifested a deep interest in public affairs.

At the last session of the Legislature, an act was passed authorizing the Chief Magistrate to form a settlement, with volunteers, at Bassa Cove Proper, near Fishman Grando's town. President Roberts, in compliance with the act, visited Grand Bassa, in the Government schooner, to superintend the movements for a settlement. He found there the British steamship Centaur, Com. Fanshawe. Mr. Grando, it seems, was opposed to the settlement, and applied to Com. Fanshawe to assist him in resisting the President's purpose. The Commodore informed him that the British exercised no dominion in Liberia, and advised his lordship to submit cheerfully to the laws of the Republic.

At the instance of President Roberts, Grando was invited on board the Centaur by Com. Fanshawe, where he was taken aback on being introduced to the presence of the President himself. 'Ah, Grando,' exclaimed President Roberts, 'I hear that you are going to make war with my people that are going to set down close to your town.' 'I no say so,' rejoined Grando; 'he be lie palaver; I no say I go fight your people. Who say so?' President Roberts told him of the vain attempts he had made to incite the 'country people' to join a league with him to oppose the establishment of a settlement near his town. The President then assured him of his intentions, and Grando, after averring repeatedly that he had never intended to oppose his settlement, retired.

President Roberts, a year before, had visited Grando—who, by the way, has no rightful claim to any territory in the Bassa Country—and expressed to him his desire to settle the Cove, but not to disturb the Fishmen. He requested Grando to designate a spot that would be most agreeable to himself and people. Grando pointed out a capital site for a city, or rather started to do so but pretending himself sick on the way, returned to his own town, and directed Jack Massa, a subordinate head Fishman, to carry the President to the spot; and expressed himself as being greatly pleased at having "Merica man at his back," i. e. that he enjoyed the protection of the Liberian Government.

After the interview with Grando on board the Centaur, as mentioned above, President Roberts landed his company of volunteers, which consisted of thirty six men, under the command of Col. Waters, and a company of twelve marines from the Government schooner, who took peaceable possession of Grando's town, and proceeded to fortify it, the Fishmen having deserted it, and carried away every moveable thing with them.

The bushes were levelled and entrenchments thrown up, inclosing an area of a hundred yards square, at two angles of which stockades were constructed for the ordnance. Grando afterward proposed to visit the encampment, and sent his 'head woman' to obtain assurance that he should not be injured or retained. The assurance was given, but Grando was afraid to trust his Excellency, and finally did not go. Their highnesses, Nine-foot Jack and Prince Jambo afterward visited the camp, exchanged civilities with President Roberts, and promised to be faithful adherents to the Republic.

A letter from President Roberts says:

'I am happy to inform you that the blessings of Heaven continue to rest upon our efforts on this side the water. Our commercial and agricultural prospects are decidedly encouraging. The people are giving more and more attention to agriculture, and are becoming in consequence more and more independent. No year has produced more extensive improvements in the Republic than the present, and the Government has been exceedingly fortunate in settling the wars and disputes among the neighboring tribes, and the result is that our commerce has very much increased, and is daily increasing.'

From the 'Commonwealth.'

JUDGE SPRAGUE AND LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

Lord Ellenborough was without doubt one of the ablest judges in English history, but one of the most determined politicians also. In private and in public, in the House and out of the bench, he was a politician. And this ruling passion appeared in the last scene of his judicial life. It may be well to refresh ourselves with the incident.

William Hone, a bookseller to whom we are indebted for many valuable publications, had entered into the liberal movement of the day, and was finally proceeded against on three *ex-officio* informations for the publication of three libels, entitled the late John Wilkes's Catechism, the Political Litany and the Sinecurist's Creed. The trial on the first information was under the direction of Mr. Justice Abbott, afterwards Lord Tenderdon, a learned and just Judge, but of a very gentle nature, and very little of a politician. It resulted in a verdict of acquittal. It was evident to those anxious for the conviction of the defendant, that this mild judge would never succeed in this work; and Lord Ellenborough, in the excess of his zeal to bring this about, undertook to preside on the second trial. It is reported that he went to the Court House rowing that he would procure a conviction. In the middle of December, 1818, he appeared on the bench pale and worn, as if death had already set his seal upon him, but with a spirit made more by the occasion and by disease. 'I am glad to see you, my Lord Ellenborough,' said Mr. Hone, the prisoner at the bar, who most ably managed his own case, '*I know what you are come here for; I know what you want.*' I am come to do justice,' retorted the determined judge, 'my wish is to see justice done.' '*It is not rather, my Lord,*' said the prisoner, '*to send a poor devil of a bookseller to rot in a dungeon?*'

The trial proceeded. Lord Ellenborough repeatedly interrupted Mr. Hone, to economize his displeasure at the defence. A crowded court-room however sympathised with the prisoner, and the excitement of the judge was great, when the irrepressible feeling of the people broke forth in applause. In his emphatic charge to the jury, addressing them as men who had been sworn on the Holy Evangelists, he said: 'He would deliver them his solemn opinion, as he was required by act of Parliament to do, and under the authority of that act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, and pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing and hoping that the jury were Christians, he had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion. The jury, as is well observed by the biographer of Lord Ellenborough, *were of a different opinion.* On this second trial, as on the first, the prisoner was acquitted.

The stern judge resolved not to be overcome, and the next day ordertook to try the prisoner on the third charge. But, thanks to the firmness of a British jury, he was again defeated; and his friendly biographer confesses that 'there is little doubt that he acted with too inexorable rigor.' Mr. Hone marched in triumphant procession from the court-house.

The past renewes itself under our eyes here in Boston. Many will find in the trials now proceeding in the District Court a spirit not unlike that which pursued William Hone. With sorrow, they will recognize in Judge Sprague much that history has condemned in Lord Ellenborough.

THE MAN.

Is a man a bit the better
For his riches, golden gains,
For his acres and his palaces?
If his inmost heart is callous,
Is a man a bit the better?

And if the man's no bit the better
For his coffers and his mines,
For his purple and fine linen,
For his vineyard and his vines;
Why do thousands bow the knee,
And cringe in mean servility,
If the man's no bit the better?

Is the man a bit the worse
For a lowly dress of rags?
Though he owns no lordly rental,
If his heart is kind and gentle,
Is a man a bit the worse?

And if the man's no bit the worse
For a poor and lowly stand,
For an ever empty pocket,
And a brawny working hand;
Why do thousands pass him by
With a cold and scornful eye,
If the man's no bit the worse?

The following is taken from Frederick Douglass' paper. Can it be best? Now the Union will be dissolved and no mistake. We ought to have a proclamation.

AN INTERESTING INCIDENT.

We have just had a call from Mr. Francis, a venerable and intelligent colored man, who is now acting as the agent for the Dawn Institute, Canada West.

On his journey thither, he spent a few hours at Niagara Falls, where the incident we are about to relate occurred. One of our high-born slaveholders, accompanied by his wife and children, and having with him that almost indispensable appendage to such a family, a female 'chattel' was spending a few days, merrily, no doubt, at that place. Wishing to have a view of the magnificent cataract from the British side, he ventured upon the dangerous experiment of taking his '*chattel*,' in company with his family, on British soil.

By some strange if not inscrutable agency, whether the birds of the air, or the grass beneath his feet whispered it, we know not, the '*chattel*' became aware that she no longer breathed the *free* air of the *model republic*; a secret which she kept with singular wisdom, until 'the time for action arrived'; her master, desirous to visit the battle ground, and to see the very spot 'where the Yankees flogged the English,' dismissed his family, accompanied by the chattel, to the American side, while he passed on Brock's Monument and other famous sites in that vicinity.

The slave safely deposited the family, it seems, at the 'Cataract;' this done, she made her way to the ferry, took the small boat, and a few nimble strokes of the ferryman's oars brought her in safety over the turbid waters to the Canada shores; she speedily made her way to the door of a respectable colored man, where she was immediately received, sheltered and protected.

The master soon obtained intimation of her flight, and ascertained her new abode; and with all the brazen effrontery of a southern slave-driver, he proceeded to the house and demanded an interview with her. The woman very wisely preferred that the interview should be held with a partition between, he upon the ground beneath, she at the window above.

Slaveholder. Jane, what has prompted you to this behavior?

Chattel! I wanted my freedom, sir.

Slaveholder. Have I not always treated you well? What should induce you now to leave me?

Chattel. I want to be free, sir.

Slaveholder. Come, Jane, none of this foolishness, you must go back with me, and you might as well go back first as last, for go back you shall.

Chattel! Well, indeed, I aint going back, that's a fact.

Slaveholder. What do you think will become of your children?

Chattel! What will you do with my children? God only knows. Master, you'll do with 'em just what you've done with my other children—sell 'em. My going back won't make no difference, and I aint going back.

Finding the woman wholly intractable, the slaveholder began now to exert that power like a madman. He cursed the abolitionists, he cursed Canada, he cursed the British, and finally he cursed the Queen. The crowd that stood around listened patiently to his cursing, until the profane wretch cursed the British Queen, when a burly Englishman stepped up, and suiting the action to the word, said to the infuriated blasphemer, 'Say that again, and I'll knock your teeth down your throat.' It was fully spoken and worked like a charm. The slaveholder came to his senses; thinking discretion the better part of valor, he smothered his rage, and like a naughty boy when snubbed effectually, shut his mouth and shrank away from the crowd, amidst jeers of derision, leaving his '*chattel*' in the uncontested enjoyment of that more than dignity of virtuous womanhood. We shall oppose the annexation of Canada to the United States for some time to come.

JOHN P. HALE.

We doubt if the records of forensic eloquence can show a passage more worthy of the term, than that which we have quoted, imperfectly, and from recollection, sketched below.

Mr. Hale had read from the English Reports, from the civil law, and from the Massachusetts Reports, numerous decisions to the effect that slavery is against the law of God, the law of nature, and the laws of England and Massachusetts. He had also read from the laws of Virginia and other Southern States, to show that a person of Shadrach's color (not a negro), is, even there, presumed to be free, and cannot be proved a slave, except by evidence of descent from an African slave mother, and that possession and holding as a slave did not afford a presumption of slavery. Mr. Hale proceeded:

'Now, gentlemen, it appears that there is no slavery by the law of England; by the law of Massachusetts, by the law of nature, and—*these old judges say*—mind, your Excellency, I do not say this, it would be treason, so inequivocal o recognition of the Higher Law would be treason in me,—but *these old judges say*, that it is against the law of God! Against all these laws, against all this evidence, against all these presumptions, comes one John De Bree, from Norfolk, Va., and says that he owns me! This is all the evidence! The mere breath of the slave-catcher's mouth turns a man into another man's chattel! Suppose that John De Bree had said that he owned the moon, or the stars, or had an exclusive right to the sunshine, would you find it so by your verdict?

But, gentlemen, the stars shall fade and fall from Heaven; the moon shall grow old and decay; the Heavens themselves shall pass away as a scroll; but the soul of the despised and hunted Shadrach shall live on, with the life of God himself! I wonder if John De Bree will say he owns him *then?*

The outbreak of irrepressible applause was hardly checked by the efforts of the Court and the Marshals.—*Commonwealth.*

From the Liberator.

THE SLAVE'S SOLILOQUY.

Sees, and sinews, and nerve,
A frame as strong as they,
In what does the black man differ so much,
That he should be a slave away?

Does the color of the skin,
The features' heavice mould,
Tell to the white man the soul within
Can be bartered away for gold?

I sorrow with those who weep,
I rejoice with those who smile,
And sometimes, when meeting a loving glance,
I seem like a *man* the while.

I think, and I feel—Oh God!
Then only canst tell how much—
And angels whisper kind words to me—
Are they not ashamed of such?

Away! with these maddening thoughts—
This ceaseless beating sound—
I am not a slave, though by white men bought;
I still am a man, though bound!

Oh God! who knew'st my grief,
Hast heard my heart's deep sorrow,
Thy love and kindness bring relief,
And hope for every morrow.

A BLIND PRESIDENT.

The following is an extract from Mr. Fillmore's speech at Buffalo:—

'There is no liberty, no security, without law.—The law, whatever it is, must be enforced.' . . . 'And I have sworn upon the Holy Evangelists to execute the laws, of all kinds. I have endeavored, to the best of my ability, to execute them. I intend to execute them, and, God helping me, I will execute them.'

We can tell the President it depends upon what the laws are. Laws to make slaves don't make *liberty* or secure *law*. Such laws men settle not in the Colonies. Our Fathers settled such laws on the settlers field, and we will do so if there is occasion.—We are a nation of rebels against such laws.—*Exchange paper.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Saturday Gazette.

MRS. LUDLAW'S RECIPE FOR POTATOE PUDDING.

BY THE AUTHOR OF 'THE GEDDIT PAPERS.'

'How moch sugar do your take?'

'Wel, that depends altogether on whether you calculate to havo sass for it—some like sass you know, and then some again don't. So, when I calculate for sass, I don't take so much sugar; and when I don't calculate for sass, I make it sweet enough to eat without sass. Poor Mr. Ludlaw was a great hand for pudden sass. I always make it for him—good, rich sass; too. I could afford to have things rich before he was unfortunate in his business. Mistaffer went to State Prison for horse-stealing.' 'I like sass my self, too,' said the Colonel and the children are all great sass hends; and so I generally calculate for sass, though Miss Philpot prefers the pudden without sass, and perhaps you'd prefer it without. If so, you must put on sugar accordingly. I always make it a pint to have 'em sweet enough when they're to be eet without sass.'

'And don't you use eggs?'

'Certainly eggs is one of the principal ingredients.'

'How many does it require?'

'Wal, when eggs is plenty, I always use plenty; and when they're scarce, why I eao do with less, though I rather have enough; and be sure to best 'em well. It does distress me, the way some folks does best eggs. I always wait to have them thoroughly best for everything I use 'em in. It tires my patience most awfully to have anybody round me that won best eggs enough. A spall ago we had a darkey to help in the kitchen. One day I was making sponge cake, and having occasion to go up stairs after something, I set her to besting the eggs. Wal, what do you think the critter done?—Why, she whaled 'em about for a few times, and turned them right into the other ingredients that I'd got weighed out. When I came back and saw what she'd done, my gracious! I came as nigh to losing my temper as I ever allowed myself to come.—'Twas nuful provoking. I always want the kitchen help to do things as I want to have 'em done. But I never saw a darkey yet that ever done anything right. They're a lazy, slaughtering set. To think of *her* spoiling that cake so, when I'd told her over and over that I always make it a point to have my eggs thoroughly best.'

'Yes, it was too bad. Do you use fruit to the pudding?'

'Wal, think just as you please. You'd better be governed by your own judgment as to that. Some like currants and some like raisins, and then again some don't like nary one. If you use raisins, for pity's sake pick out the stones. It's awful to have in body's teeth come grinding into a raisin stone. I'd rather have eggs best, anytime.'

'How many raisins must I take?'

'Wal, not too many—it's apt to make the pudden heavy, you know, and when it's heavy, it aint so light and good. I'm a great hand—'

'Yes. They do say you use fine flavoring.'

'There again you'll have to exercise your own judgment. Some likes one thing, and some another, you know. If you go the full figure on imperance, why, some other flavoring will do as well as wice or nutmeg, I spose. But whatever you make up your mind to use, be particular to get in a sufficiency, or else your pudden'll be flat. I always make it a pint.'

'How long must it bake?'

'There's be great thing, after all. The bakin's the main point. A potatoe pudden, of all puddens, has got to be baked jest right. For if it bakes a leetle too much, it's apt to dry up—and then again if it don't bake quite enough, its sure to taste potatoey—and that spoils it, you know.'

'How long should you think?'

'Wel, that depends a good deal on the heat of your oven. If you have a very hot oven, 'twoot do to leave it too long, and if your oven wint so very hot, why you'll be necessitated to leave it in longer.'

'Well, how can I tell anything about it?'

'Why, I always let 'em bake till I think they're done—that's the safest way. I make it a pint to have 'em baked exactly right. It's very important to all kinds o' baking—cakes, pies, bread, puddens, and everything, to have 'em baked just precisely long enough and jest right. Some folks don't seem to have no system at all about their baking. One time they'll burn their bread to a crisp, and then again you'll be so black 'taint fit to eat. Nothing hurts my feelins so much, as to see things overdone or stock baked. Here only t other day, Lorry, the girl that Miss Philpot dismissed yesterday, come within an ace o' lettin' my bread burn up. My back was turned a minnit, and what should she do but go to stuffing wood into the stove at the awfoest rate. If I had'nt found it out jest when I did, my bread would a been spilt as sure as I'm a live woman. Jupiter Rammie! I was about as decomposed as I ever ellewed myself to git. I told Miss Philpot I would'nt stand it any longer—one of us must quit—Lorry or me must walk.'

'So you've no rules about baking this pudding?'

'No rule?' said Mudlaw, with a look of intense surprise.

'Yes,' said Mrs. Darling, 'you seem to have no rule for anything about it.'

'No rule!' screamed the indignant cook, starting up, while her face grew ten times redder, and her little black eyes snapped with rage. 'No rules!' and she planted herself in front of Mrs. Darling, erecting her fleshy figure to its full height of majestic dumpiness, and extending the danger of her right hand till it reached an alarming propinquity to that lady's nose. 'No rules! do you tell me I've no rules. Me! that's cooked in the first families for fifteen years, and gin satisfaction, to be told by such as you that I haint no rules!'

THE LITTLE BOY THAT DIED.

BY T. D. ROBINSON.

I am all alone in my chamber now,
And the midnight hour is near;
And the fagot's crack and the clock's dutt tick
Are the only sounds I hear;
And over my soul in its solitude
Sweet feelings of gladness glide,
For my heart and eyes are full when I think
Of the little boy that died.

I went one night to my father's home—
Went home to the door ones all,
And I softly opened the garden gate,
And softly the door of the hall.
My mother came out to meet her son—
She kissed me, and then she sighed,
And her head fell on my neck, and she wept
For the little boy that died.

I shall miss him when the flowers come
In the garden where he played;
I shall miss him more by the fire-side,
When the flowers have all decayed.
I shall see his toys, and his empty chair,
And the horse he used to ride;
And they will speak with a silent speech
Of the little boy that died.

I shall see his little sister again,
With her playmates about the door;
And I'll watch the children in their sports,
As I never did before;
And if, in the group, I see a child
That's dimpled and laughing-eyed,
I'll look to see if it may not be
The little boy that died.

We shall go home to our Father's house—
To our Father's house in the skies,
Where the hope of our souls shall have no blight,
Our love no broken ties;
We shall rest on the banks of the River of Peace,
And bathe in its blissful tide;
And one of the joys of our heaven shall be—
The little boy that died.

EARLY RISERS AND RESULTS.

Whatever may be the quantity of sleep required, early rising is essential to health, and promotes longevity. Almost all men who have distinguished themselves in science, literature, and the arts, have been early risers. Milton, Newton, early risers. The industious, the active-minded, the enthusiast in pursuit of knowledge or gain, are up betimes at their respective occupations, while the sluggard wastes the most beautiful period of life in pernicious slumber. Homer, Virgil, Cicero, were all represented as early risers; the same was the case with Paley, Franklin, Priestly, Parkhurst, and Suffun; the last of whom ordered his servant to awaken him every morning, and compel him to get up by force, if he evinced any reluctance, for which service he was rewarded with a crown each day, which recompence he forfeited if he did not oblige his master to get out of bed before the clock struck six. Bishops Jewel and Burnet used to rise every morning at four o'clock. Sir Thomas Moore did the same thing. Napoleon was an early riser, so were Frederick the Great and Charles the Twelfth; so is her present Majesty and so are most all the nability in attendance upon the Court. That early rising tends to prolong life, appears to be clearly proved. One of our most eminent judges, Lord Mansfield, was at the pains of collecting some curious evidence on this subject. When he presided in his judicial capacity over the court, out this question to every old man who appeared at the bar respecting his habits. 'What age are you?' 'What sort of a life have you led—often drunk, eh?' 'Please God,' answered a man upward of ninety, 'I have seldom gone to bed sober,' and in fact it turned out that some of these veterans pleaded guilty to habitual intemperance, and others, on the contrary, attested their uniform sobriety, all agreed on one point—that of having been early risers. Nevertheless, the morning snooze has, we confess, its temptations. Our readers will remember Burns' pleasant song:—

'Up in the morning's no for me,
Up in the morning early;
When a' the hills are covered wi' snow,
I'm sura it's winter fairly.'

Thompson passed a great portion of his time in bed.

Dean Swift, we are told, lay in bed till eleven o'clock every morning to think of wit for the day.

Sir Walter Scott observed, 'I like to be lounging over things for an hour or so before I get to work; there's the time I am dressing to overhaul my half-sleeping, half-waking *projet de Chapitre*, and when I get up, I have before me, it commonly rises off pretty easily.' We have always considered the morning toilette should be gone through very methodically and deliberately; it is a ceremony that should not be too hastily performed; during the operation of shaving, to particular, which ought always to be performed slowly, many strange fancies and dangerous suggestions issue fit across the mind. It should, however, be added, that Sir Walter Scott, during the greater part of his life, rose by five o'clock, and that his literary work was chiefly accomplished before breakfast.—*Household Words.*

STEADINESS OF PURPOSE.

1. It overcomes difficulties. Not with a rush and a shout, but one by one. They melt away before its incessant pressure, as icebergs beneath the steady radiance of the sun.

2. It gives vigor to the strength of a happy conscience. A weather-cock of a man, whiffing about with every breeze, cannot have true quietness of mind.—Self dissatisfaction worries and annoys him. But a cheerful vigorand energy grows out of an intelligent and unvacillating purpose.

3. It gives dignity and honor to character. Men cannot but admire the mind that marches steadily on, through sunshine and shade, calm and storm, smiles and frowns, glad of favor, but pressing on without it, thankful for aid, but fixed on advancing at all events. Such man cut out for themselves a character which cannot but be seen and honored.

4. It gives success. In any enterprise that is not downright madness, such a man must succeed. He has the chief element of a triumph over every difficulty, and if he is not an idiot, he will do something in the world. He will not reach his ends at a leap. But he will reach them. He moves not rapidly, but surely. When you want to find him by and by, you will know where to look. You look at the top-most rounds of the ladder of success, and you will find him about there somewhere.

SONNET.

Translated from the Spanish.

BY THE LYRN BARD.

And what is love? An evanescent feeling?
The fleeting fancy of an idle hour,
That blooms and fades? A short-lived summer flower,
Which perishes when winter frosts run stealing?
Such is not love—the love which lives forever—
Which burns into the soul as Etna fire
Burns through its mountain centre—cooling never—
But with eternal brightness blazing higher
Than more it is extinguished!—living on
Unquenchable when every hope is gone
Which in its flame, and haloes round it spread—
Feeding upon its own intensity!
Pure, self-existent, passionless, and free,
Which love the more, because all hope is fled!

BABY-WALKER.—An ingenious philanthropist in New York has invented a machine which will rival the baby-jumper in the affections of the infantile race. The instrument is termed a baby-walker, an arrangement for directing the erring footsteps of the little one, whose limbs fail to afford the requisite support for such a purpose. Its form resembles somewhat a common parlor ottoman, though in the top is cut a hole, into which the baby is placed, and secured from falling. A small saddle is suspended beneath the hole, upon which the infant rests, its feet touching the floor. The saddle is supported on springs, which gives the top and down movement at every motion of the little occupant. The contrivance is placed on castors, and can therefore be pushed around the room by the youngster with the utmost ease.

The Impartial Citizen.

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CELEBRATION OF WEST INDIA NEGRO EMANCIPATION, AND WELCOME TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., M. P.,

By American Fugitive Slaves in the British Metropolis.

London, August 8th, 1851.

My Dear Sir:—

I have now the pleasure of redeeming my promise, by forwarding you a full report of the proceedings of one of the most interesting, and, in its anti-slavery aspect, most important, meetings ever held in the city of London, which took place on Friday last, August 1st, at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle street.

The two objects for which the meeting was nominally convened were—the celebration of the most important event in modern British history—the liberation of 800,000 West India slaves,—and the public welcome, by representatives of the race thus enfranchised, of one through whose instrumentality, and to whose untiring labors as a surpassing eloquence, those 800,000 human beings are so materially indebted for the enjoyment of Heaven's greatest blessing, Liberty, upon his return from a second heroic and triumphant crusade against the worse than Saracenic barbarians of the United States, who have so long defiled the holy Temple of Freedom, and trampled that which is most dear and sacred to the Christian world beneath their feet. Important as were these two objects as past events, the celebration of this sixteenth anniversary of the deliverance of the West India negroes from the house of colonial bondage and the paying of a tribute of admiration, respect and love to the greatest living champion of their emancipation, for his past services, due care was moreover taken to render these subservient to the more practical purpose of the future achievement of that glorious work in which you and your noble compeers are engaged—the deliverance of 3,200,000 of the same children of God from the grasp of the Republican Pharaohs of America, whose exodus from the Egypt of slavery, and whose celebration of their passover in the Canaan of freedom, it is the fervent prayer of all true-hearted man in this country, the oldest abolitionist in the United States may yet live to witness.

Unlike your 'Independence Day,' our first of August celebration was no empty glorification of great principles and great men; no mere annual lip-worship of liberty, standing out in cold contrast with every day sets of the most grinding tyranny. The retrospect of the past was used as an incentive for the future. The meeting not only recognized in theory the great doctrine of the natural equality of man, and his universal right to freedom throughout the earth, but they pledged themselves to execution in order to give embodiment to that righteous principle, primarily in their most natural sphere of influence, among as apostate people, who, having the same origin, language, religion, and, to a great extent, customs and constitution as our own, their reclamation to virtue we are bound, by every tie of kindred and association, to seek with all our souls. There is reason to hope that its practical results will hereafter give us cause to reflect with satisfaction upon the anti-slavery gathering at the Hall of Commerce, in the city of London, upon the first of August, 1851.

The time, place and circumstance of the meeting are deserving of special notice. Looked at in their combination, they furnish the most marked public demonstration ever made by British citizens against American colorphobia. The thousands of transatlantic visitors to the Great Exhibition have caused London to be fuller of representatives of the American Slave Power than at any previous period. Among the deficiencies of American character, inquisitiveness cannot be numbered. No men have gone abroad with their eyes wider open than these same visitors from the United States. They have availed themselves of every public meeting and all opportunities of witnessing expressions of British feeling. The meeting on the first of August was not only a remarkable event, calculated above all others to catch the American eye, but it was a thing not done in a corner. The Hall of Commerce is the largest available room in the city of London, within a stone's throw of the Bank of England, the Exchange, and other public buildings—the terminus for omnibuses from all parts of the metropolis—in the very centre of its trade and commerce. The meeting was most extensively advertised in the leading newspapers, and the walls of the metropolis, from end to end, were placarded with the announcement. The invitation to the meeting was not couched in the restrictive terms adopted by some societies, of 'friends and supporters of the cause;' but the platform, as well as the hall, was open to all comers. Most prominent in the notification was the extraordinary and unparalleled circumstance, that the chair would be taken by a fugitive slave. It was publicly announced that the 'peculiar institution' of the United States would be openly impeached; and yet, although American citizens in abeals were walking the streets of London during the day, not half a dozen, with the exception of the fugitive slaves, were present at the meeting, and these who were present were sentiments favorably to its objects. One of two inferences must inevitably be drawn from their absence; either American citizens, notwithstanding their skill in bowie-knife and revolver, are naturally cowards, or they felt themselves placed in circumstances where they would be

'But naked, though locked up in steel.'

Their past history proves that Americans are not naturally cowards, and we are driven to the other alternative—that the cowardice they displayed on this occasion was the cowardice of conscience. Their avoidance of the challenge arose not from any general lack of moral courage, but from a consciousness that the manifest injustice of slavery, in the eyes of all men, in a free country, rendered them utterly powerless in its defence. They must have felt how despicable their slavery, and how contemptible their prejudice of color, had rendered them in the sight of all men; for notwithstanding the immense disadvantages under which the fugitive slaves labored, if the American statement was true, from natural inferiority of mental powers, superadded to the undoubted disadvantage of defective education, 'the chivalry of the South,' as Lord Carlisle ludicrously terms it, conjoined with the vaunted almightiness of the North, dared not enter into discussion upon a subject to the defence of which, has been brought to bear all the argument and learning of the most profound statesmen, philosophers and doctors of divinity of the United States. The pusillanimity of Americans upon British soil has thus been brought out in marked contrast with the courage of Mr. George Thompson upon American soil, beginning at the city of Boston, he denounced in unmeasured terms, for eight months, the national sin of the United States, in every part of the Northern States as well as in Canada. He declared himself ready to meet any and every advocate and apologist for slavery. In the metropolis of his own country, he again meets them, and from the heart of the city of London, before the world's congregated representatives, he utters the same scathing denunciations against their peculiar institution. His accusations were conveyed the next morning, through the medium of the daily press, not merely to all parts of the metropolis, but to every portion of the kingdom. It was hardly possible for an American to take up a paper from his breakfast table, or in any public room in the country, without his eye resting upon the burning words of George Thompson in condemnation of that American's country—language, be it remembered, not uttered by an obscure private individual, but by the most popular member of the British Legislature, a man possessing not merely a Cis-Atlantic or Trans-Atlantic, but a world-wide reputation—a denunciation which it was known would go forth to every part of the globe where the English language is spoken. A week has now elapsed since this withering reprobation was uttered, but not a word of reply or remonstrance has escaped from any representative of the people thus publicly branded as the most guilty nation on the face of the earth. The same result must now follow in the public mind of Europe, as would cause in ordinary judicial proceedings—that the indictment having been publicly preferred, and evidence adduced in support of it, against the United States, for the capital crime of slavery, and the defendants, although present at the place of trial, having refused to plead to that indictment, judgment must of necessity go by default, and the world must henceforth take it as an established fact, *pro confesso* by Americans themselves, that they are verily the guilty people which Mr. Thompson charged them with being.

The price of admission to the Soiree was one shilling; and notwithstanding the occurrence of a Peace Congress and Soiree, and other important meetings on this same evening, namely one thousand ladies and gentlemen were present.

After tea was concluded, Wm. Wells Brown, and his daughters, Alexander Duval, James Anderson, —— Benson, and a number of other fugitives and men of color, were accompanied to the platform by George Thompson, Esq., M. P., Sir Francis Knowles, Bennet, the Revds. Jabez Brown, D. D., T. Stevenson, M. A., and E. Matthews; E. Goshell, R. Smith, J. Brooks, Harvey Powell, and Newman Hall, Esqs., and a number of other gentlemen. Their appearance was greeted with loud and enthusiastic applause. The front row of the platform, and part of the second, was occupied by the fugitives and men of color; the distinguished gentlemen who accompanied them taking their seats in the rear. In the body of the meeting were many gentlemen of eminence, among whom were Robert Pester, Samuel Barclay (of Gloucester,) Andew Paton, (of Glasgow,) J. Linney, (of Preston,) W. Allan, W. E. Carver, Z. Hubberess, J. F. Mollett, T. Manson, Robert Smith, (of Dalston,) T. Thomas, J. Bruce. —— Philpott, &c.

The meeting was also graced with the presence of several highly respectable ladies, pre-eminent among whom sat Mrs. M. W. Chapman, Miss Chapman, and Miss Caroline Weston, from your side of the Atlantic; Mrs. George Thompson, Miss Thompson, and Miss Amelia Thompson, Miss Estlin, (of Bristol,) Miss Paton and Miss Anderson, (Mr. H. C. Wright's 'Wee Darling.') Mrs. Corner, Mrs. Mawson, Mrs. Bruce, &c.

Alexander Duval having moved, and James Anderson (both fugitive slaves) having seconded, a resolution that Wm. Wells Brown do take the chair, it was carried unanimously.

The Chairman, (who upon taking the chair was received with loud applause,) in opening the proceedings, remarked that, although the metropolis had of late been inundated with meetings of various character, having reference to almost every variety of subject, yet that the subject they were called upon that evening to discuss differed from them all. Many of those by whom he was surrounded, like himself, had been victims to the inhuman institution of slavery, and were in consequence exiled from the land of their birth. They were fugitives from their native land, but not fugitives from justice, and they had not fled from a monarchical, but from a so-called republican government. They came from amongst a people who declared, as a part of their creed, that all men were born free, but who, while they did so, made slaves of every sixth man, woman and child in the country. (Hear, hear.) He must not, however, forget that one of the purposes for which they were met tonight was to commemorate the emancipation of their brethren and sisters in the islands of the sea. That act of the British Parliament, and he might add in this case with peculiar emphasis, of the British nation, passed on the 12th day of August, 1833, to take effect on the 1st day of August, 1834, and which enfranchised 800,000 West Indian slaves, was an event sublime in its nature, comprehensive and mighty to its immediate influences and remote consequences, precious beyond expression to the cause of freedom, and encouraging beyond the measure of any government on earth to the hearts of all enlightened and just men. This act was the commencement of a long course of philanthropic and Christian efforts on the part of some of the best men that the world ever produced. It was not his intention to go into a discussion or a calculation of the rise and fall of property, or whether sugar was worth more or less by the act of emancipation. But the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies was a blow struck in the right direction at that most inhuman of all trafficks, the slave trade—a trade which would never cease so long as slavery existed, for where there was a market there would be merchandise; where there was demand there would be a supply; where there were carcasses there would be vultures; and they might as well attempt to turn the water, and make it run up the Niagara river, as to change this law. It was often said by the Americans, that England was responsible for the existence of slavery there, because it was introduced into the country while the colonies were under the British Crown. He (that was so, they must come to the conclusion that, as England abolished slavery in the West Indies, she would have done the same for the American States, if she had had the power to do so; and if that was so, they might safely say that the separation of the United States from the mother country was (to say the least) a great misfortune to one-sixth of the population of that land. England had set a noble example to America, and he would to Heaven that his countrymen would follow the example. The Americans boasted of their superior knowledge, but they need not boast of their superior guilt, for that was set upon a hill-top, and that, too, so high that it required not the lantern of Diogenes to find it out. Every breeze from the western world brought upon its wings the groans and cries of the victims of this guilt. Nearly all countries had fixed the seal of disapprobation to slavery, and when, at some future age, this stain upon the page of history shall be pointed at, posterity will blush at the discrepancy between American profession and American practice. What was to be thought of a people boasting of their liberty, their humanity, their Christianity, their love of justice, and at the same time keeping in slavery more than three millions of God's children, and shutting out from them the light of the Gospel, by denying the Bible to the slave? (Hear, hear.) No education, no marriage, every thing done to keep the mind of the slave in darkness. There was a wish on the part of the people of the Northern States to shield themselves from the charge of slaveholding, but as they shared in the guilt, he was not satisfied with letting them off without their share in the odium.

And now, a word about the Fugitive Slave Bill. That measure was in every respect an unconstitutional measure. It set aside the right formerly enjoyed by the fugitive of trial by jury—it annulled his claim to the writ of habeas corpus—it afforded to him no protection, no opportunity of proving his right to be free, and it placed every free colored person at the mercy of every unprincipled person who might wish to claim him. (Hear.) That law is opposed to the principles of Christianity—foreign alike to the laws of God and man; it has converted the population of the free States into a band of Negro-catchers, and every rood of territory is but so much hunting-ground, over which they might chase the fugitive. But while they were speaking of slavery in the United States, they must not omit to mention that there was a strong feeling in that land, not only against the Fugitive Slave Law, but also against the existence of slavery in any form. There was a band of faceless men and women in the city of Boston, whose labor for the slave had resulted in good beyond calculation. This noble and heroic class had caused the whole country to be in agitation, until their principles have taken root in almost every association in the land, and which, with God's blessing, will in due time cause the Americans to put in practice what they have so long professed. (Hear, hear.) He wished it to be constantly held up before the country, that the Northern States are as deeply implicated in the guilt of slavery as the South. The North had a population of 13,553,328; the South had a population of only 6,395,756 freemen; the North has 153 representatives in the House, the South only 81; and it would be seen by this that the balance of power was with the free States. Looking, therefore, at the question in all its aspects, he was sure that there was no one in this country but who would find out that the slavery of the United States of America was a system the most abandoned and the most tyrannical. (Hear, hear.)

With reference to Mr. Thompson's visit to America, the Chairman proceeded:—

I am glad that we have upon this platform one who has recently returned from America. (Cheers.) I am somewhat acquainted with the doings of the noble friend that I have alluded to. I had some acquaintance with his connection with the anti-slavery movement before I came to this country. I have had ample opportunity of judging of his zeal in the cause of the slave since I have been here. I have myself been a frequent guest at his table, where I have met many fugitives who have been entrusted to his care, and I know that they have received from him the most friendly advice, and more than that, substantial assistance, to help them on their way in this country. I was present at the farewell Soiree given to him before he embarked this second time for America. I was the last to shake hands with him as he left the railway station, and the first to welcome him on his return at the same place. I watched his movements in every direction. I gained information from every source, public and private, from slaveholders and abolitionists, respecting the course of Mr. Thompson through the country, and I am satisfied that he gave an impetus to the cause of freedom there which it had not received for years before. His tour through the States of Massachusetts and New York, the acts with which the people came forth to welcome him at every meeting—the fact that when he left the city of Boston, the friends in Boston accompanied him a long distance to where the steamer was moored, is enough to satisfy my mind as to the value placed upon his labors and talents by the friends of my oppressed race. I was anxious, in common with many other fugitives,—those who are present as well as numbers who cannot attend this meeting,—to meet together here, not only to celebrate this, the anniversary of West India emancipation, but also to welcome our friend, and thank him for his labors in the United States with in the past eight months. And now I will take my seat by welcoming Mr. Thompson, and expressing to him the thanks of the fugitives in this country for the labors, co-operation and noble zeal with which he has aided the cause of the slave in the U. States. I am sure that this audience will be better satisfied with hearing remarks from him than almost any one in the meeting. And now, Sir, [turning to Mr. Thompson,] I beg to thank you for your noble exertions in behalf of my oppressed people [shaking Mr. Thompson by the hand, amidst the loud applause of the meeting.] I had the assurance of William and Ellen Craft, two of the noblest fugitives from the United States of America, that they would be present at this meeting; but at a late hour, I received a letter from them, informing me that unfortunate circumstances beyond their control prevented their attendance. We have, I am happy to say, the presence of a noble man upon this platform, who has been lynched within the last year in the State of Kentucky, simply because he was a sharer in abolition feelings.

Mr. Thompson then rose and said:—As I am exceedingly desirous that you should receive all the information which those who are upon the platform are desirous of giving you respecting the working of slavery in America, I will take the liberty of recommending to your patient attention and your warm reception, my friend, the Rev. Edward Matthews, to whom the Chairman has referred; a gentleman who, for preaching the gospel to the slaves in Kentucky, and not disguising while he did so that he was in favor of their emancipation, was subjected to treatment which is enough in itself to demonstrate both the hateful character of slavery in America, and the indurating influence of that abominable system upon all classes of society, not excepting those who are religious and orthodox. I will leave my friend to tell his own story: it will reach your hearts, increase your hatred of this most odious system, and I trust inflame your zeal to the extent of sending forth every one of you from this hall to-night as a missionary in this great work, and to lend a helping hand to bring to an end so foul an institution as that which we are here to condemn.

[Mr. Matthews spoke at some length, giving an account of his inhuman treatment in Kentucky; but as the readers of the *Citizen* are familiar with the story, we omit it here.]

Mr. Thompson, on rising, was hailed with the most vociferous applause, repeatedly renewed, accompanied by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Silence having been restored, the Honorable Gentleman addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. President, Fugitive Slaves, Fellow-Men—Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel proud of the position I stand in to-night. I could almost say, with Shakspeare—

'My bosom's lord sits lightly on his throne.'

This is a great exhibition! a glorious exhibition! I am proud of the metropolis of England. I wish that you, Sir, and this meeting, were in the Crystal Palace, and that the nations of the earth—and especially that nation above all others, existing or extinct, the recant to the cause of liberty—could look through the crystal and behold the spectacle which this meeting would present. (Cheers.) I wish that every dastard republican, infatuated with that colorphobia, that case of worst, because the meanest, kind of aristocracy that exists in the world, were here to-night, either to be converted by this spectacle, or to be afflicted by it, and ha tormented by his own leprosy of soul. (The Honorable Gentleman was here interrupted by the barking of a dog in the body of the meeting.) Why, Sir, the very dogs bark at them. [Loud cheers and laughter.] An English dog can see the image of his Maker, and do homage to it; an opulent aristocrat, a white-skinned patrician, in America, beholds the superscription of God upon the soul of his brother, but refuses to 'render unto God the things that are God's.' (Renewed interruption from the dog.) I hope the owner of that dog will remove it; he has borne his testimony, and I hope he will now be silent. [Laughter.] Sir, there will be a great moral lesson taught by this meeting. Such a meeting as this is yet to be held over the wide continent of America. It would startle the whole of America, from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the banks of the Sacramento; from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Yet here, in the Metropolis of England, close upon the Mansion-House, the Bank of England and the Exchange, in the Hall of Commerce, in the city of London, is held a free meeting; I mean, free to all who grudge not the pittance asked for admission at the door, and presiding over that meeting is a black man, —(enthusiastic cheering)—the enslaved, the scorned, the hated and hunted of perfidious and guilty America. Here in the chair sits one proof, and on either side of him additional evidences, that the Republic of America, as far as the whites are concerned, is one great and criminal conspiracy for the enslavement of an entire nation—(cheers)—a nation enslaved within a nation, and by man who dare to take the names of Franklin and Adams and Hancock upon their lips, not anticipating the time when, if they should come in view of those great men in that world of retribution in the rest beyond the grave, their shades would frown upon them, and see them, buried to that depth below the deepest, where a republican slaveholder will find his appropriate place. (Cheers.) O, America is an impious nation—an atheistical country. And yet, there are men in London, calling themselves abolitionists, who are busying themselves with drawing lines of theological distinction between man and man, going about with moloved visiting, with their noses to the north, seeking to find any petty marks and distinctions between one man and another, on a matter with which they have nothing to do, and blind all the while to that gigantic superstructure—grand in its very guilt—sublime in its very atrocity—that stamps that nation as the most awful practical atheists of the nineteenth century. There is no atheism so bold as that which sanctions in one man the assumption to the right of property in another. Man and man are equal. True, the complexion of the skin, the color of the hair, the conformation of the limbs, and the contour of the features, may vary; but they do not constitute the man. It is not that of which we read in the words—'In the image of God created he man.' Measure the man by the wisdom that formed him, the providence that watches over him, the destiny that awaits him, by faculties ever unfolding and seeking infinity to bring them forth; measure him by his capacity for punishment and reward, by his hopes, his fears, his joys, his sorrows, his hates—and then, here is a man. Washington was no more, and he is (laying his hand upon the shoulder of the Chairman) on less. (The audience here rose *en masse*, and continued cheering most enthusiastically for a considerable period, amid waving of hats and handkerchiefs.) My friend who has just retired from this table has talked about discussing the question in this particular way and that particular way; and there are men in this very city, sitting near this very spot, who talk about discussing the matter in this particular way and that, of helping the cause of abolition in connection with this individual sod that. Sir, we have ever but this simple duty to perform—to go forth through the world with this anti-slavery gospel, knowing no other for the time—that the man who lays a finger on a human soul has dishonored God, and proclaimed himself an atheist. That is my doctrine. To be drawing distinctions, asking questions, dropping the line and plummet about the souls of men, to ascertain what are their views about the Sre points—I do not mean the five points of 'The Charter,' but those other theological five points—whether they are Arminians or Calvinists, of the old school or the new, whether they are orthodox or heterodox—why, it is tampering with the great question of the rights of humanity. The man who does this knows nothing but this baptism of John; he is yet to be converted to the very first principles of abolitionism. (Hear.) Why his own orthodoxy condemns him. His own evangelism condemns him. He must go and learn what those words mean, 'I will have mercy, and not sacrifice'—'To obey is better than to sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams'—Is not this the fast that I have chosen; to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free?' For the last eight months I have preached this doctrine in America. I have nothing to do with times and seasons, geographical boundaries and party politics, who is to be President, or who Lieutenant Governor. All these are matters so insignificant, that from the sublime height on which I stand, contemplating or admiring the immeasurable sun that courses the earth and courses the heavens, I have lost sight of them all. I see 3,189,000 human beings in bondage; I see countless millions sold in their fathers' loins. I see time itself, to the crack of doom, mortgaged to the demon of slavery. I demand that God may be restored to his sovereignty, and every proud republican slaveholder branded with the scorn of the world. I am not using any stronger language now, than I have need in America at the very moment when I have had letters in my pocket warning me of mobs without and assassins within. Oh, that there were truth and fidelity to this extent among all the people of this country! Oh, that instead of nibbling with this question, and concealing the truth upon it—picking choice morsels here and there to suit the dainty palates of spurious abolitionists (hear)—they would awaken to a sense of their duty to do that which their hands and hearts to do, denounce this gigantic robbery, and leave God to take care of the consequences when they have done it. (Cheers.)

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Ladies and gentlemen, I will now give you a brief summary narrative of my tour in the United States. I did not go there, as my friends assembled in a place very near this could testify, on a purely anti-slavery mission. I wanted somewhat to enlarge my acquaintance in that country, and while my friends believe, I hope not without foundation, that I could not, under any circumstances, conceal or compromise my anti-slavery principles, in any part of America, yet that I might be justified if pursuing a course somewhat more quiet than what I had pursued sixteen years previously. I landed in the city of Boston, and I found that city in a state of intense excitement. What was the cause? An earthquake? No; the earth was as stable, the heavens as blue as ever What had happened? Plague, pestilence, or famine? Nothing of the kind. Peace, plenty, and health abounded. The governor of the commonwealth assured his subjects that it had been a year of unexampled prosperity. What had excited the city? A man and a woman! A man and his wife had fled from the lower house of slavery, and reached the city of Boston. For eighteen months, more or less—I speak under correction—these worthy individuals had found as asylum in the enlightened city of Boston. The man had betaken himself to handicraft labor, had earned his living and supported his wife, and was not indebted to any individual in that city for one cent. He had created for himself a character perfectly irreproachable, and won the esteem of all who had come in contact with him. His wife (would that she were here to present herself to this meeting!) is a woman of whom I will only say, that there shines not in Boscade to-night, in any assembly at the West End, a lady who would ha degraded by sitting at her side. Well, what was this excitement about? Why, the whole government machinery of the country, and of that State in particular, had been set in motion to capture this man and woman. The President, the Vice-President, the Cabinet, the Senate, the House of Representatives, together with the Marshals, Deputy-Marshals, Commissioners, constabulary, militia, army and navy of the United States to boot, were all in readiness to run down and capture Williams and Ellen Craft. They were hidden away. It was difficult, I tell you, for any one, without a good certificate, to discover where they were. They were hidden away from every orthodox minister but one in that city. (Hear.) They were concealed from the tender mercies of all the rest; and where Bunker Hill stands, and where Gerry so eloquently declaimed—where the pictures upon the walls of Faneuil Hall looked down upon the nameless of Democrats—there were two wretched beings chased, under the United States Constitution, with the deadly crime of having ran away with themselves, with the simplicity of believing that, in the most pious and enlightened city in the world, they would be safe It was not only a crime, but a blunder. Well, under these circumstances they were hidden away. I sought them. It was on the Sabbath day. The bells were ringing. I saw the tribes go up. I saw the white multitudes filling the sanctuaries of that city. But main streets were silent. With that being—whom I was taken to task here and in America for calling a glorious being, but who, with another year's acquaintance with his zeal and his acts, I now pronounce, with deeper emphasis, to be as glorious a being as ever trod the earth—guided by William Lloyd Garrison—

(Loud cheers)—I found the refuge of William and Ellen Craft. There they were, hid away from the infernal operation of the American game-laws; for America is a great preserve; every wood of it is hunting ground. Colored men are the game; and it is a (glorious) sight to see the hunters of men out. I once saw a hunt in this country, and thought it was a very foolish matter. A number of men in red coats, and others in all kinds of coats, riding on horses, good, bad, and indifferent, to hunt a lone-legged creature that was hasting to get away from them. Well, I thought that a ridiculous sight; but, thank Heaven, that is the most ridiculous hunt we have in this country. But there is in another country, a noble hunting-ground, extending from the Isthmus of Panama to the region of everlasting snow,—from the shores washed by the dark Atlantic to those on which the wild waves of the Pacific make their melancholy music—all hunting ground for free Republicans, with their President Fillmore at the head, and a regiment of chaplains, that includes all but a few hundreds of thirty thousand ministers of religion. Well, my friends, under these circumstances, I landed in the city of Boston. I saw the Crafts. I recommended them to hasten to this land. I advised them to take the next steamer, which was the one in which I had myself arrived, and they made up their minds to do so. I proclaimed that I had done so, when they were safe on this side the Atlantic; and for proclaiming that I had thus aided and abetted them in their escape, I was threatened with prosecution and imprisonment—a fine of a thousand dollars for each of the fugitives, as well as a thousand dollars as a punishment for having assisted them to get away. Under these circumstances, a large meeting was held to enable my friends to give me a welcome. The hall was filled by 3500 such persons, assembled within the walls of the Cradle of Liberty. Now, do not imagine from my thing—or, if you have imagined it from any thing you have seen in the London papers, dismiss the notion from your mind—that this was a meeting at which I was repulsed by the majority of the persons there assembled. For more than half an hour after I entered that hall, I was welcomed with the loudest plaudits, almost, I ever heard in a public meeting. An address was being read to me, and wherever my name occurred, the acclamations were renewed. The whole disturbance upon that occasion was created by some 150 or 200 individuals, who entered at the main door, forced their way into the hall underneath the chandelier, and there did, in Boston, what any 200 ruffians might do in Exeter Hall, prevented 3,000 persons from going quietly on with their proceedings. Still, however, the effect was the same. I was silenced, and it was announced through the country at large that I had been silenced in Boston—driven out of Faneuil Hall; and it was declared that I should not be heard by a single audiance throughout the whole of the United States. Well, this was a singular and responsible position to be placed in; and as I told my constituents the night before last, for a time, I forgot that I was an Englishman, member for the Tower Hamlets, and that I had a seat in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I remembered only that I was a man, that my right had been invaded, and, Parliament or no Parliament, approbation or displeasure, when I returned, I was there to assert my own rights, and maintain that God had given me a character, warranting me in every part of the world to speak out my thoughts; that He who gave me the power to think, gave me the right to speak; that the man who levels a blow at freedom of speech strike itself and ennobles himself a coward and a villain. (Loud cheers.) I said, 'I will be heard.' (Hear.) My noble friend Garrison had made the same declaration more than twenty years ago; when he published the number of his little twelve small paper, the *Liberator*, which I recommend every body who is able to subscribe for, and bring their names to the table to-night, and be refreshed with the glad tidings from a far country—tidings which may sometimes draw forth their tears and agonize their souls, but he, who would escape suffering in this world, and therefore shuns the exhibition of human misery, forgets that this is a place to suffer, that it is a luxury to suffer with those that do suffer, and that we shall have time enough to wipe away our tears and rest from our labors when the slave be even as his master, and heaven shall receive us all. (Loud cheers.)

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And now, my friends, to come back again to London. Something must be done in this city to gather up, reorganize, and direct the anti-slavery feeling of this metropolis. In London, there is no outlet, it has no expression, it has no organ. Large as London is, and connected with an anti-slavery society in London, I should penetrate every section, and find some anti-slavery element. It is in this hall to-night. (Hear, hear.) I found it in every audience, the most prejudiced and bigotted that I ever addressed, in America. I commenced under withering frowns; I left off amidst approving plaudits. Yet this element is all around us, and it must be gathered up; it must be concentrated; it must be directed. But the practical object to be accomplished by such organization—and I hope we shall have it to-night—the germ of it is, to take care of these fugitives. There is a beloved friend here, (pointing to Alexander Duval) who has a wife and child in a town where I recently lectured—New Bedford, in the State of Massachusetts. Here he is. Here is an anti-slavery organization in London, but this man is allowed, by them, to go wandering about living upon alms. (Loud cries of 'Shame.') One kind friend gives him a day's work at gardening, and this has no more for him to do. He then comes to me, not willing to trouble others, asking what he shall do next to earn an honest penny. O, it is a disgrace to the Anti-Slavery Society, that men like him should have to go from door to door and beg their bread. (Loud cries of 'Hear.') Could he be safe from the fangs of the law, he need not have done this in any town or village in America. The people of the United States, with all their faults, at all events know what hospitality means. Well, we cease, have an agitation to take care of every fugitive. Let them be put to work, and while not at work, let them be kept from mischief. Let them not be beggars in our streets. While the priest and the Levite pass them by, let us pay the reckoning. Now, I want the gentlemen who are present to-night to come spontaneously forward and freely and cheerfully give their names, and say, 'We will, in the first instance, form a Committee, to guard and cherish the fugitive slaves in the Metropolis.' Mind, we are not going to make gentlemen of them; that would be turning them to very little end, very low account. We want to make men of them, and teach them what they have not learned in slavery—the dignity and glory of honest and independent labor. We will have a Committee this very night, announce it, and say where subscriptions may be received, and by whom. We will send our fugitives to that Committee, that they may inquire into their circumstances, learn their characters, and find work for them to do; and if they must wait till to-morrow, take care that they shall not starve or be houseless to-day. But we must also have an organization for the gathering up of the feelings and sentiments of the people of this country on American slavery. I mean to give, during the Parliamentary recess, a course of lectures, in some large lecture hall, on the subject of American slavery. I will give you the history of the movement in this country; I will unveil the shams there, and show you who are the real friends of the slave in the United States, and will endeavor to prevent your seeking grapes in thorns and figs in thistles. But, in the mean time, we must have an organization; and, as I have said, we will commence it to-night. In addition to an organization, we must also have a publication, to disseminate truth in regard to American slavery. Is there not need, my friends, for such a paper? Why, while I was in America, there came, week by week, to this country, and were laid upon the table of the Anti-Slavery Society Committee, papers, and piles of papers, detailing, as rapidly as winds and steam could bring the intelligence, accounts of every movement of mine; and there were those in London, calling themselves an Anti-Slavery Society, who knew just as well what I was doing a fortnight afterwards as I did myself, at the time, and yet they allowed the people of London to remain in ignorance upon the subject. [Loud cries of 'Shame.'] They permitted my constituents to think that I might be digging in California, or going on a voyage of discovery after the sea-serpent, when I was doing the very work which they proposed to do, but were not doing, at home. This must be done, my friends; the slave must not suffer through compromise, concealment, and negligence elsewhere. We will try to find honest men, if we cannot find what the world calls 'respectable' men.

And now, in taking my seat, I beg to thank you for the kind reception you have given me to-night. I have come back to this country only the more deeply baptized into the spirit of universal freedom than I was before I went. Freedom has been my dream from my earliest childhood. Often have I trudged along Cheapside on errands, as an errand-boy, fancying myself at the footstool of some tyrant, pleading the cause of some manacled captive. God has given me the opportunity now, for these last twenty years, of proclaiming these great and immortal principles—that man is man; that no man is more than a man, and no man less; that to be a man owner, you must be God and man; and to be a slave, you must be man and beast. But while man is man, man never can own a man, for the potsherd of the earth cannot say to the potsherd, 'Thou art mine.' (Loud cheers.) That is a doctrine which a man may stand upon any where. Take it; it is your line and plummet. Go forth with it. In his name He has the rights of a man, the dignity of a man, and is entitled to the respect and the liberty of a man. We ask no more, but say that all restraint save that which reason puts upon evil men, is evil. We demand political freedom for our brethren at home, and we will have persons of freedom for our brethren abroad. I have tried to put this principle in various ways. I have endeavored to prove at one time that man should be free; at another, to prove that God should be free; at another, to prove that religion should be free; and at another, to prove that Her Majesty's tax-paying subjects should be free. The cause is one, whether I plead for the famishing artisan that the golden harvest may come to our shores, or whether I try to break the clanking chains of the African enslaved in America, or whether I ask that the victim of ecclesiastical tyranny shall be free, and have a conscience of his own, a church of his own, and a God of his own. The cause is but one, and I live but to advocate it; and I will take whatever consequences may follow from the uncompromising vindication of these principles; and if I represent a constituency, as I told them the night before last, that enter not into these principles, I represent those no longer; for in bondage to 23,000 I will not be, for I have already refused to be in bondage to 23,000,000 elsewhere. But if these be your principles, as they are mine, then hand in hand and heart to heart let us labor in this holy cause, and, with God's blessing, we will 'make the world better yet.' (At the conclusion of this remarkably eloquent speech, the whole audience simultaneously rose, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, and the gentlemen giving 'Three times three hearty cheers for George Thompson.')

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Alexander Duval then moved the adoption of the following Appeal from Fugitive Slaves in this country to the meeting, and to the people of Great Britain and the World, which had previously been adopted by a Committee of Fugitives, who then sought its ratification by the meeting:—

An Appeal to the People of Great Britain and the World.

We consider it just, both to the people of the United States and to ourselves, in making an appeal to the inhabitants of other countries against the laws which have exiled us from our native land, to state the ground upon which we make our appeal, and the causes which impel us to do so. There are in the United States of America, at the present time, between three and four millions of persons who are held in a state of slavery, which has no parallel in any other part of the world, and whose members have, within the past fifty years, increased, to a fearful extent. These people are not only deprived of the rights to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, but, every avenue to knowledge is closed against them, and the blessed teachings of the Savior denied them. The laws do not recognize the family relation of a slave, and extend to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. The shrieks and agonies of the slave are heard in the markets, at the seat of government, and within hearing of the American Congress, as well as on the cotton, sugar and rice plantations of the far South.

The history of the negroes in America is but a history of repeated injuries and acts of oppression committed upon them by the whites. It was amongst this oppressed class that we were born and brought up, and it was from under the laws which keep them in chains that we have escaped. It is not for ourselves that we make this appeal, but for those whom we have left behind.

In their Declaration of Independence, the Americans declare that 'all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Yet, one-sixth of the inhabitants of the great Republic are slaves. Then they give the lie to their own professions. No one forfeits his or her character or standing in society by being engaged in holding, buying, or selling a slave; the details of which, in all their horror, can scarcely be told.

Although the holding of slaves is confined to fifteen of the thirty-one States, yet we hold that the non-slaveholding States are equally guilty with the slaveholding. If any proof is needed on this point, it will be found in the passage of the inhumane Fugitive Slave Law, by Congress; a law which could never have been enacted without the votes of a portion of the representatives from the free States, and which is now being enforced, in many of the States, with the utmost alacrity. It was the passage of this law that exiled us from our native land, and is has driven thousands of our brothers and sisters from the free States, and compelled them to seek a refuge in the British possessions in North America. The Fugitive Slave Law has converted the entire country, North and South, into one vast hunting-ground. We would respectfully ask you to expostulate with the Americans, and let them know that you regard their treatment of the colored people of that country as a violation of every principle of human brotherhood, of natural right, of justice, of humanity, of Christianity, of love to God and to man.

It is said, that we should remind you that the religious sects of America, with but few exceptions, are connected with the sin of slavery—the churches North as well as South. We would have you tell the professed Christians of that land, that if they would be respected by you, they must separate themselves from the unholy alliance with men who are daily committing deeds which, if done in England, would cause the perpetrator to be sent to a felon's dress; that they must refuse the right hand of Christian fellowship, whether individually or collectively, to those implicated, in any way, in the guilt of slavery.

We do not ask for a foreign interference on your part, but only that you will use all lawful and peaceful means to restore to this much injured race their God-given rights. The moral and religious sentiment of mankind must be arrayed against slaveholding, to make it infamous, ere we can hope to see it abolished. We would ask you to act them the example, by excluding from your pulpits and from religious communion, the slaveholding and pro-slavery ministers who may happen to visit this country. We would even go further, and ask you to shut your doors against either mediators or laymen who are at all guilty of upholding and sustaining this monster sin. By the cries of the slave, which come from the fields and swamps of the far South, we ask you to do this! By that spirit of liberty and equality which you all admire, we would ask you to do this! And by that still nobler, higher and holier spirit of our beloved Savior, we would ask you to stamp upon the forehead of the slaveholder, with a brand deeper than that which marks the victim of his wrongs, the infamy of theft, adultery, man-stealing, piracy and murder, and, by the force of public opinion, compel him to unloose the heavy burden, and let the oppressed go free!

——— Brenan, (a fugitive slave,) seconded the adoption of the Address by a lengthened and somewhat eloquent speech, which the extent to which the report extends prevents insertion.

The question was put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Thompson then rose and said—Sometimes a little anecdote will illustrate a position better, than any other means. I will give you an anecdote for the purpose of illustrating American prejudice of color. These two young ladies here to-night are the daughters of our friend and Chairman, Mr. Wm. Wells Brown. The Tempest here brought them to the foot of the platform, amidst loud cheering.] Now, I want you to show you, of what stuff $1,600,000,000 of property in America consists. You see, she is very moveable property. (Laughter.) The second writer said that riches take unto themselves wings and fly away; and there is a kind of property in America that takes unto itself legs and runs away. Well, these two young ladies were my fellow passengers on board the steamship America. We had only been a few days at sea, when the captain inquired of me whether, I had observed an elderly lady and gentleman of very demure aspects and exceedingly reserved manners. I told him I had, and that I knew who they were—that they were two very religious persons from the town of Framingham, in the State of Massachusetts, and that they were extremely orthodox. The captain said he found the lady, two or three days ago, walking up and down the narrow passage between the state rooms. He accosted her, and asked her if she was taking a walk. She replied that she was, because she would not go into the ladies' cabin. 'Why not?' said he. 'For many reasons,' she replied, 'but there are a couple of nasty negroes there, I do not like the perfume of.' He, understanding her literally, really thought there were some flowers there, and upon going there, singularly enough, he found a very handsome bouquet, belonging to a young lady, the parting gift to her of a friend, and which she was cherishing as long as she could, as a memento of that friend's kindness. He found out the young lady, and obtained her permission to remove her favorite bouquet from the ladies' to the gentlemen's cabin, where it was accordingly taken and carefully tended. He went to the lady and told her he had removed the objection to her going into the ladies' saloon, and that the offensive nasty negroes were in the gentlemen's saloon. 'Oh,' said she, 'I did not mean those sorts, I meant those black girls!' (Laughter, and cries of 'Oh!') 'Black girls!' replied the captain, 'I have not seen any black girls!' 'Yes' said she, 'there are. I mean those two runaway slaves Mr. Thompson is taking off with him.' (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Well, the captain was a British lieutenant, and the old lady's mother rather put his monkey up—he said he, 'Black negro girls! There are two darkskinned ladies, I have seen on board, but they have quite as much right to the table as you have, madam.' 'Well,' said she, 'I cannot go there. Why, one of them actually had the impudence to take up a piece of bread off the dish, and put it down again! Only think of that!' (Loud laughter.) Now, there you have a specimen, and a very good one, of the pseudo piety of the New England States. They are extremely rigid in taxing the tithes of cummin and anise, but exceedingly negligent of the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and truth. I thought I would just state this anecdote, as it would give me an opportunity of introducing these two estimable young girls, who have come to this country, not only to enjoy the security and liberty guaranteed to them here, but also to participate in those means of education, which are not always accessible to them in America. I hope at many of you as have an opportunity of forwarding the views of an honorable and honest man like our friend, the President in the Chair, will do so.

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Mr. Thompson then rose and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, allow me, the privilege of proposing, what on other occasions is a very ordinary vote, but which in the present instance, has a peculiar interest about it—a vote of thanks to our Chairman. And before I resume my seat, allow me to make a remark upon another subject. I heard much while I was in the United States of the probable arrival of the Hungarian patriot Kossuth in that country. I have no objection to Kossuth finding a home and an asylum any where; but I do trust—and I desire publicly to give expression to this feeling from this platform to-night—that Kossuth will never lower his character by accepting an invitation from Lewis Cass and Millard Fillmore to touch the soil of America. (Cheers.) If Kossuth does that, I will be the first to denounce him, if ever I stand upon a platform which affords me a legitimate opportunity of doing so. He ought to have hurled back to Lewis Cass the insulting invitation he sent him, and told him that, much as he might desire to escape from bondage in Turkey, and despotism in Austria, he had yet, in his captivity, sympathy for the American slave, and hold that vile man to preach other than the diabolical doctrines with which he is starting in the United States, at this moment, with a view to the Presidential chair. But, I am happy to say, that the same spirit that would hail the arrival of Kossuth is not reluctant to afford an asylum, and extend hospitality to the fugitive slaves from the bosom of that hypocritical republic. Therefore, I am sure you will all agree with me, that this is a meeting which, looking at its character, at its principles, and at its results, is as august a meeting as could be convened, dignified as it is with the emblemity of the cause with which it is connected. My friends, I move this vote of thanks with the most perfect sincerity, and feel that we owe our friend the best acknowledgment for having conducted the business of this meeting in a manner that would have done credit to any person. I am sure you will pass this vote by acclamation.

The resolution was then passed by acclamation.

Three hearty cheers were then given for the fugitive slaves, led off by Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Thompson—Now, we do not find if they hear that on the other side of the Atlantic.

Three cheers were then given for George Thompson, and the meeting separated.

[The preceding extracts we copy from the *Liberator*. We regret that we cannot give the report in full; but the extracts are of great interest.]

THE BUFFALO SLAVE CASE.

To preach respect for this fugitive slave law, (says the Hartford *Republican*,) is to preach unmitigated scoundrelism and undiluted devilry. Talk of Russian tyranny and Austrian cruelties, while we in this Republic have this infernal law in operation! The politicians who support it in order to make their party acceptable to the slaveholders, would sell their country for a consideration. Why, the most contemptible slave-trader has a sense of manhood, when he meets a man or a woman; and even he must scorn such servility to slavedom.

The 'fugitive' so arrested and maltreated at Buffalo, is legally entitled to his freedom. His master sent him into Ohio, and he chose to stay where he could call on himself, by the summary process of habeas corpus, his liberty, he is not allowed a trial of his case, and his legal rights cannot make themselves so much as heard of by those who assume to dispose of his fate. Freedom! American Law and Order! What do they mean? Do they mean the perpetration of such outrages under cover of Fugitive Slave Law? Do they mean aid and comfort to the kidnapping scoundrels who go proviling about the free States in the service of slavery?

Yet, there is no lack of politicians who condone these kidnappers, justify their doings, and support the fugitive slave law, on, in their view, the sacred ground of the property of American citizens. You see, she is very moveable property. (Laughter.) The second writer said that riches take unto themselves wings and fly away; and there is a kind of property in America that takes unto itself legs and runs away. Well, these two young ladies were my fellow passengers on board the steamship America. We had only been a few days at sea, when the captain inquired of me whether, I had observed an elderly lady and gentleman of very demure aspects and exceedingly reserved manners. I told him I had, and that I knew who they were—that they were two very religious persons from the town of Framingham, in the State of Massachusetts, and that they were extremely orthodox. The captain said he found the lady, two or three days ago, walking up and down the narrow passage between the state rooms. He accosted her, and asked her if she was taking a walk. She replied that she was, because she would not go into the ladies' cabin. 'Why not?' said he. 'For many reasons,' she replied, 'but there are a couple of nasty negroes there, I do not like the perfume of.' He, understanding her literally, really thought there were some flowers there, and upon going there, singularly enough, he found a very handsome bouquet, belonging to a young lady, the parting gift to her of a friend, and which she was cherishing as long as she could, as a memento of that friend's kindness. He found out the young lady, and obtained her permission to remove her favorite bouquet from the ladies' to the gentlemen's cabin, where it was accordingly taken and carefully tended. He went to the lady and told her he had removed the objection to her going into the ladies' saloon, and that the offensive nasty negroes were in the gentlemen's saloon. 'Oh,' said she, 'I did not mean those sorts, I meant those black girls!' (Laughter, and cries of 'Oh!') 'Black girls!' replied the captain, 'I have not seen any black girls!' 'Yes' said she, 'there are. I mean those two runaway slaves Mr. Thompson is taking off with him.' (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Well, the captain was a British lieutenant, and the old lady's mother rather put his monkey up—he said he, 'Black negro girls! There are two dark-complexioned ladies, I have seen on board, but they have quite as much right to the table as you have, madam.' 'Well,' said she, 'I cannot go there. Why, one of them actually had the impudence to take up a piece of bread off the dish, and put it down again! Only think of that!' (Loud laughter.) Now, there you have a specimen, and a very good one, of the *pseudo* piety of the New England States. They are extremely rigid in taxing the tithes of cummin and anise, but exceedingly negligent of the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and truth. I thought I would just state this anecdote, as it would give me an opportunity of introducing these two estimable young girls, who have come to this country, not only to enjoy the security and liberty guaranteed to them here, but also to participate in those means of education, which are not always accessible to them in America. I hope at many of you as have an opportunity of forwarding the views of an honorable and honest man like our friend, the President in the Chair, will do so.

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Mr. Thompson then rose and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, allow me, the privilege of proposing, what on other occasions is a very ordinary vote, but which

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, Editor.
AMOS G. BEMAN, Corresponding Editor.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1851.

Call for a National Convention of the Liberty Party.

The subscribers, members of the National Committee of the Liberty Party, do hereby give notice, that a National Convention of the said Party will be held in the city of Buffalo, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 17th and 18th days of next September.

It is expected that the Convention will nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. But this will occupy only a small share of its time. The Convention will, doubtless, be principally occupied with inquiries into the true office of Civil Government, and with arguments for fastening that the administration of Civil Government shall, as long as the conduct of each citizen, be just—impartially and universally just.

We do not expect a large Convention. The Liberty Party is unpopular; and we shall be unpopular. Scarcely any, but its handful of members, have to each as a kind word for it. Even reformers hate and ridicule it. They hate it, because its uncompromising character reflects upon their own bargaining expediency;—and because it insists, (and what less can it do, and be just?) that Civil Government is bound to redress all political wrongs—the wrongs of the white man, as well as the black man—the wrongs of one sex, as well as of the other—they hold up the Liberty Party as ridiculous, under the name of the 'Quaiban Party,' or the 'party of nineteen ideas.'

The Abolitionist is impatient with the Liberty Party, because it will not consent to be a mere abolition party; and the land-reformer is impatient with it, because it will not consent to be a mere land-reform party. The free-trader speaks good from the Liberty Party, so long as it concerns itself with any other evil, than theirs; and the temperance man praises its principles, so long as it aims at any thing else than a mere Civil Government, against drunkenness.

The Liberty Party, as well, as any other political party, would like to increase its members. But, it does not increase them, and it has no hope, to increase them, by abandoning its great and distinctive principle. This is, that Civil Government must be just, equally just, ever just, towards all classes of its subjects. Civil Government, while it takes tithes of its subjects to be robbed of their thrift, by that selfish tithe of them to be robbed of their land. It is no less true, that Hell is its birthright of all, that that liberty is the birthright of all. Indeed, the chief reason why millions are robbed of their liberty, and brought under the yoke of slavery, is, that they had already been robbed of their land, which was the indispensable prelude of their liberty. Civil Government, while it must protect its subjects in their natural right to buy and sell freely, wherever they please, must also protect their lives and dwellings against the manufacture of nuisance by dram-shops. And, whilst nothing is more clearly the duty of Civil Government, than to defend the present generation from being compelled to pay the debts of former generations, nothing is more absurdly due from it than to protect women in the enjoyment of her natural right to control her own property, and to participate in the choice of her civil rulers.

That the Liberty Party should be held by the mass of the wise and good to be unphilosophical and foolish in setting itself against all, and simultaneously against all, political wrongs, strikingly illustrates both the fact and the power of a false education. A man finds himself to be a liar, a thief, a drunkard, and an adulterer. Now, they who condemn the philosophy of the Liberty Party, must, to be consistent with their own voting, hid this man work his reformation by making war upon one of his vices, and by keeping himself indifferent, for the time being, to his other vices. Nay, they must do far worse than this. They must bid him positively encourage and upheld all his other vices except the one he is betting with. We are authorized to say so, for they tell us that they vote not only for a candidate, who, whilst supposing their favorite reform, is indifferent to all other reforms, but, obnoxious also, for a candidate who is positively and most effectively hostile to all the reforms. Will the candidate which he votes for, be the slave? Then will abolitionists vote for him, notwithstanding he will wind in against the landless, against free-trade, and against oppressed women. Will the candidate use his official influence to restore to the landless their share of the land? Then, however oppressively that influence will be exerted, in all other directions, land reformers will, nevertheless, vote for him.

Surely, the philosophy of those, who would procure one reform at a time, and neglect every other, until that one is crowned with success—say, what would, knowingly and positively, strengthen every other wrong, while busy in overthrowing one wrong—is not the philosophy of rescue nor religion. God's blessing cannot be on philosophy which is so entirely at war with His impartial, restless and universal love. He is not against one wrong to-day, and against another to-morrow. But He is against all wrongs, now and ever—and he requires his children to be like unto Him.

How blessed and how speedy would be the revolution, were all the wise and good men of this land to come together, under the name of the Liberty Party, or some other name, with the high and holy, and never-to-be-broken purpose of voting for no man for civil office, but such as hold that Civil Government should be administered with impartial justice; and that the wrongs of one class of persons should not be redressed, at the expense of neglecting the wrongs, and stifling the voice of, or positively sacrificing the rights, of any other class of persons!

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN

We said, that we do not expect to see a large Convention. But we, nevertheless, do expect to see a good one. We expect to see in it wise and true men and women from a large share of the Free States. There are men and women, who discard unprincipled expediency, and rely on truth and justice, and who believe, that a party, however small, must, if it surrenders itself to the guidance of reason and religion, do infinitely more good service than a party, however numerous, whose policy is that of human cunning, instead of Heavenly wisdom,—the policy of a poor, fallible, God-disowning, calculation, instead of the policy which trustingly identifies itself with the claims of an everlasting and universal justice.

There is great need of this Convention—great need, that the wise, and strong, and brave and upright of the land come to it to consult with each other, in respect to the deplorable condition of our superlatively guilty country. This Convention would be needful, were it only for the purpose of having it considered what attitude we should take and maintain toward the diabolical Fugitive Slave Law, and toward the political and ecclesiastical monsters, who are its most respectable authors and upholders. But, this law is only one of many high crimes against God and man, which will claim the attention of the Convention. The political liabilities of women; the plundering the poor of their land; the oppression of tariffs; the insecurity of life and property, while the laws permit the traffic in intoxicating drinks; these and other political wrongs, as well as slavery and its horrible exactions upon both the whites and the blacks, concern all those who are laboring for the establishment of a righteous Civil Government. Let us, then, have a full Convention—full of people—and so less full of wisdom and integrity. For such a Convention there will be enough to do.

JOHN THOMAS,
THOMAS WHITE,
JOSEPH...B. JOHNSON,
G. JOHNSON, N. Y.
S. R. WARD, Mass.
J. H. COLLINS, Illinois.
E. ROBERTS, Ohio.

'WE LEAVE YOU FOR THE PRESENT, GENTLEMEN.'

This seals a most important chapter, over the signature of J. W. R., in the last number of the *Impartial Citizen*, and hoping to see frequent articles of the kind, I venture to record my testimony in favor of it, and against the *barbarous* barbers who, in this age of needful reform, will continue to carry out such abominable principles themselves, and, at the same time, dare to raise their guilty heads, and with tongues full of anathemas, pour them upon the heads of others for perhaps even less offence. Better, far better, for the cause of the slave, and the condition of the freeman of the North, if all such enlored men could, by some unknown process, be changed to the color of their oppressors, (having already got their principles,) and then we could not, when we cry out against our white oppressors, have them tell us to first reform ourselves, remove prejudice out of our own *barber shops*, before we ask them to do away with it in their hotels, railroad cars and steamboats. Truly, unless we first reform ourselves, we need not expect, nor indeed have we any right to ask, any such favors of them; our barbers use the very same argument for not shaving a colored man that our opponents use for not allowing us our privileges, at the tables of their hotels, and on board their steamboats, &c. And now, in the name of common sense and reason, which is the worst? Here are the European barber shops, (as the writer styles them,) and there the dollar hotels. I am sure the degree of crime in the former is greater than in the latter, if the matter of dollars and cents makes any difference. But, leaving this all out of the question, there is the colored man and here the white man. Would to God that our people would learn wisdom, and not make themselves parties in such outrages upon our rights. Instances have none under my knowledge where this dangerous weapon has been used by our white opponents as a justification of their wicked course. In one instance, a colored man went into one of our fashionable schools and, on being refused, began to remonstrate with the proprietor against his being refused accommodation, when he very readily ordered him to a barber shop, just across the street, and said, "Even he would not have you in his shop, and he is a colored man; therefore, why should you blame us for refusing you accommodation?" Thus we give our enemy a cudgel wherewith to break our own heads.

Brethren, let us quit this mean business, and no longer serve as a tool for the white man to bribe the head of justice with. This is an age in which the co-operation of every colored man is needed. Each one must bear some part in the great struggle which is going on between *freedom* and *oppression*; for if we, instead of helping to further the cause of freedom, shall be found holding sides with the oppressor, in vain may the efforts of such men as Ward and Douglass and others to prosper our cause be felt with due and merited effect in our midst; for while they shall stand shoulder to shoulder and bring our enemies to terms, we, like cringing spaniels, lie lapping their feet, ready to timely submit to any abuse heaped upon us. Friends, this won't do. Awake, and make justice no longer blood. *Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*

Buffalo, August 20, 1851. EQUALITY.

MILITARY MEETING.

On Tuesday evening last, a meeting was held in the basement of the Belknap Church, of which John P. Cobourn was appointed Chairman, and a Mr. Walker, Secretary. The object of the meeting was, we believe, to arrange the preliminaries for the organization of a Military Company among the colored citizens. The necessary Committee was appointed, and, from the character and position of those composing the Committee, we feel confident they will discharge, with ability, the duties committed to their charge. Some anti-progress man may honestly question the propriety of forming such companies, but we do believe that one or two well organized, well disciplined, well and sufficiently officered military companies, in the larger cities, would do as much, if not more, to give us character and consideration, than all the rest of the Societies combined. Therefore, we say, Success to the enterprise!—J. W. R.

☞ In the absence of the editor, we publish the following communications, without comment. Mr. Ward will, doubtless, when they reach him, furnish all requisite reply.

BLACK TRAITORS.

BROTHER WARD:—

The undersigned have read the leading editorial of your able paper—July 19th—under the above caption, with painful emotions, since which they have had an interview with said Mathews and Brooks, and are under the *most thorough conviction* that you have done them the greatest injustice, and given to the cause of Christ, and that department of his church, the severest and most deadly thrust.

This, we do not, for a moment, believe you designed to do. But in your fervent, and in this case, —pardon us for saying,—heated zeal, you have unthinkingly and too hastily done—and from our knowledge of your religious and manly character, we believe, on the second thought, you will *readily and hastily* undo, and seek such amends as you, in your better judgment, may deem worthy a Christian minister, a philanthropist, and *a magnanimous editor* to make, *the aggrieved and injured brother ministers.*

Mathews *denies* that he ever entertained *any such views* as you attributed to him, or ever *made any such expressions*, and Brooke was not aware that any such were imputed to him, and when he endorsed Mathews' character and abolitionism, it was his general *parity* and orthodoxy on these subjects—and this the community in which Mathews was born and lives can also do.

That Mathews' *good-natured weakness*, in the hands of the 'wily Lisle' betrayed him into some impropriety of expression, we doubt not; and who of us have not been equally betrayed by the infamous Fugitive Slave Law into as inelicity of expression. Certainly the above caption, 'Black Traitors,' and editorials that followed, condemn one of the *wisest and best of us.*

'Mathews says he was asked by the 'wily Lisle' if he would not sacrifice his life in rescuing a fugitive slave from his captures, and he said, no!—Lisle then asked if he, Lisle, were taken, if he would not sacrifice his life in rescuing him. He said, no; the law required him to help take him. And this was all he meant to say, or did say; and every body here who knows Mathews and Lisle BELIEVE HIM. Therefore, dear brother, the crime of the whole affair consists in the misrepresentation of Lisle, and the coloring given to it in your editorial.

We therefore close this communication by *requesting and hoping* that our good brother Ward will, in his next paper, after receiving this, make such reparation to those injured brothers, as he in his wisdom may think necessary. We do this in sympathy with the brothers—in jealousy for the cause of Jesus Christ, which is always injured by such strife among brethren, *especially clerical brethren.*

And we make the request MORE ESPECIALLY because of the uncalled for reference, and the severe strictures upon, our venerable father and brother, CHRISTOPHER RUSH, and Zion's Conference, *under his superintendence*—the honor, and may we not say, GLORY OR WHICH, for they are identified, is proverbial. No one doubts the personal views of Father Rush on the subject of slavery, nor on the protection of the fugitive—nor does any one doubt the orthodoxy of his ecclesiastical legislation.

We lastly, but not LEASTLY, make the foregoing request, *in deep concern* and great deference for our dear brother Ward, whom we love, and for his able paper, to which we look for the achievement of great good.

Brother Ward is a man of like passions with other men, and if Moses, the great lawgiver, could be excited to the destruction of the first tables of the law, and if the disciples of Christ, if they had been permitted, would have commanded fire from heaven to destroy their enemies, why should we expect perfection, either in brother Ward, or in the Apostle Peter, when surrounded by the enemies of humanity, and of him who resisted unto blood when striving against sin? We are, dear brother, with the highest esteem, Yours, &c.,

SAMUEL E. CORNISH,
RICHARD ROBINSON,
In behalf of a Committee of city clergy.

DEAR BROTHER WARD:—

By chance, I saw the article in the *Impartial Citizen* entitled 'Black Traitors.' I was prompted by curiosity to read it, and in doing so, I found it reflected to two of my brethren, and to the connection to which they and myself belong, as being traitors to their brethren, or kidnappers under the present *Fugitive Slave Law.* Now, dear sir, I am well acquainted with the two brethren spoken of in your article, Edward Mathews and Noah Brooks, not only personally, but with their principles, with reference to the said Fugitive Slave Law. Now, I would ask the Rev. J. Lisle whether or not the two brothers in question were ever called on to act in a slave case, in any way, to his knowledge;—and if so, whether or not they did not do all that they could, under the circumstances? Again, did the Rev. Mr. Lisle ever know one of Zion's ministers to be guilty of conduct so base as that he attributes to the two brothers above named? And again, I would ask the Rev. J. Lisle whether it is just to make a man 'an offender for a word?' I think not, in all cases, especially in this one.

Now, I would ask the writer of the article, what was committed to the trust of brothers Mathews and Brooks, where they betrayed the confidence reposed in them? Did the writer or the good people of Syracuse ever place a slave, or slaves, in the hands of those two brothers, and were they mean and unprincipled enough to betray them to their master? And again, I would ask, was not the church of Syracuse committed to their care, and in consequence of the interference of some one, these innocent men were obliged to flee, and leave the sheep of Christ exposed to the destruction of the wolves of hell? Every candid reader may see these men are not traitors, as they are called.

Now, what could have caused the writer to speak in such harsh terms against these two strangers in the far west? Could there have been any thing but a desire to drive these men from their posts, in order to prevent a supply? The writer walks over to the New York Conference, and brands the whole as being no better than Mathews and Brooks, and says they 'ought not to receive the countenance, respect, nor support of their white fellow-citizens'—that is to say, the church at Syracuse, and all belonging to Zion's connection. Now, I would like the writer to know, that Zion's discipline is a 'Simon-pure abolition book,' as are her superintendents, and also her ministers. As a connection, she has bought and paid for more men, women and children, than any other colored religious body in the Union, and is not yet 'weary of well doing.' I only hope the church at Syracuse will not suffer her eyes to be put out by a little fine dust; nor the candle of the church to be blown out, by a mere puff of wind. Call the brother back to the church, and rally around him, like men of God, and never let him fall until he or they with whom you are connected shall have betrayed a trust; for Mathews and Brooke are no apies, but are true men of God, in the church with which they are connected.

The writer says that 'Mr. Mathews and Rev. Mr. Lisle had prayers, and Mr. M. withdrew'—I suppose thinking he was low log a hemp behind him. No doubt, however, but Mr. E. M. is well satisfied that the supposed lamb turned out to be a wolf!

PETERBOON ROSS.

Newark, N. J.

From the Buffalo Daily Republic.

WAS DANIEL FREE?

There can be no doubt about the freedom of Daniel, the alleged fugitive. The claimant's son, the sole witness before the Commissioner, swore that he was present when his father purchased Daniel; that he had seen him at his father's house frequently after that; that his father had hired him as steward and cook to the master of a steamer plying between Louisville, in Kentucky, and Cincinnati, in Ohio; that he knew of the steamer once going, with Daniel on board, to Cincinnati, before the alleged escape, and that he did not return from there. The Commissioner, H. K. Smith, held this did not show Daniel to be free, and that slaveholders have the constitutional right to travel through the free States with their slaves, and take them away; and that we, citizens of the free States, are bound to protect the passers in the enjoyment of that privilege. The following authorities will show whether this decision is law or not:

Slavery exists only by virtue of the laws of the States where it is mentioned; and if a slave escape from such State to a free State, he is free according to the principles of the common law; and restitution is a free State is authorized only by the Constitution and act of Congress. There is no general principle of the law of nations which requires such surrender.—Jones vs. Van Zandt, 2 McLean, 526.

A person of color, entitled to freedom by the municipal law of any State where he has been domiciled, may prosecute his right in any other State.—Rankin vs. Lydia, 2, A. H. Marsh. 467.

A slaveholder, who is an inhabitant of another State, can claim no greater privileges, in Connecticut, with respect to his slave, than the citizens of that State.—Jackson vs. Bullock, 12, Conn. 38.

A person who is a slave by the law of his domicil, may *maintain an action*, in his own name, in a country where slavery is not allowed, for a *personal tort committed within that jurisdiction.*—Polydore vs. Prince, Ware, 402.

Such residence in a non-slaveholding State, as would entitle a slave to freedom, cannot be acquired without the *consistent* or consent of the legal owner.—Willy vs. Smith, 2, Min. 36.

A citizen of any of the United States, where negro slavery is established by law, who assumes into Massachusetts, for any temporary purpose of business or pleasure, bringing a slave with him as a personal attendant, and stays some time, but does not acquire a domicil, cannot restrain the slave of his liberty, during his continuance in Massachusetts, and carry him out of the State against his consent.—The Commonwealth vs. Aves, 18, Pickering, 193.

The owner of a slave born in a slaveholding State, can claim no right to hold such person in slavery in Connecticut, either by the law of comity, or under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.—Jackson vs. Bullock, 12, Conn. 38.

On a petition for freedom in Maryland, the jury were instructed, that if, from the evidence, they were of opinion that the ancestor of the petitioner was in Maryland, and came from thence, they must find a verdict for the petitioner. Held that a construction on the face of the bill of exceptions was correct.—Mahony vs. Ashton, 4, Har. and McHen. 295.

A native of Massachusetts came to Virginia, and married a woman acquired by his wife two slaves. He returned with his wife and slaves to Massachusetts, in 1797, and again returned to Virginia in 1798, with his family and the slaves. The slaves petitioned in 1828 for their freedom in Virginia; and the Court held that as it appeared that the two slaves were free by the Constitution of Massachusetts, on that ground they were entitled to their freedom.—Betty vs. Horton, 5, Leigh, 615.

Where a slave was carried by his master from Virginia into Maryland, (in which State all slaves brought in to reside, are declared free,) and kept there by his master, who settled there, in business for twelve years, and was then carried back into Virginia as a slave, and sold, it was held, in a suit by his slave against his purchaser, that he was free.—Hunt vs. Fulcher, 5, Leigh, 472.

A petitioner for freedom, the slave of A., in Maryland, when he was three years old, was carried, with A's permission, to the District of Columbia, by B. in 1804, where he continued employed by, and residing with B. for two years, when he was sent back to A., with whom he continued to reside, and to be employed until A's death, in 1810. Held that he was entitled to his freedom.—Spriggs vs. Negro Presly, 3, Har. and J., 493.

The mother of a petitioner for freedom was born in Maryland, the slave of A and held by him in slavery until 1804, when he permitted her to be carried to the District of Columbia, by B., where she continued employed by and residing with B. for two years, when she was sent back to A. The petitioner was born during such absence, and was brought with her mother into Maryland and had continued there. Held that she was entitled to her freedom.—Spriggs vs. Negro Mary, 3, Har. & J., 491.

A, a married man, a native of St. Domingo, removed into Maryland in 1793, and brought with him a negro, whom he had before owned, and then owned as a slave. In 1794, he sold him to B., who sold him to C. A. continued to reside in Maryland until 1796, when he returned to the West Indies. Held that the negro sold to C. was entitled to freedom.—Fulton vs. Lewis, 3, Har. & J., 564.

A slaveholder had lived in South Carolina, and represented that State in Congress from 1794 to 1803, except during two years when he was a member of the Legislature of South Carolina. During all this time, he had a plantation which he cultivated by his manager and slaves. He also kept a dwelling house in Philadelphia, and resided in it with his family and servants, amongst whom was a slave, who, on claiming his freedom in September, 1802, was held entitled to it.—Butler vs. Hopper, 1, Wash. C. C. 499.

In an action for freedom brought by a slave against his master; the Circuit Court instructed the jury, that if they believe and that the master took the slave into the State of Illinois, and used him there as a slave, or permitted him to be used as such, they should find for the slave. Held that the instruction was correct.—Nat. vs. Ruddis, 2, Min. 400.

Where there was evidence of an agreement to set a slave free, and a knowledge on the part of his master of his going at large and acting as a free man, it was held that a jury might infer a permission that he should go abroad thus another State.—Bland vs. Negro Dowling, 9, Gill & John, 79.

If a negro slave, in Maryland, with the permission of his owner, takes up his residence in another State, and afterwards returns to the State, such owner cannot resume his property in him, either for the purpose of servitude within the State, or sale to a citizen of Maryland, even although the return of the slave originally was against the owner's consent.—Same case.

In South Carolina, one who permits his slave to go at large, and enjoy the privileges of a free person of color, loses thereby his right of property in the slave, and cannot maintain an action of "Trover for him.—Linam vs. Johnson, 2, Bayley, 137.

If a slave runs away while in possession of the hirer, for a certain time, under an agreement to return the slave at the end of the time for which he was hired, and the hirer use all reasonable diligence to prevent the escape and retake the slave, he is liable to the owner for the hire, but not for the slave.—Elliott vs. Bob., 6, Mis., 323.—Perkins vs. Reeds, 8, do. 33.

Where the owner of slaves, and part owner of a vessel, hired the slaves to the master of the vessel, without a special contract, the master was not responsible for the escape of the slave at a foreign port, which was the continuous term of the contract. He acted with good faith, although it was doubtful if he strictly pursued his orders in going to such port.—Beverly vs. Brooke, 2, Wheaton, 100.

The act of Congress respecting fugitives owing service and labor, does not apply to slaves brought by their masters from one State to another, who afterwards escape or refuse to return.—Ex parte Simmons, 4, Wash. C. C. R., 396.

DISCHARGE OF THE SLAVE DANIEL DAVIS.

The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, of Saturday, confirms the telegraphic report of the discharge of the slave Daniel, who was brought before Judge Conkling on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The following are the principal points of Judge Conkling's argument:—

'The language of the 10th section of the act is this: *And be it further enacted.* That when any person held to service or labor, in any State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia, shall escape therefrom, the party to whom such service or labor is due, his, her, or their agent or attorney, may apply to any Court of record therein, or Judge thereof in vacation, and make satisfactory proof,' &c.

'It will be noticed that this provision is clearly prospective, and therefore inapplicable to the case of an escape from labor or service occurring before the passage of the act; and such, I am constrained to say, appears to be the plain sense of the Federal legislature. It was agreed by the Counsel for the claimant that this being a remedial act, it is to be so construed as to suppress the mischief, and advance the remedy; and that it can be reasonably inferred from the whole tenor, that the provision in question was designed to act retrospectively, it is to be so interpreted. But this being a penal statute, it is to be strictly interpreted. It seeks to no liberality or pliable injustice. It is to be interpreted according to its natural import.

'It may be conceded, that the legislative intent imported, in the words used, might have been more explicitly declared, by the addition, immediately after the word 'shall,' of the word *thereafter*, or the words, *after the passage of this act*; but it cannot, I think, be maintained that this intent is not sufficiently expressed by the word 'shall' alone. If I were permitted, however, to look beyond the terms of the provision itself, and to speculate upon its probable design, I am unable to perceive that the intent can be varied. The only other part of the act, specifically referred to by the counsel for the claimant, for the purpose of shedding light upon that under consideration, is the beginning of the sixth section, which provides for a different mode of establishing the facts of title and escape.'

The words here are:—'That if a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape,' &c. The argument is that it is manifest from this language that Congress intended to provide for cases of prior as well as subsequent escape. There can be no doubt of this, so far as the provisions of this section are concerned. But it is to be considered that the 10th section introduced a most important innovation upon the law, as it was before the passage of the act.

It authorizes an *ex parte* application to a court or judge to be selected by the claimant, in the absence of, and without notice to the party to be affected by the proceedings, to determine questions of fact, involving his freedom or servitude for life, and declares the decision of such court or judge to be full and conclusive evidence of the facts decided, and therefore binding upon the judgment and conscience of the Court, Judge or Commissioner, in any other State, before whom the alleged fugitive may be reclaimed.

It is not my province to expound any opinion upon the reasonableness of this great innovation. It must be conceded that there was not wanting strong and plausible reasons for the enactment, and it is sufficient for those whose duty it is to execute it, that Congress have seen fit to adopt it.

'But it may, I think, well be supposed, that in deference to the spirit of the prevailing principle of natural justice and constitutional law, which forbids the enactment of *ex post facto* laws, it was intentionally limited in terms of escape from servitude, thereafter to occur; and this inference, I am of opinion, is rather strengthened, than weakened by the retrospective phraseology employed in the sixth section.

'The liability of imposing a provision to abuse is too obvious to escape notice, and it is worthy of observation, that the present case, as it appears by the record of the Kentucky Court, instead of requiring the personal presence of the witnesses of the claimant, the Court was at, in the discharge of the functions of the duty imposed upon it by the act, to receive affidavits, and to act upon them alone, although the deponents were described as residents of the city of Louisville, where the Court was held.

'It may well be that these witnesses were credible persons, able from their own knowledge to attest to the facts required to be proved by the statute, and the Court, and that a careful cross examination would have elicited no other fact favorable to the petitioner; but conceding that the evidence before this Court was sufficient to satisfy the requisitions of the satisfactory proof required by the act, the opposite course of procedure would, to say the least, have been more consonant with the established, and, as I had supposed, universally recognized principles of enlightened jurisprudence. I am therefore also of opinion, that it is my duty to apply to this enactment the same rules of construction that is applicable to penal statutes.—Ex parte Kaine, 3, Hill, 1.

'The result of this examination, then, is, that though the evidence on which alone the Commissioner found his adjudication would have been sufficient and conclusive in a case arising after the passage of the act, it was wholly inapplicable to a case like the present, arising before the passage of the act. In other words, it appears on the face of the certificate itself, the adjudication was made without evidence, and the only question is whether this great error, arising, I have no doubt, from inadvertence, can be corrected on *habeas corpus*. I think it may, and that it is my duty to do it. If, as it has been said, 'a good warrant is a good cause of detention,' the converse of the proposition is not less true. I shall accordingly allow the writ.'

The Sandwich Observer, a very readable weekly, has been discontinued, and its proprietor now publishes the *Gazette* at North Bridgewater.

THE POUGHKEEPSIE SLAVE CASE.

The alleged Slave, John M. Bolding, carried into Bondage—Refused of an Appeal to the United States Judges.—As previously announced by telegraph, the case of the alleged fugitive from South Carolina, John M. Bolding, was brought to a close by the decision of the Commissioner in favor of the plaintiffs or claimants, and the transportation of the alleged fugitive to the South, in charge of the United States officers. The court room was crowded with an interested and quiet audience, and nothing was wanting to create a supposition that any violent measures would be taken by those who were opposed to the taking away of the man. When the Court had been duly opened, the Commissioner proceeded to read his opinion, which was heard in respectful silence.

On its conclusion, Mr. Culver, one of Bolding's counsel, stated that he had just received a telegraphic despatch from Buffalo, stating that Judge Conkling of the U. S. Court there, had reversed the decision of the Commissioner. In the case there pending; and he asked Mr. Nelson, as a favor, to withhold the granting of the certificate for a few hours, so that they might be able to bring the question before the United States Judges.

Mr. Nelson said he would be exceedingly happy to do so, but he did not consider that he had any power—and that when application was made for the certificate, he should feel bound to give it; if consent were obtained from the claimant or his counsel not to claim, at present, the certificate, he should be very happy that it would come before older and wiser heads than his own.

Mr. Culver thought the Commissioner had mistaken the case cited at New Orleans, which was in relation to a mulatto person. Mr. Wood, the counsel for the claimant, he said was not present.

Mr. Goodman rose and said that Mr. Wood had gone out of town, but had requested him to attend and say he is desirous he should have this certificate *forthwith.*

Mr. C. then said, *they would appeal to the magnanimity of the gentleman (claimants) themselves, to give twenty-four hours to bring the law up, &c.* [As well appeal to the magnanimity of a wolf, when the lamb is already in his jaws.]

There was no answer, and the proceedings closed. Bolding and his friends appeared to be grieved at the result.

A certificate was almost immediately afterwards asked for and granted. That portion of the understanding with the claimant by which he agreed to waive the preposition not to require, on being paid $1720, that Bolding should first go back to South Carolina, was withdrawn, and he required that Bolding should first go back. The requisite money, it is said, has been raised, and his friends will probably go there and redeem him.

Anderson, the claimant, subsequently made an affidavit, agreeably to the law, that he had reason to apprehend an attempt at rescue, and claimed the assistance of the U. S. Marshal under the law, to convey Bolding to South Carolina.

Bolding remained after the decision, in one of the rooms of the court-house building, his wife and his mother and friends being with him. Toward the time of the starting of the New Jersey and Southern railroad line, in the afternoon, Bolding was directed to bid adieu to his friends, and the parting showed that, even if a slave, the heart of a human being beat in his bosom, and deep sorrow was also exhibited by those from whom he parted. He was placed in a carriage, and, accompanied by Major Talmadge, the Deputy Marshal, Assistant Deputy Marshal Walsh, Mr. Culver, Mr. Anderson, claimant, and one of his brother-in-law, conveyed to the New Jersey railroad, where he was left in custody of Deputy Marshal Talmadge and officers De Angelis and Rakielewicz, and proceeded with South. The *Tribune* learns that no attempt has ever been made, nor even threatened to rescue the fugitive by force.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

NOTICE.

There will be a Convention of the Liberty Party of Chenango County held at the Free Church in Sherburne, the second Wednesday of September next, at 10 1-2 o'clock A. M., to appoint delegates to the National Liberty Party Convention, to be held in Buffalo, 17th September; and also, to nominate candidates for County officers, &c. A. Scofield will address the meeting.

WILLIAM AVERY,
JULIUS WOOD,
BENJAMIN HORTON,
JAMES VAN VALKENBURG,
W. W. CHAPMAN,
S. K. COLE.

Sherburne, August 16th, 1851.

SELECTIONS.

From the Liberator.

LETTER OF E. S. DUNCAN.

BOSTON, 16th August, 1851.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,—If you can find room in your paper, I should like to call the attention of your readers to the various letters received from States' Commissioners, and other representatives of the 'peculiar institution,' who have visited, or are now visiting, England and the Exhibition.

It is important, in the struggle for emancipation, and it will be found more so when the crisis arrives for the settlement of this question, that the people of this country, and of Europe, should know the true relations in which they stand to each other, and to the subject of slavery. I find an almost total want of information among the Americans, as to what England and the English people are, and I am sorry to see the attempts that are so often made to strengthen the prejudices of this nation against the people of the old country. There is too little of friendly intercourse between the Americans and the English, but it is only necessary for them to understand each other, and they will find their sympathies are nearly allied, and national pride and prejudice only has caused them to think, almost, that they are two distinct races, never to be united for national aims, or to co-operate for the good of both.

I wish, more particularly, to notice the letter of E. S. Duncan, re-published in a late number of the *Liberator*, because most of your readers have seen it, and it is a fair specimen of the spirit the slaveholding community would like to foster between the masses of the people on either side of the Atlantic. I do not wonder that the writer of that letter found the magnificent Exhibition 'unacceptable to his republican feelings.' Why was it so? Because, in the mighty mass of minds collected there, he found no one, from the Pagan idolater of the South Sea, to the bearded Mussulman of Turkey, that did not abhor such a detestable human paradox, as a *republican slaveholder*. But I do wonder that his poor soul should have been filled with emotions of thankfulness, that in his country there are no kings, nor peers, or paid priests. Is there anything in those persons so utterly depraved, so entirely abhorrent to all human affections, as is to be found in the person of a black-hearted slaveholder? Is there ought in the system of kingcraft, or Aristocracy, or priest-craft, so infernal, so loathsome, as in that essence of all human putrefaction—the damnable system of slavery? It were better for him, his country, and the world, if the entire slave and slaveholding communities of America were kings, and peers, and paid priests, than when they are.

Well, after various severe trials of his patience by the unrefined Mr. Riddle, and that horrible disorganizer, Horace Greeley, E. S. Duncan is driven in disgust from the Exhibition, and goes for consolation to the American minister at Paris; after that, he returns with renewed courage to London, determined to be the champion of the South, and to denounce if not to exterminate, all the negroes and abolitionists he can find. He makes a wholesale charge in his letter against the English government, the popular sentiment of the nation and the press, of a fixed determination to dissolve the American Union.

I am not prepared to vindicate any measures of the British government, but the charge against them is false, for they have taken no steps at present that can justify even the supposition of a desire on their part for the dissolution of the States; and the only ground he has for making such a charge is, that he feels confident the American minister can give some information on the subject. I am not prepared to defend the press; as a whole, it is as corrupt, or, perhaps, more so, than the servile, time-serving press, of America. Almost every one of the English Metropolitan newspapers, and with scarcely an exception, those in the provinces, are directly under the patronage, or indirectly under the influence, of the Aristocracy; or else, which is almost as bad, under the control of mercantile and manufacturing interests. The English press, I have no doubt, would, like the American press, support their government in any scandalous measure of home, or colonial, or foreign policy. If the English government dared, in face of the people, to propose the re-establishment of West Indian slavery, the press would support them in it; just as the degraded press of this country support their Congress, in the enactment and enforcement of such monstrous laws as the Fugitive Slave Bill. I think there is nothing in the shape of diabolical and infernal chicanery that a Congress or an Aristocracy could enact, but it would meet with the crawling obedience and the fawning sycophancy of its respective presses. But, however the press of this country may stand affected, I know that the newspaper press of England is not the expression of the public sentiment. The people do not support it, or write for it. The higher and the middle classes hold it up. The compositions of liberal minded working men are almost universally excluded from the pages of a newspaper. The English press is corrupt, and the government is corrupt, and it is impossible for me to tell what action they will take in reference to union or secession. They are an Aristocracy, and they hate Democracy. They love a Monarchy, and they dislike a Republic. The Aristocracy of England care not one jot whether American slavery is abolished or is perpetual, except in so far as its abolition would advance the human race in knowledge, and for that they would not like it, for knowledge is liberty as well as power, and is overthrown Aristocracies.

It is not so with the merchant of Great Britain. The present system of trade is a strange incongruity, professedly for the good of the nations; but in all nations, meaning to turn men into villains, and teaching merchants to barter their souls as merchandise. If slavery contributes to the mercantile interests of North America, or of England, the merchants are with the slaveholders. If they could see the abolition of slavery to their advantage, they are with the abolitionists. The English Aristocracy, or any of the Aristocracies of Europe, I believe, would second South Carolina, or Massachusetts, if they proposed to secede from the Union, to establish a monarchy for themselves. The wealthy and influential merchants of America and of England would sell their souls to the devil for a cent, or vote for the re-enslavement of the West Indians, and of every free colored man, woman, or child, in the United States, for a bale of cotton.

I give to the Aristocracy and the press, to the cottonocracy and the merchants their due. But I blame E. S. Duncan, or any American, for busily charging the British Government with intentions which they have not manifested.

It is one of the dreadful, but wise results of slavery, that the slaveholder is continually tortured by the suspicion, that everybody is malevolently conspiring against him. And this in some measure accounts for their charging the English people with designs that are only bam enough to enter the mind of a slaveholder. E. S. Duncan says, that in aiding disunion, the English government is 'backed by the popular sentiment of the nation;' that 'the proceedings of the Charleston Convention were hailed by the people with the most extravagant joy. They look now to the disunion of the States as a fixed fact; that the disruption of the great Republic is at hand; that a deadly antagonism will take place between the States; and that, whilst warring with each other, England will gather the spoils.' These, sir, are every one of them base, unmitigated falsehoods. They are not the result of mere mistaken observation. They are the deliberate calumnies of a lying and abandoned slaveholder. The writer of them knows nothing of English popular opinion; he runs only the assertions of a miserable impostor, whose glory, with the rest of them, is 'in slavery and everything we hold dear.'

The English government are not the people; they are not the people's true representatives. The press is not the people; God forbid that the devoted people of any country, should sell themselves as the press-men do! The people of England are to be counted by millions in the fields, and the workshops, and the factories; in the cities, building mansions for the rich, and churches for the priests; creating wealth and luxuries for the capitalist; content themselves with a cottage, and food enough to keep life within them. I was born, sir, and have suffered and have toiled among the English people. I have sympathized and associated with them much. I have learnt from them a noble lesson, which no other class would teach me—that it is a beautiful thing to be an honest man. I have seen and lamented their follies and their crimes; but I have gloried in their virtues of sacrifice and of suffering, and in their great devotion to what they know of justice and human right. I know their aspirations are after political liberty. I know their national prejudices, and I can deny, with truth, that they are what the slaveholders would tell you they are. These men have not entered the thousands of English homes, or I think their iron souls would be too much softened, to let them tell their country such accursed lies. There is, sir, among the masses of the people of England, an amount of fraternal regard for this country, of which you can hardly conceive. They look upon United America as the bright guiding star, which the nations must follow if they wish to become great. Deep down in the national heart of England is a love of right and of liberty, that makes them reverence the memory of the brave New England fathers, and of their no less devoted children, the heroes of the revolution. If there is one thing they are proud to see in America, it is that she is not a colony of Britain. And it is the conviction of my mind, that if the millions of England were polled this day, and voted under the influence of their own convictions, they would vote England a Republic. There is not an anti-American feeling to be found amongst them. They are, themselves, through the customs of long ages, subject to an Aristocracy, but an innate sense of justice is developing itself among them, and growing up with that, is the power that will seal the doom of their tyrants ere long. They hate slavery, and they abhor the infamy of this country in supporting it. They are proud enough to despise the slaveholder. And those gentlemen Southerners, now disgracing my native land by their foul presence, may thank the people of England that they have so much respect for this country, as to abstain from giving them more tangible proofs than they have done of the loathing and disgust they feel for slavery, and its demonized abettors.

The butcher of Austria, Haynau, might hide his head in a dust bin from the pursuit of the London brewers and draymen: but were it not for the respect and fraternal sympathy the people of England feel for all nations in this great world's representation, the polluted carcass of a dealer in human flesh and blood would not find a dog-kennel or a dunghill to creep under, for protection from their just and stern indignation.

I have had ample opportunities for knowing what are the real sentiments of my countrymen respecting the United States. They look on this as a land of hope. From the sturdy peasant, who whistles his 'auld lang syne' at the tail of his plough, to the city artisan, who erects the pillars of the crystal palace, look at them! they are dreaming their day dreams of great, far distant America; she is their mistress—their sun-shine in the time of poverty—their hope in the hour of oppression. She nerves their brawny arms for toil. She softens their rugged souls for love. And they smile with their children, as they talk of what their mistress has promised to do for the world.

The people of England, sir, look back with the Americans to a common ancestry; and they believe that their brethren here will soon rectify the mistakes they have made, and make restitution for the robberies they have committed, and seek pardon of the civilized world for the crimes they have perpetrated at the instigation of that prince of all devils—slavery! The people of England do not want to see the disruption of this great Republic, or the deadly antagonism of the States, or to gather the spoils of such a war in the meantime. The slaveholders would give this country a wrong understanding. England is not America's enemy. She is, nevertheless, the friend of the slave. She will fan abolition in the North or in the South. She will ask for Liberty everywhere. She will seek to hasten, by the influence of her people, the overthrow of slavery, at the expense, if necessary, of the Union, of Commerce, of Constitutions, of individual disobedience to law, or civil war. And that is the most friendly action she can take towards this country. And this, I believe, is the true position the masses of my countrymen occupy in this world's question of slavery. We are, with the abolitionists, for no Union with slaveholders! but we are for all union with freemen—for Democracy, and for right. I hope these slaveholders will be looked upon in their true light. The slavery party fear that the expression of the popular sentiment of England will have some weight in aiding the cause of the slave, and they are taking the means, among others, of libelling and slandering the English government and people, to create the prejudice that a national and natural disunion exists between the two peoples. There is nothing of the kind. George Thompson has told you the same, and if all your readers had seen, as I have, the effect of that man's speeches, and of other popular friends of America, among the assembled multitudes of the veritable British people, they would not believe one line of these public tricksters, derogatory to the character or sentiments of their brethren across the Atlantic.

I trust that all friends of freedom will make a note of such men as E. S. Duncan, and the slaveholding men who are with him in London, who are so earnestly expecting to have their revenge on the abolitionists there; and who, in the same breath, speak of the 'competency of man for self-government,' of the 'equal rights of man,' and of the virtues of the slavery supporting Union. I feel assured they will get the credit they deserve. And I cannot but express a hope that the Englishmen here in New England will do and say something to vindicate their country and countrymen from the fabricated slanders heaped upon them by the corrupt slavery press of this and other States.

Yours, for the right,

JAMES LOWE.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

DANIEL'S WARNING.

Whitman.

Daniel! Daniel! beware of the day,
When reason shall rend thy prejudices away!
For the flow of the future full floods on my sight,
And the hosts of the Bankers are scattered in flight.
They rally, they struggle from city to town,
And curse the bold Dreamer that spoke them down.
But all insufficient the cause to sustain,
And their guilt-beaten bosoms are bowed to the plain.
But, hark! 'mid the wrecking of wild windy war,
Wha wreteh to the pole-star flies frantic and far?
'Tis the fugitive bondman, with Hell at his back,
Halloeing her bloodhounds, let loose in full pack,
On his death as his deeper damnation intent!
While the arch fiend approves, to the utmost extent.
Weep, Bankerdom, ere retribution begins;
O weep, but thy tears cannot number thy sins!
For righteousness over the country shall wave—
The land once redeemed by the blood of the brave.

Daniel.

Go, preach to the Quaker, thou blunt-spoken seer,
Or, if stark-naked truth so majestic appear,
Here, hold this gold eagle before thy sharp sight,
To behoggle thy conscience, too keen of the sight.

Whitman.

Ha! try't then, Daniel, my warning to scorn!
Grim bird of ill-omen, thy crust shall be shorn!
Say, rushed the foul vulture unkingly forth
From his house in the dark-reeking stews of the North?
Outmatching the steps of old Bacchus, he stands,
Bacon-companion old, bearing corruption abroad:
But quick let him cease from his sins at the sky,
And hows let him reel, for his judgment is nigh.
Why flaunts the fer magnificent, Wrr shout in the blast
Vociferation, like meet to the Sennacherib cast?
Tis the fire-show of gladness, at loyalty given,
A grateful expression to merciful heaven,
For the victory wrest from the legions of night,
For the minions of Mammon despoiled of their might.
But we to the heathen apostate, who sold
Truth, honor, conscience, freedom, for gold!
Hell's fires are about thee, to blast and to burn;
Return to thy dwelling, Sisheonest, return;
For Scorn's pointing finger shall mark where it stood,
O offspring the peerless of Infamy's brood!

Daniel.

Plain-spokesman, aware! I have marshalled my clan;
Their minds are a thousand—they vote as one man;
They spend to the last of their purse and their breath,
Of the latter, at least, till it comes to death.
Of the twenty-three millions who people the land,
Full one in two hundred the slaveholders stand:—
They lead: the one hundred and ninety and nine
Must march to the step of the lord of the line.
We must bow at their nod, or the country divides,
They sever the Union, and whip us besides.
To hold fast their niggers, and pay us a grudge,
They sever, and then set a bigger on Judge.
Such plunder has a the strongest, and they say old tale
I still must appeal, if in danger of the stake:
Let it serve thy election—I hope that it may.

Whitman.

Daniel, Daniel, beware of the day!
Dough-facing the matter, my life I may seal,
Yet man cannot smother what time must reveal.
'Tis the sunrise of day gives prophetic lore—
The day long desired and predicted of yore.
I tell thee, the sentiment rallying of time
With the welcome that heralds Messiah the King.
Lo! enclasped with wisdom and might from above,
Behold, where he flies on his errand of love!
Oppression relaxes—His banner unfurled,
Reads peace to the nations, and joy to the world.
Light, gentleness, goodness, prevail over wrath;
Corruption and sophistry fly from his path;
Nor lust, lucre, luxury, ignorance, pride,
Man's heart from his fellow shall ever divide.
But where is the hy-crowned beachmal, where?
For Ambition's red eye closes dark in despair.
Say, mounts he the scaffold, there, bleeding and torn,
To die like a sheep for the slaughter-house born?
Ah, no! for a dreamer destiny's near—
The knell of his glory falls and on his ear,
Life lingers, enspaced in his faltering limbs,
And his head dull and doting in dimness swims.
Cast out as a hypocrite, and Liberty's shame,
Humanity blushes at calling his name.
As it uttered, the breathing might poison the gale.

Daniel.

Hold, ruthless reprover, I wince at the tale.
My stake I have cast, and I cannot retract;
My all I have ventured, to reach the high seat.
He it mike to at high, or he figure he low;
(By turns to do either were better, I know.)
But all is not lost, with my dozy and jog,
If either by turns I may hold jubilee hug.

W. W.

Mr. M. Charles Hugo, the son of M. Victor Hugo, has been pardoned and carried to the prison of the Conciergerie, where he will undergo the six months imprisonment to which he was recently condemned for advocating the abolition of the punishment of death.

From the Liberator.

A BENEVOLENT MONSTER—REV. THEODORE CLAPP.

We are surprised to see, in the '*Commonwealth*,' a laudatory editorial article respecting the arrival in this city of the Rev. THEODORE CLAPP, of New Orleans, on his return from a short tour in Europe. He is eulogized as 'a person, who, for his devotion and philanthropy, is well known in the city of New Orleans, and these have been so remarkable, that *his fame has extended throughout the Union*'.—'He belongs to the whole country, and the *North* as well as the *South* should rejoice at his fortunate return to our shores'! The great merit claimed for him is, that, 'during seventeen summers of pestilence and yellow-fever in New Orleans, he was the only Protestant clergyman who dared to remain at his post,' to succor the suffering and the dying.'

We are ever solicitous that credit should be given where credit is due; but it is equally important that the whole truth should be told. Mr. Clapp, in continuing at his post during the sickly season, may have periled his life; but it was no proof of moral heroism or Christian principle. It cost him nothing, it gained him much, on the score of popularity; it multiplied friends, and made no enemies. But let him be tried by a true and infallible test—in a cause where reputation and emolument as well as life are at stake—and see how hollow is his humanity, how atrocious are his sentiments! Read, without a shudder, without feeling your blood congeal in your veins while doing so, if you can, the following extracts from a sermon delivered by this 'philanthropic' monster to the First Congregational Church in New Orleans, April 16, 1848:—

'It is an indisputable fact, that slavery was universal among their chosen, peculiar people of God, whose history is given in the Old Testament, during the long period, beginning with the first generation after the deluge, and terminating with the destruction of the Jewish nation and polity by the Romans.'

'The venerable patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and others, of whom we read in the book of Genesis, were all slaveholders. In all probability, each possessed a greater number of bond-men and bond-women than any planter now living in Louisiana or Mississippi.'

'Besides, we read in the book of Genesis that God showed his approbation of Abraham's character and conduct, by raising him to an extraordinary degree of temporal prosperity. God says the servant and *bondman*, gave to the patriarch lands, flocks, herds, silver, gold, camels, *bond-men* and *bond-women*. Here we see GOD; DEALING IN SLAVES; giving them to his own favorite child—a man of superlative worth—and as a *reward for his eminent goodness*.'

'We have already shown that slavery was a part of the *moral code* established by Moses. Did our Saviour abrogate, or abolish any part of the code? I think not. The principles of morality are, like their infinite Author, immutable. They are no more susceptible of change than the principle of gravitation—the law that regulates the germination and growth of vegetables, or the power which moves and retains the celestial bodies in their orbits.'

'I came not, says Jesus, to destroy, but to fulfil the code of morals sanctioned by your own Scriptures. This code *ordained slavery*.'

'This is an accurate account of the views and feelings entertained by a great majority of slaveholders in Louisiana. They hold the African in bondage for his own good and the *public order*. They cannot do otherwise, as it seems to them, without proving recreant to the pure principles of justice and humanity. *To set the slave free, would be to ensure them an speedy and remediless destruction. It would be to consign them to deliberate and cold-blooded murder.* We have the more right at present, acting upon Christian principles, to emancipate our slaves, *then we have to put them to death by poisoning, shooting, drowning, or burning.*'

'The legislature must determine who shall be kept in bondage, and what shall be their condition and privileges. *The pulpit must not interfere in this important and delicate matter.*'

'When assailed for holding our fellow-beings in bondage,—when denounced as 'heinous and scandalous sinners,' 'robbers,' 'tyrants,' 'thieves,' 'oppressors and monsters'—it is enough for us, without rendering railing for railing, calmly to reply, that *we are fully convinced of the rectitude of slavery*; we can have no doubts about the matter, when those who were divinely commissioned to teach us a pure and perfect religion, *have expressly allowed and sanctioned it*.'

'Slaveholders in the Southern States are, in the main, *the most mild, merciful and benignant class of men that I have ever met with.* They treat their slaves with *paternal kindness*. It is commonly thought at the North, that slaveholders are inclined to be hard-hearted, tyrannical, oppressive and unjust. *The very reverse is the case.* If the truth could be made to appear on this subject, it would be seen that there are more cruel instances towards children, and mothers in any one of our free States, for a given term, than is inflicted upon servants in any of the slaveholding States for the same period.'

'The comfort and well-being of the African are infinitely enhanced by a removal from his native soil, to the condition of bondage which he occupies in the America States.'

'I have not a doubt but that Almighty God, in his wise providence, has permitted and brought about the present servile condition of the Africans in Christian lands as one of the means indispensable to the deliverance of their native country from barbarism, darkness and cruelty, and the final exaltation of its degraded millions to the knowledge, dignity, liberty, happiness, pure morality and rational religion, which are enjoyed by civilized and Christian nations.'

'Look over all the anti-slavery publications of the last ten years, and tell me if they have advanced one new idea, argument or principle? Have they even succeeded in presenting old ideas, arguments, or facts in a new, original, or more impressive form? Their writings are, to my taste, the most trashy, empty, common-place and inconclusive forms of argumentation ever committed to paper.'

'Now, with all becoming gratitude to our Northern friends, for their affectionate homilies on the importance of justice, philanthropy, and a law of doing as we would be done by, we beg them to rest satisfied, that it is one of the strongest convictions of our understandings, that *Christian love, forbearance and equity require us to hold the African in bondage.* We are perfectly persuaded, that emancipation would be the destruction of the poor, dependent, helpless slave. The fear of God, respect for the religion of Jesus Christ, and the love of man, call upon us to regard him in the light of a ward, which we are bound to protect, nurture, guard and control. We trust him upon the same principles that we adopt in the management and education of our minor children.' (!!!)

'In complying with the advice of our Northern friends, we should pursue a course that seems to us *most cruel, unchristian and unworthy!*'

'I now feel certain, that by emancipating our slaves, we should be guilty of the greatest sin. For such a course *we should richly merit the abhorrence of an enlightened world, and the indignation of offended Heaven. We dare not, sanctioned our slavery, it would be an act of unmerited oppression, wrong, cruelty, robbery and murder.*'

'If, as I verily believe, the relation of master and servant originated in the will of God, and is sanctioned by the Christian religion, it *will last to the end of time.* All its evils will soon disappear from the picture of human woe; and then the institution will be *the source of the most amiable, enduring, permanent and useful affections of which our nature is susceptible.* In the future, more improved and brilliant periods of our beloved republic, I bear no doubt that SLAVERY, purged from all its impurities, *will flourish, and form one of the most efficient bonds, by which its stakeholders will be led to act, refer and sympathize as members of one vast and glorious family.*'

'I would say to every slave in the United States, you should realize that a wise, kind and merciful Providence has appointed for you your condition in life. And all things considered, you *could not be more slightly situated.* The hardship of your care, toils and responsibilities is much lighter than that which God has imposed on your Master. The most enlightened philanthropists, with unlimited resources, could not place you in a situation more favorable to your present and everlasting welfare, than that which you now occupy.' (!!!)

PUNCH TO LORD BROUGHAM.

It is well known that the great Lord Brougham is rapidly failing, both bodily and mentally. Punch publishes, in his last number, the following 'Palinode':—

'During the last five or six weeks he had, with the utmost difficulty, and against the opinion of his medical advisers, attended the debates of their lordship's houses. During the last ten days, the difficulty had increased, and present appearances, if the labor persisting in this great measure, is a cause to which his life had been devoted, he had struggled to the last, until he found he would scarcely be able—*Lord Brougham's last speech on Law Reform in the House of Commons.*

And is the busy brain overwrought at last?
Has the sharp sword fretted the sheath so far?
Then, Henry Brougham, in spite of all that's past,
Our ten long years of all but weekly war,
Let *Punch* hold out to you a friendly hand,
And speak what hasty he had left unspoken,
Had that sharp tongue lost nought of its command,
That nervous frame still kept its spring unbroken.
Forgot the changes of thy later years,
No more he knows the Jahmael once he knew,
Drinking delight of battle 'mongst the peers,
Your hand against all men, all men's hands against you.
He knows the orator, whose fearless tongue
Lashed into infamy and endless scorn
The wretches who their bleeching scandal flung
Upon a Queen, of women most forlorn.
He knows the lover of his kind, who stood
Chief of the banded few that dared to brave
The accursed traffickers in negro blood,
And struck his heaviest fetter from the slave;
The statesman who, in a less happy hour
Than this, maintained man's right to read and know,
And gave the keys of knowledge and of power
With equal hand alike to high and low;
The lawyer who, unwarped by private aims,
Denounced the law's abuse, chicane, delay;
The chancellor who settled century's claims,
And swept an age's dense arrears away;
The man whose name man read even as they run,
Do very landmark the world's course along,
That speaks to us of a great battle won
Over untruth, or prejudice, or wrong.
Remembering this, full and I am to hear
That voice, which louder in the remembering,
Now weak and low, and shipwreck of sheer,
To see that arm of battle all unstrung.
And so, even as a warrior after fight
Thinks of a noble foe, now wounded sore,
I think of thee, and of thine ancient might,
And hold a hand out, armed for strife no more.

THE RIGHTS OF THE NORTH.

The editor of the North Adams Sentinel has been guilty of talking a little common sense, and asking a few rather close questions, in relation to Northern Rights—one of which we have some reason to fear the editor is quite often guilty. Hear how he talks:—

Must the slaveholder enjoy the right to kidnap our colored freemen, and mob and lynch our white freemen also? Yes, he has this right. He can and does violate the Constitution when he pleases. He can and does imprison our colored seamen, and when we send agents to protect them, he drives them from the State. He can say what he chooses at the North, but we can not do so at the South only at the risk of life. He can have the aid of the Union to help him to recover his runaway slaves, and refuse to prevent us reclaiming our freemen, sold on their auction stands, to pay the fees of an unconstitutional imprisonment. The slaveholder rules the land. The great Whigs and Democrats are his tools. When his interests are at stake, they crawl on their penies for his benefit; issue proclamations; hatch compromises, in which slavery gets the lion's share. If the rights of freemen are jeopardized, if the sacred sanctuaries of freedom and humanity are violated, for a while, they are silent. Where is Webster now? While Southern mobs are lynching his fellow-citizens in Georgia and Alabama, while New Bedford seamen are being imprisoned, while the slave power is actively playing over again with Cuba, the Tribune, of Saturday, is eating chowder at Marshfield, or listening at Newport to the Sentinel who are feeding the famine of his 'anaconda' with the delicate morsel of the Presidency. What is Fillmore? Where are all these Democrats, who, in time of disorder, cry—all as still as death. Why do these men treat these Northern and Southern violators of the law so differently?

NOT TRUE—SORRY FOR IT.

The Ashtabula Sentinel says, the report that Mr. Giddings has withdrawn from the Presbyterian Church, on account of slavery, is not true. That he has not at any time thought of withdrawing from the Church. That at a recent meeting of the Presbytery, when it was proposed by the body to withdraw from the New School Assembly, Mr. Giddings opposed the measure, on the ground that the Church had not yet done her duty to the South.

We can assure Mr. Giddings, that the brethren, that the Church will never discharge her duty to the South until she treats slave-owners and slaveholders as she does other outrageous offenders against her sacred laws and justice. The Church, and its religion will be despised, and justly treated with contempt, if her standard of morality be no higher than that of slave-traders; men whom even the laws of Congress brand as pirates. Mr. Giddings and his friends, after their declamation against slavery have subsided, may, in their church relations, be the representatives of the highest morality and the purest religion; and all their rhetoric will be unanswerable and undeniable. We are indeed sorry, that Mr. Giddings continue to give his influence in favor of a church, side with the conservatives of the North, and more certainly expected to see the Sentinel side with the Charleston Convention, as party, than to hear from her partisanship in, and fellowship with, the system of human piracy. We cannot believe, that of Messrs. Boynton and Giddings to be anything but consistent.—*Anti-Slavery Bugle.*

The Impartial Citizen.

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From Zion's Herald.

SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA.

The San Francisco Picayune appresses much apprehension at the schemes of certain politicians in California, who propose to divide the Commonwealth, in order to erect the Southern portion into a slave State. Intermarriage is of considerable prominence; have at last joined the movement, and that it is becoming a serious subject. 'It has assumed,' says the Picayune, 'a most serious aspect, and invites the anxiety and most earnest attention of every man who has an interest in the honor and prosperity of the State. The plan was conceived in the first place by a few restless spirits, who cannot exist, except in strife, nonrulions and revolution—men to whom excitement and notoriety is the breath of life. They have since been joined by the emissaries of disunionists in South Carolina, Alabama, and Texas, who have been sent here to create discord, division, and a foothold for slavery.'

How thoroughly has the old moral contingent against slavery which prevelled in the South, and found utterance from the lips of Washington Jefferson, Patrick Henry, &c., been extinguished! While those old statesmen and their Southern contemporaries, decided any violent insurrection with 'slavery as disadvantageous, they, nevertheless, lamented the institution as a most calamitous crime. Their descendants now consider it an essential blessing; they seek sanctions for it in Christianity. They declare themselves ready to break up the nation rather than stop the progress of the evil restricted, and they plan conspiracies and send forth agents to introduce it into remote and recent portions of the Republic, where no local circumstances whatever call for it; where in fact its propagation can have no other motive but the nefarious design of strengthening in all the nation the deplorable crime.

One thing is quite manifest in the recent demonstrations of the slave States, viz: that the attempt to conciliate them by the National Legislature has only inflamed the arrogant spirit of slavery. That spirit is now more rampant than ever. It is not yet dangerous to the country; we never believed it capable of any open revolt, notwithstanding all the alarm and admonitions of Northern statesmen; but its old policy, or rather treachery of cooperation and menace, and bravado and defiance, has not abated an iota. It is evidently strengthening itself to put forth continual demands, and if the conciliating policy of our statesmen is to continue, we are manifestly doomed, not only to continue but to become more and more a slave-ridden nation. New and perilous occasions are pending, territorial questions, new southwestern States, and possibly Cuba itself, may soon intervene to revive the old differences and demonstrate the impolicy of concessions to wrong.

The moral indications which Southern slavery now presents in connection with the Southern church must arrest the attention of thoughtful men. Has Christianity no sentiment to utter respecting this enormous conspiracy against the rights of humanity? The Southern church, especially our branch of it, replies in the negative. It proposes to hold on its 'peaceful course' of neutrality, assuming that the indirect influence of the Gospel will some time or other abolish the evil. Meanwhile, however, the proportions of the great wrong are growing on every hand, and it already overshadows the whole prospect of the nation. There is a profound fallacy in this reasoning about the indirect influence of the Gospel. Invaluable is that influence in all Christian States, but the history of Christianity as well as its philosophy shows that the *specific* action of religion upon great public evils is necessary to their removal, and that its indirect influence is her preparatory to this specific action. Slavery, intemperance, war, have prevailed in all Christian States, notwithstanding this *general* influence of religion. Not until Christianity takes a course of action against any such great public evil, does it overthrow it. The time for such specific action is quite a question of expediency, doubtless, but if ever such a time exists, it certainly does when a community acknowledges the Christian religion. A Christian people are certainly the appropriate subjects of the full claims of Christianity, and where those claims are not asserted by the authorized expounders of the Gospel, the latter stand before the world and before God, responsible for the failure and all its consequences.

Nothing can be more sophistical than the usual reply to this reasoning, viz: that to attack slavery only exasperates the evil. Who does not know that this is almost invariably the case with all evil? Does truth ever assail error without offence? Has there been any great reform in the history of the world without standant evils? Does not history prove that few things are more fatal than to lull great iniquities? Does any thinking man expect that slavery will be done away with in this land without great agitation?

This, then, is the only course for good men, who have any responsibility for the great sin—they must direct the light of truth upon it, prudently, but resolutely; they must expect much evil to ensue, but ultimately and greater good. And the longer they postpone their duty in this respect, the more calamitous will be the evils which will at last attend their efforts to do it. If the Christian churches of the South had uttered from the beginning the real verdict of Christianity against slavery, they would have had many more trials and much less numerical growth, but they would probably by this time have extinguished the institution, and thus saved untold calamities to the country, and prepared the way for their own eventual prosperity.

From the Massachusetts Spy.

APOLOGY FOR SLAVERY.

An Englishman named William Mountford, who resides in Gloucester, in this State, has recently written a letter to the editor of the London (Eng.) Inquirer, deprecating the resolutions of the religious societies of England against fellowshipping with slaveholders, and also declaiming against the proposal not to admit into society any American who is favorable to the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Mountford's letter has been copied into the Boston Transcript, from the London Inquirer, which, of course, is *prima facie* evidence of its honkerish character, and a perusal of it amply establishes the fact. This person, whom we take to be a clergyman, by his rhetoric, has undertaken to lecture his countrymen upon the new rules of etiquette which have been adopted in relation to introductions; and he states, as an argument against the new rule, the 'inability' of Englishmen to appreciate or understand the question of slavery, as it exists in this country.

We have frequently been amused with this impudent declaration, when made by some of our own most ignorant pro-slavery countrymen; but it certainly increases our amusement, to see the same stale joke repeated by Mr. Mountford. It is true, that few men have more impudence to conscience, and with the least degree of perception, can reconcile the precembles to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with the existence of slavery in any one of these United States; but we are certain that Englishmen know that slavery is essentially an institution of the Southern States, and we know that they can appreciate the falsehood of that ostensible sectionalism of this institution, when they see our general government enacting a law which mortgages every foot of land to the slaveholders and his bloodhounds, and which forces many of our industrious and virtuous countrymen to flee in terror, even from the sacred soil of Massachusetts. There is nothing consolidated in the theory of slavery in America; the theory is, that it is wholly a State institution; the Englishmen know this as well as anybody; the complicity is in the practice of our politicians, who have made it, so far as their action can make it, a national institution, and who have also made us, to nor nbagrin, the subjects of such resolutions as Mr. Mountford comments on.

Mr. Mountford proposes a system of retaliation towards Englishmen. He would have us, before admitting any one of his countrymen of Henry Vane into our family circles, ask him, 'Are you in favor of the abolition of political slavery in England? Are you in favor of the Charter?' and various other questions of a kindred nature; and he assumes that the answer to all those questions would be no! no!

We are willing to admit that political questions are moral questions, and we are glad to concede, also, that Mr. Mountford's queries, inasmuch as they relate to principles, are very excellent and pertinent questions. But we believe that the answer to his queries, by Englishmen who have any feeling in relation to slavery, would universally be yes, instead of no. On the other hand, admitting that it should be no, yet, who in the Southern States, and in many of our Northern and Western States, could say aught in condemnation? The Charter proposes universal suffrage, without any qualification of *color or condition*. Will Mr. Mountford mention any State, not in New England, where such suffrage is allowed? This question is not one between England and us, but between humanity and our countrymen. It is a question of ethics—of common sagacity. We go abroad with a sublime sentiment of liberty on our lips, and we found millions of our countrymen at home in bondage, subject to the most galling cruelty, and subject also to the most fearful penalties, if they dare to exercise common humanity. Is it a wonder, then, if men should wish to discover if we participate individually in the shameless hypocrisy?

So far from feeling too saucy and proud to disclaim any sympathy with such a state of public morals, we would hasten to repudiate it, voluntarily, in the face of civilization and humanity. Mr. Mountford's spirit may be judged, however, from the following specimen of pure bunker-ology and logic:

'Of the Unitarian clergymen there alluded to, as inactive towards slavery, there are some whom I respect *for the moral that is in them*, for that is active and inactive on slavery, *but only self-governed and conscious, very anxious and thoughtful, and perhaps wise.*'

We hope that the people of Europe will not take Mr. Mountford's letter as an exponent of American sentiment in relation to this national sin of slavery.

He who truly loves America, never seeks to palliate slavery, or to conceal its enormity beneath the mantle of freedom. As Americans, we have no respect for those who pretend that we enjoy all good in it, to stimulate the pride of all who really love her; but it is slavery, that throws its dirty slime upon us, and it is of slavery, which is an insult to republicanism, and a disgrace to civilization, that we ought to wash our hands, as a people, even though many, like Mr. Mountford, should valorously throw themselves between us and all legitimate modes of discountenancing it by the people amongst whom we may travel.

From the Fall River Weekly News.

'A CUBAN' ON CUBA.

A writer in the Boston Post, who signs himself 'A Cuban,' censures the Commonwealth of that city for not favoring the revolt of the Creoles in Cuba, and he piles up a great amount of verbiage into something which we suppose he calls an argument for their revolutionists, on the ground that they are opposed to slavery and the slave-trade. He says:—

'Many Cubans are wanderers in foreign lands, because they are regarded by the Spanish Colonial Government as abolitionists, and on this ground were compelled to leave the island.'

Others, he declares, have been thrown into dungeons, 'because they dared to remonstrate to' the guler of Cuba against the African slave-trade.' He then goes on to speak of the efforts which have been made by his clans in the island to introduce white colonization and labor with a view to supplant slavery, stating how one Spaniard carried thither ninety Catalans from Barcelone, and how others' imported some Chinese as laborers, and goes on to show that the government put every obstacle in the way of their efforts. He affirms roundly that the Cubans love the abolition of slavery, and warming up as he proceeds, he goes up his climax as follows:

'They, finally, so earnestly love the abolition of slavery, that, in their plans of liberty and hopes of welfare, entire abolition is reckoned as one of the first points in the acquisition of happiness; but in obtaining this, they are anxious to consult their own safety and the important interest of those unfortunate beings whose bondage is the consequence not of Cuban acts or wishes, but of the rapacity and cruelty of the Spanish Colonial Government, against which the firm and enlightened pen of the Commonwealth of Boston is directed and not against Cuba, which is innocent of the keeping in her bosom of so many thousands of slaves. Would God that the Cubans may soon exhibit in the eyes of the world that they duly estimate and know how to repress the evils of slavery.'

Now taking this declaration 'all for corn,' that is, for truth, is it not a little singular that the emissaries from Cuba, when they come into this country after sympathizers and aiders, as if by instinct make a ben line on the places where dwell and reign the advocates of eternal slavery? How comes it that their aiders and abettors here, are all in the extreme South, in Florida, in South Carolina, in Mississippi? Were Quitman and his gang roped in to roll on the ball of revolution by such representation as the above respecting the objects of the revolutionists? Did that Mississippi Bobadil love his secession, oppression-saving labers at home, to engage in an abolition crusade to Cuba? Abolition the main object of the Cubans, why not appeal to the abolitionists and not to the slave-breeders of this country? The pretence of 'A Cuban' we believe to be all a sham.

From the Portland Pleasure Boat.

QUAKERS GOING TO LIBERIA.

Three weeks ago I copied from a western paper, a notice of the departure of the priest and prioress, Elijah and Sybel Jones, for Liberia, to preach *peace, love* and *good will*, and made some remarks thereon, but had not room to say all I desired to then, and cannot 'feel clear' without reverting to the subject again, as I desire, if possible, to show the sect called Quakers, how lamentably they have degenerated, with the hope that it may cause, at least a few of them, to awake from their delusive dreams, and seek the good old paths.

The notice referred to says that Eli and Sybel 'have letters of introduction to President Roberts, from Henry Clay, Bishop Waugh and other distinguished friends of the cause.'

Now, reader, just look at this in connection with the history of Quaker persecution on the first page of this and former numbers of the Boat, and see how the gold is changed, and the fine gold become dim. The early Quakers, took with them no letters of introduction to Presidents and Princes, but went forth among strangers, with nothing to introduce or recommend them but the force of the plain, simple truth which was in them, like fountains of living water. Priests, bishops, and men like Henry Clay, opposed them, and set on the ungodly rabble to persecute them, and destroy property and life itself. But as degenerated has the society become, that its recommended ministers have joined hands with the same class of men that imprisoned and murdered their fathers, and go forth with their letters of introduction in their pockets, instead of the everlasting truth in their hearts.

Just think how George Fox would have looked going to preach peace, love, and good will under the recommendation of such a notorious reprobate as Henry Clay, a gambler, a duelist, and a man-thief, a man-seller, woman-whipper and cradle-robber! Oh! how do these mongrel Quakers disgrace themselves by the inconsistency between their high and holy profession, and their low and unholy practice!

The Colonization Society was got up by slaveholders, to ship off to Liberia emancipated slaves, in order to preserve slavery from their influence, and to keep slave property good. This is the cause which Henry Clay, Bishop Waugh, and others are the friends of! And these are the men whom modern Quakers apply to for power and authority to preach peace, love and good will—gamblers, duelists, manthieves, and their aiders and abettors.

What would the poor Africans in Liberia say, if they were to see Eli and Sybel's letters of introduction, and were told that, at the very time Clay was writing that letter, some of his overseers were drawing blood from the naked backs of his human cattle with the bloody thong, and that the Hon. gentleman was then raising handsome yellow and even white girls to supply the seraglios of rich libertines farther South, and that Eli and Sybel knew that before they took from his polluted hand the introductory letter?

From the London Illustrated News.

A SONG OF LIFE.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

A traveller through a dusty road
Strewed acorns on the lea,
And one took root, and sprouted up,
And grew into a tree.
Love sought its shade at evening time,
To breathe its entry vows.
And Age was pleased, in hasts of soon,
To bask beneath its boughs:
The dormouse loved its dangling twigs,
The birds sweet music bore—
It stood a glory in its place,
A blessing evermore!

A little sprig had lost its way
Amid the grass and fern,
A passing stranger scoop'd a well,
Where weary men might turn;
He wall'd it in, and hung with care
A ladle at the brink—
He thought not of the deed he did,
But judged that toil might drink.
He passed again—and, lo! the well,
By summers never dried,
Had cooled ten thousand parching tongues,
And saved a life beside!

A dreamer dropp'd a random thought;
'Twas old, and yet was new—
A simple fancy of the brain,
But strong in being true;
It shone upon a genial mind,
And, lo! its light became
A lamp of life, a beacon ray,
A momentary flame.
The thought was small—its issue great!
A watch-fire on the hill,
It sheds its radiance far adown,
And cheers the valley still!

A nameless man, amid a crowd
That throng'd the daily mart,
Let fall a word of Hope and Love,
Unstudied, from the heart;
A whisper on the tumult thrown—
A transitory breath—
It raised a brother from the dust,
It saved a soul from death!

O germ! O *fount*! O word of love!
O thought at random cast!
Ye were but little at the first,
But mighty at the last!

THE LATE REV. WILLIAM H. ROGERS.

Fruits of Abolitionism.—It used to be said,—whatever a man's character had been,—after his decease, 'Let his ashes rest in peace.' The *Liberator* of this morning, after announcing the death of Rev. William H. Rogers, adds the following inhuman remark:—'Humanity has no cause to mourn the departure of one whose influence has been so injurious!'—*Boston Christian Ofs.*

☞ Mark the hypocrisy of this pseudo 'Christian Observer'! To shield the memory of a clerical time-server, and bitter reviler and active enemy of the anti-slavery cause, we are told, 'It used to be said—whatever a man's character had been—after his decease, let the dead rest.' Does this canting reprover believe this to be the rule of duty? Will he, hereafter, cry out when he hears or sees any thing reproachfully said of Paine, Voltaire, or Burns? As a patriot or Christian, will he enter his protest against any imputation being cast upon the memory of Benedict Arnold or Judas Iscariot? Why is the dead to rest in one case, and not in the other? Our simple declaration in regard to William M. Rogers was, that 'Humanity has no cause to mourn his departure.'—This is true, and every flying fugitive from the Southern prison-house, and three millions of victims hopelessly confined therein, stand ready to reiterate it at the bar of God. The calamity is,

'The evil that men do lives after them'—

and how great and comprehensive was the evil perpetrated by this betrayer of the cause of Christ may be easily seen and felt by those who 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,' while reading the following extracts from the sermon delivered in defence of the accursed Fugitive Slave Law, on last Thanksgiving day, from his pulpit in Winter street:

'It is one of the articles of the Constitution, that a person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such labor is due. I say that it is one of the articles of the Constitution; for you might readily gather from the popular cry, and from the tendency of the popular feeling, that the whole of the Constitution of the United States was nothing but an instrument for the oppression of the slave, in utter forgetfulness of every other right and every other duty. It is one of the articles of that Constitution. Being one of the articles of that Constitution, then, I gather that whatsoever party is in power—it makes no difference what their name, what the principles they affirm—whatever party is in power, whatever party is in power, in their place in Congress, if there were no law already made pursuant to this article of the Constitution, they would be bound to make a law, and a law which should carry out this provision, and restore the fugitive to the claimant, upon due proof of that claim and that service to be rendered in another State.'

'The fugitive asks us, to interpose. When he does so, he asks us to do what the people of the United States, or a majority of them, have said we shall not do. He asks us to do what we have agreed, with the millions of this country, shall not be done. He asks us to do precisely what we have agreed not to do.'

'When the slave asks me to stand between the Marshal and himself, what does he ask me to do? Simply to free him? No, that is not all. He asks me to constitute force for law—anarchy for government; he asks me to overturn the tribunals of justice—to break in fragments the power of a nation overshadowing all and protecting all. He asks me to do him right, by wronging twenty millions of men!—The question comes home to my soul,—I am not at once ready to answer. I pause, I reflect, I meditate. If I resist that law, I nullify the Constitution. In doing it, I am righteously held to answer for all the natural and proper consequences of my conduct.'

'When the slave asks me to stand, between him and his master, what does he ask? *He asks me to render a mortal's life!* and I will not do it, because I have a conscience, because there is a God.'

'Then I say unto you, as a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, the conviction of my conscience is, that upon the ground of reason, there is no safety for us, no better hope for the slave, than, for the time, the carrying out of the Constitution and the laws of the country. *Let the country stand upon its conscience, what God requires it at our hand.* But if the spirit of sedition and rebellion become rampant in the land, if the ordinary strength of the magistracy cannot controul it, if there be treason, if there be rebellion, if I need full to defend the Constitution of the Fathers, the magistracy call you to arms—arm! If they call you to the field of battle, stand in your ranks as your fathers stood, shoulder to shoulder; if to the human life, in the name of God, take it; and if you fall, your memory shall be hallowed with those whose bones moulder on the cliffs of Bunker Hill.'

Read these profligate and inhuman sentiments, and then read the particulars (in another column) of the arrest and horrible treatment of the alleged fugitive slave Daniel at Buffalo, and then remember the case of poor Sims—and then say whether Humanity has cause to mourn the loss of such a man!—*Boston Liberator.*

From the New York Evening Post.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA AND ENGLAND.

Wm. Wells Brown, formerly a slave in the United States, addresses a very sensible letter to the London *Times*, on the condition of the fugitive slaves in England. He says very many of those who have been compelled to fly into Canada from our chivalric soil, are in the way of getting employment, and thereby earning for themselves an honest living.

Many of these people here, within the last six or eight months, gone to England to seek employment, and encounter the same difficulties there as in Canada, and consequently soon become a burdon to the benevolent, or inmates of the 'unions.' He therefore recommends that provision be made for sending such of them as are willing to go to the West Indies, to labor in those islands where slavery has been abolished, and where a deficiency of labor is now experienced.

What Mr. Brown asserts in regard to the necessities and distresses of his brethren in exile is undoubtedly true. Their case must be the same as that of their masters would be, were they, by a harsh and unexpected law, compelled to take refuge on foreign shores and in inaccessioned climes. But whether the plan of sending them to the West Indies promises anything officinal for their relief, we doubt. The owners of estates in the British islands will probably soon learn, if not yet convinced of it, that it is not soon hands they need, so much as an improved system of management and agriculture. The relative density of population in all the West India islands is far greater than in any slave state, and none of the enormous attempts to colonize them with laborers have resulted blessedly.

Wages, in all the British West Indies, are now at the starving point, and it would be madness for colonial people to go there in quest of labor. If, however, they have, or can procure a little capital, say from one to five hundred dollars, which they can afford to invest in the soil, then we should unhesitatingly advise them to seek a home in one of these islands, where the best of land can be bought at from five to ten dollars an acre, where free negroes will support a family comfortably, and where the highest social and political privileges are within the reach of all who merit them.

A SHRIEK FROM THE HORNET'S NEST.

Those who are in want of pleasant and entertaining reading will do well to subscribe for two or three Secession papers from the great and glorious Palmetto State and that immediate vicinity. As a fair sample of the contents of these redoubtable sheets, the following, from the *Hornet's Nest and True Southern*, is instanced:—

Shall South Carolina now recede?
Never!!!

The memory of her illustrious fathers forbids it.

The cause of truth, of honor, of freedom and of right forbids it.

The high resolves of her Spartan children, and the encouragement of her Spartan mothers, forbid it.

The expectations, the hopes, the aspirations of every friend of the Union, the Constitution and liberty forbid it.

Can South Carolina succeed?

Oh God! if she cannot, then hast Thou withdrawn thine omnipotent arm from the help of the weak just against the mighty unjust; and thou hast repented thee of thy promises to those who trust the fate and success of their righteous cause to thine all-powerful and all-wise direction.

But she can succeed.

For the God of battles is on her side; the oratices of confiding, trusting hearts ascend to Heaven in her behalf; and divine justice will direct the sword, encourage the hoart, and strengthen the arm of him who strikes in her defence.

WILL SHE?

If she does not, then let us forget King's Mountain and Eutaw, Moat's Corner, and Fort Moultrie, and fling a pall of oblivion over the memory of Jasper, of Sumter, of Marion, of Butler, and of Calhoun; for then, indeed, will liberty be blotted from the page of history, and darkness more Cymerian than that which hung over the middle ages, settle upon the hearts and hopes of men.

SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE FREE STATES.

The following statement is selected from the last annual report of the American and Foreign Anti Slavery Society:

'Probably in every free State, there are some who own slaves at the South. We do not include Southern Slaveholders who reside at the North, of whom there are a few, but native born citizens of the free States who own slave plantations. How many there are of these Sincerest we have no means of computing. A writer in the *Christian Mirror*, printed at Portland, says: 'We have those in Maine who are large owners of slaves at the South, whose slaves are under taskmasters! There are members of churches in the city of New York and vicinity, and doubtless in other places at the North, who own slaves at the South. Northern merchants have owned plantations and slaves in Cuba and elsewhere, and probably do still. And numerous are the instances in which Northern merchants, members of churches as well as others, by their attorneys or other agents, seize slaves on execution for debt, and other causes them to be bonsed out or sold, so that they may pocket the proceeds. Our Northern preachers and politicians, who say, 'What have we to do with slavery here?' may, in the above facts, find an answer to their question.'

—From the New Orleans Delta, Aug. 23.

TO THE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS.

Not having engaged in the cause of Cuba personally, I have tended to its promotion, by the plan of operation, further than has been common to all our citizens who took an interest in the cause. To-day, however, I have made the proper inquiries, to equate me to form an opinion as to what is likely to be done; and the conclusion to which I have come is, that if the citizens of New Orleans do not subscribe liberally, there is no prospect of any aid being furnished to the brave and gallant young men whose lives are now perified in the mountains of Cuba.

There is no time for delay; we have had one tale of blood and meagre, and we may soon have another. My object is, if possible, to save the remnant of the gallant band who defeated the forces of Gen. Enna on the 13th inst., and marched into the interior on the 15th. This we know from the official publications in Havana, and further all is doubt and uncertainty. This, however, is certain, that the same men who defeated Gen Enna, and compelled him to send back to Havana for reinforcements, when they were only defended by works hastily thrown up, around an old building, will hold him at bay for some time, when they reach mountains as well adapted for defence as those of Cuba are. This is more certain, if the people of the country unite with them, which is confidently stated to be the case, by correspondents from Havana, who, I am fully persuaded, have not made statements which they do not believe.

But, fellow-citizens, after examining the position in a military point of view, I am fully satisfied that our friends and brethren will be finally overcome by superior Spanish force, if they do not receive assistance.

However anxious we may be to relieve those who are in danger, we must not hazard any more small detachments—we have had enough of that. Whatever is done, must be done promptly and efficiently.

Whether anything at all can be done, depends upon you, men of New Orleans. There is no time to seek aid from a distance. There is no lack of men, who burn to succor the surviving comrades of the slaughtered Crittenden, Kurr, and their brave companions. It is the means that are wanting. I therefore pleinly appeal to you to come forth generously and promptly. It will require a considerable sum to do anything that you or I would sanction; for I say at once that I will never countenance that our noble young men shall again be hazarded with insufficient numbers, and ineffecient means.

(Signed,) FELIX HOUSTON.

New Orleans, Aug. 22, 1851.

☞ This abhorrent and perfidious appeal to the citizens of New Orleans is characteristic of Southern regard for the faith of treaties, &c.]

EMANCIPATION IN NEW GRENADA.

The provisions of the recent law for the abolition of slavery in the republic of New Grenada are noticed by the Panama Star as follows. The law goes into effect on the 1st of January next:—

That on the day named, 1st of January, slavery shall no longer exist in this republic. All persons liberated from slavery shall be entitled to the same privileges, and governed by the same laws, as are other citizens of New Grenada.

No slave under forty-five years shall be valued at a greater sum than one thousand six hundred reals if a male, nor over one thousand two hundred reals if a female; over fourty-five, the value of a male slave shall not exceed one thousand two hundred reals, which compossession is to be paid to the owners by the government.

It appears further, that the law contemplates the purchase of certain New Grenadines who are held in slavery in Peru. On this, 'El Panamas' remarks:

All Grenadians, taken in Peru as slaves are free, absolutely free, and New Grenada is under no obligation to pay one cent for them.

They are free, because, neither in New Grenada nor in Peru can this traffic be allowed, without infringing upon our respective contracts with Great Britain.

They are free, because a published Peruvian law declares them so, the moment they touch Peruvian soil.

They are free, because they are our fellow-beings.

THE IMPARTIAL CITIZEN.

THE POUGHKEEPSIE SLAVE CASE.

It will be remembered from the accounts, that Bolding is a tailor by trade, that he is nearly white and that he has lately married an interesting wife at Poughkeepsie, a free woman, and that he is claimed as a slave of Messrs. Barnett and Anderson, of Columbus, S. C. On Friday, the 29th ult., the prosecutor called five witnesses to establish the relationship of master and slave, after which they again produced ten witnesses, who attempted to prove that Daniel was of African descent. On Saturday, numerous gentlemen, skilled in physiology, were called to prove his lineage. It will be remembered that the alleged fugitive is nearly white—less dark in color than many white men.

Dr. Alfred C. Post, sworn—Is a physician; have made a physiological examination of John since sitting here; my impression would be that he is a half-blooded Indian; his general physiognomy tends to that, especially the prominence of the cheek bones, the smooth, jet black hair; his eye pertains more to the Indian than the African blood; the complexion indicates an admixture of white blood; if I had seen him without knowing that he came from South Carolina, I should not suspect that he was of African blood; I had not seen him before he came into the Court room this morning.

Levi S. Waldo, sworn—Resides at Poughkeepsie; am a clergyman; know Bolding; have known him for most of the time he has been in the place, some three or four years; he married there; I married him; I supposed then there must be African blood in him; frequently after wards, on looking at him, supposed he must be of Indian descent.

Dr. James McCune Smith, a slightly colored man—Has made physiology a study; consider, from the history of race, it is evident that John is of white and Indian blood, without any admixture of African blood; states that the reason of his conclusion is, a fair mulatto has crooked hair; John's conformation, so far as the skeleton (or bones) is concerned, is purely Indian. Witness refers to the work of Dr. Pritchard, p. 271; showed comparison by a respectable appearing mulatto man, (part white and part African,) by wife a pure Indian woman, who was present, argued from the works of Dr. Morton and others, and concluded by saying there is no portion of the negro blood in him; the curl in his hair is not from African admixture, but different, and the curl at the end now is evidently artificial. He added, 'John's hair is straight, and though curled a little, does not differ from the hair of many I see around me, who are undoubtedly Caucasian.'

To a question from Mr. Wood, Dr. Smith replied that his (Dr. Smith's) mother was a mulatto, and his father a descendant of the Puritans, a real Caucasian.

Here a man was produced in court, who was an admixture of Indian and African, and who had not the Indian features so clearly developed as those of John.

Cross-examined by Mr. Wood—My mother is a mulatto, half white and half African—my father was white; I am three-fourths white; should suppose the man asked to stand up in the gallery is nearly a pure Indian. (Mr. Wood asked the man to step down. The man said his mother is Indian and his father mulatto.)

Mr. Foster sworn—Resides in the city; principal business lecturing on phrenology and physiology; had examined high blindfolded, should not suspect, by passing my hand over his head, that there was any African blood in him; held in my hand the skull of an Indian; (described it;) held also the skull of an African; (described it;) to consider if there is any African blood in him, it is not over a twenty-eighth; not more than $200 worth; if there is any African blood, it is weakly represented; in the absence of evidence to the contrary, should suppose no African blood in him any more than in Mr. George Catlin, the Indian Chief, been practising phrenology and physiology for more than twenty years.

By Mr. Wood—I do not know any thing to the contrary but that John is a Caucasian. Mr. Wood asked the Commissioner to inspect and compare Mr. Fowler with John, and with the first witness, as to points spoken. Mr. Wood also called down, after taking witness to look at him, and saying he was purely African, a black man in the gallery. Asked the Commissioner to compare him with John. Another man was also called, an uncommonly black man.

Rev. J. B. Grinnell was sworn and testified as follows:—I reside in Washington city. I have not seen John till this morning, but from an examination of his head, and my knowledge of the Indians, which is very extensive, I should judge him to be an Indian; I have known a considerable number of Indians; is so exceedingly like the man John, that I should take them to be brothers, and he says he is a half Indian; he is also half brother to a celebrated Senator; I would discredit any person who should tell me his mother was an African, from the appearance of his lips.

Samuel R. Wells, of the firm of Fowler & Wells, deposed that he lived in the city, and then proceeded to describe the distinction between an African and Indian race. Was testimony not merely given differed from that of Mr. Fowler, except in part where he testified to the formation of his foot, which he said was not like that of the African.

Mr. Lucien Burleigh, living in New York, was sworn, and testified that he lived in the city; had seen many tribes of Indians, and would not once pronounce the man John to be an Indian; he had a school in Connecticut at one period, when one of the scholars, an Indian, died, and he was so like John, that was he not convinced of his death, he would have believed John was the same person.

On Monday last, Mr. Commissioner Nelson delivered his opinion in the case of Bolding, and stated that the evidence proved the defendant to be legally the property of the plaintiffs, and that he should accordingly give them a certificate to carry him back to South Carolina. His counsel appealed for delay on the same ground as in the recent Buffalo case, but the claimants pressed for an immediate certificate, which was granted.

The papers state that during the proceedings the Court-room was crowded with an interested and quiet audience, and nothing whatever occurred to create a supposition that any violent measures would be taken by those who are opposed to the taking away of the man. When the Court had been duly opened, the Commissioner proceeded to read his opinion, which was heard in respectful silence. Bolding and his friends appeared grieved at the result.

A certificate was almost immediately afterward asked for and granted. That portion of the understanding with the claimant by which he agreed to waive the proposition not to require, on being paid $1,720, that Bolding should first go back to South Carolina, was withdrawn, and it was demanded that Bolding should first go back. The requisite money, it is said, has been raised, and his friends will probably go there and redeem him.

Anderson, the claimant, subsequently made an affidavit, agreeably to the law, that he had reason to apprehend an attempt at rescue, and claimed the assistance of the U. S. Marshal under the law, to convey Bolding to South Carolina.

Bolding remained after the decision in one of the rooms of the Court House building, his wife and her mother and friends being with him. Towards the time of the starting of the New Jersey and Southern Railroad line, in the afternoon, Bolding was directed to bid adieu to his friends, and the parting showed that, even if a slave, the heart of a human being beat in his bosom, and deep sorrow was also exhibited by those from whom he parted. No attempt has ever been manifested or threatened, to rescue the fugitive by force.

Bolding's greatest objection, however, to going back, is the separation from his wife in Poughkeepsie, to whom he is deeply attached, and whose two brothers, remarkably fine looking young fellows, almost white, are in constant attendance upon him—The nature and force of that objection it is needless for us to comment upon, but we blush that our race contains a man so insensible to every humane impulse as to be capable of violently separating a young and affectionate couple for life, and consigning one of them to life-long servitude for the pilfering sum which has been named as the price of Bolding's freedom. What a mockery it is for people to talk of their priceless honor, who can steel their hearts to such unnecessary misery!

We were near forgetting to state, that Bolding represents himself to be the son of the former representative in Congress of that name from Petersburg, Va. He has strongly marked Indian features, silky hair, high cheek bones, expanded nostrils, and a light coppery complexion. If he has any African blood in his veins, there is no trace of it visible except in his complexion, which little more resembles that of a negro than a white man.

If the Hon. Mr. Bolding is alive, and bears the relation to Bolding which is implied to him, we trust his paternal sympathies will not sleep at such a crisis as this in his family.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

The following card has been furnished us for publication:—

In relation to the slave John Bolding, I would state, he has been sent to South Carolina under the decision of the Commissioner. He has gone under his chaze of my son as deputy. When $2,000 is paid to me, I am to hold the same, telegraph to South Carolina, and his master is to have him returned under charge of the same deputy, and on his being delivered safe in this city, and his master executing the manumission papers, I am to pay the money over; if the conditions are not complied with, the money is to be returned to those who have contributed it.

If being understood that $1500 is demanded for the slave, and $500 for the expenses of his reclamation.

H. F. TALLMADGE, U. S. Marshal.

New York, Sept. 2, 1851.

A SENSIBLE LETTER FROM THE SLAVE DANIEL.

Daniel, the fugitive negro now in jail in our city, awaiting the further action of the authorities in his case, has dictated and put forth the following letter, which we publish for the benefit of whomsoever it concerns. We are assured upon unquestionable authority that it is his own act and deed, and that after the sentiments freely expressed by him were committed to paper, the letter was carefully read to him and received his deliberate approval and signature. It will be seen that he gratefully acknowledges the kind offices of his *free soil* friends, but that he has a much more practical appreciation of their probable results than most of them.—*Buffalo, Courier.*

To the Colored Population of Buffalo:

I thank you for what you have tried to do for me. You meant it for good, but it is of no use. We colored people of Kentucky are about as well off as you are. I am going back—I had rather go back than stay here. I hope you will not interfere with my going. My master, Mr. Moore, has always treated me well; I feel that I did wrong in running away—he bought me at my urgent request—he placed confidence in me, and I do not feel that I ought to deceive him. If he had treated me ill, I should feel differently about it. He never did. I was advised to run away and come to a free State, or I should not have done so—the advice was bad, though I reckon it was not so meant. We are about as well off in Kentucky as you are here, and some of us better. I shall advise the Kentucky boys when I get home to stay where they are. We have plenty to eat and to wear, and we are not hunted down—the everybody knows who has been in Kentucky.

Again my colored brethren, I thank you for your kind sympathies, and to my white abolition brethren I say, let us be friends. We cannot live without each other. I go to say more for me.

his
DANIEL × DAVIS,
mark.

August 28, 1851.

With regard to this matter, the *Rochester Democrat* says:

'The authorship of the letter bearing the 'X' of the fugitive Daniel has been a matter of dispute in the Buffalo papers. Some of them—those, by the way, who insist that slaves do not know enough to take care of themselves—maintain that it was a verbatim production of Daniel's, dictated by him and kindly written down by some one who sympathized with the fellow that knocked him down with a billet of wood. The *Buffalo Express* of yesterday says it was written by Henry W. Rogers, Esq., in his office, taken by his clerk, accompanied by the claimant and Daniel Bowen, Esq., to the jail, where Daniel was persuaded to affix his 'X.'

THE LETTER OF DANIEL.—The *Buffalo Republic* says it has been 'authorized, by the alleged slave Daniel, to say that the letter which appeared in the Courier does not contain his sentiments in any particular, and he utterly disclaims all wish to return to Kentucky.'

DANIEL IN THE DEN AND OUT.

It was Tom Hood, if we mistake not, who gave us the hearty laugh some two years since, by two contemporary letters from a boy at school to his family, the first being the one written under the dictation and eye of the master; the second being the boy's own, written 'unbeknown' to the master, and dispatched on the sly. The contrast in the drift, tone, substance and diction of the two letters was very decided.

The *Express*, and several lower law co-laborers, have been taken in by a letter purporting to be from Daniel, the alleged fugitive from slavery in prison at Buffalo, which the least speinkling of gumption would have told them was the master's and not the boy's own.

The *Express*, which has a poor idea of negro capacity in general, was greatly taken with this division, commenting on it, as follows:

'This man Daniel is, evidently, a person gifted with *considerable more common sense and shrewdness than we are accustomed to look for among people of his class and color.* In his letter of to-day, he has manifested *a keen power of generalization*, which distinguishes him as an excellent judge of character. He has discrimination, too, and a remarkable readiness in drawing from a number of facts a resultant principle of analysis in cases where hypocrisy and false pretences are thrown up with a lying philanthropy and the schemes of the demagogue.

'Of the character of the man Daniel, we infer from the sensible letter he has left as an invaluable legacy to the colored population of Buffalo. And being *so intelligent and shrewd a person*, what he writes, we respect, is entitled to a profounder consideration than is conceded to ordinary productions of negro literature.'

Well, two days after the appearance of this letter, and before the *Express* had done singing its praises, Judge Conkling pronounced a decision which set this exemplar in the literary firmament at liberty:—No obstacle existed to his following his own inclination, whichever way it might lead him. Of course, you suppose he struck a bee line for that patriarchal region where he 'did wrong in running away,' where he 'always treated well,' and where he would 'advise the Kentucky boys to stay where they are,' having 'plenty to eat and to wear, and are not badly worked.' Ah! my green friend! you should have read the boy's own letter. See his × mark!

DANIEL, THE FUGITIVE, AT LIBERTY.

BUFFALO, Aug. 31, 1851.

The fugitive Daniel has been declared free by Judge Conkling, and *has gone to Canada!*

We are afraid there will be no more eulogisms on his 'common sense and shrewdness,' keen power of penetration, &c., in the columns of the *Express!* 'Negro literature' is likely to be below par in that latitude for some time to come, even though the author be so intelligent and shrewd a person as Mr. Daniel Davis. This is a deceitful, changeable world.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE FUGITIVE DANIEL.

Several of our contemporaries have fallen into an error as to Judge Conkling's decision on the return of the writ of *habeas corpus*, in the case of the fugitive slave Daniel, at Buffalo. Judge Conkling does not contend that the Fugitive Law is inoperative in a case where the slave escaped before the law was passed, but that the section which authorises proofs to be taken *exparte* in the State from which the slave escaped, and used as evidence where he is arrested, are only applicable to such cases of escape as occur since the passage of the Act.

In other words, he decides that if the escape was before the passage of the Act, proof of the bondage and of the escape must be made before the Commissioner or Judge before whom the fugitive is brought.

In the case of Daniel, the entire proof before the Commissioner was that previously taken in the State from which Daniel escaped, and no proof was made or was subject to a cross examination in his behalf. On this point the Commissioner decided to send him back; but the Judge, reviewing the case on a writ of *habeas corpus*, contrasts the words 'has heretofore or shall hereafter escape,' (which are used in the first part of the Act,) with the words 'shall escape' used in the 10th section, and decides that the 10th section is inoperative. It will be readily seen that this decision has no application to the recent case of Bolding in which all the proofs were taken before the Commissioner in this city.—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

THE CAT LET OUT OF THE BAG.

The New York Herald has recently caused a great fluttering by surreptitiously publishing a correspondence between certain members of the Democratic National Committee and Samuel Houston, Levi Woodbury, William R. King, and others, pertaining to the next Presidency. Here is a letter from Mr. Giddings:

JEFFERSON, July 31, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR!

I know, you say, that I am unable to decipher much of your letter, but so far as I understand your views and objects, I approve them. You appear anxious to bring the Democratic party to the support of truth and freedom. In this I can bid you God speed with a heart and soul.

I think Samuel Medary of Columbus is favorably inclined to your views. He is, perhaps, the most influential Democrat in our State. Mr. Myers, of Toledo, has been a State Senator for some years, and is anxious to bring the Democratic party to the right point. Jacob Brinckerhoff, of Mansfield, is another in whom you may confide. Hon. R. P. Spaulding, Akron; Hon. J. Cable, Carrolton; R. Krum, Cherry Valley, all may be confided in for that purpose.

I think that both parties are progressing, notwithstanding all their efforts to prevent the progress of truth.

With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
J. R. GIDDINGS.

C. H. Donaldson, Esq.

☞ Mr. Giddings has since sent the following explanatory letter to the Cleveland True Democrat:—

JEFFERSON, Aug. 20, 1851.

GENTLEMEN:

I have just read your article upon the Donaldson Correspondence, and that of the *Herald.*

I do not think that I had entered into arrangements for promoting the election of General Houston to the Presidency will, I think, appear more politively injurious to the success of this nation, than to that gentleman and myself. Your article gave me the first intimation that such a thought had entered the mind of any human being.

Some weeks since, I received a letter dated at N. York, and signed by a person named Donaldson. I could call to mind no circumstance which led me to suppose that I had ever seen or heard of the man before. I was unable to decipher one half of his letter. My reply, which you have published, shows to every man, precisely those facts. The first remark I made was, it is informs him that I could not read his communication. The next, that so far as I understood his objects, they were to bring the Democratic party to the support of truth and freedom. That in such efforts I bade him God speed.

It is likely that, had I been able to read all his hieroglyphics, I might have discovered a different intention. But I stated to him distinctly that such was the object which it appeared to me he intended to express. I supposed him to be a Democrat of the State of New York, who we all know are seeking to imbue the Democratic party with the principles of freedom. And his request for the names of those who sympathized with him in these desires was readily granted, as my letter shows. This appeared to me to be the sole object of his inquiry; and I mentioned those to him who I believed would aid him in the work of reforming that party. I not one of them, to my knowledge, ever expressed or entertained a desire for the election of General Houston.

To encourage him in what I regarded a very laudable object, I expressed the belief that both the Whig and Democratic parties were moving forwards, notwithstanding the efforts being put forth to prevent the premolgation of truth.

My letter was written without the most distant thought of ever again acting, or hearing from it yet there is not a word or sentiment in it that I could wish to keep from the public eye. Nor did I suppose that Mr. Donaldson's letter to me, or its author, would ever again be thought of by me. The letter was never preserved on file, but was thrown among the waste paper of my office.

You refer to the connection in which my letter is published. It is that, and that alone, which gives it the least importance. But every one who reads it will see that it has no more reference to General Houston than it has to General Lopez; in the Democratic Convention than to the Cuban expedition; that had my letter been published in connection with the Cuban invasion, it would have implicated me in that affair to the same extent that it does in the plot to elect General Houston.

Again: Mr. Donaldson says that Mr. Chase and myself may be relied upon in Ohio. As already stated, I know nothing; neither have I any letter received from me any other communication than the letter which has been published. Of that, every reader sees judge as well as Mr. Donaldson. It was intended to express the real sentiments of my mind upon the subject mentioned in it. On reading it again, I can discover no reasonable grounds to distort its meaning, either by Mr. Donaldson or any other person.

Very respectfully
J. R. GIDDINGS.

MIRACULOUS ESCAPE OF JUDGE CONKLING.—Under this head, the *Buffalo Republic* says:—

'Our readers will be rejoiced to learn of the escape of this learned and benevolent gentleman from an untimely end. In will be in the recollection of our readers that Mr. Commissioner Smith, at the conclusion of the hearing of the fugitive case, made the following emphatic declaration:—

'That slave shall go back to Kentucky to his master, according to my decision, and if any one dare to oppose that decision, he shall be shot down.'

The danger, we need scarcely say, was imminent, but the Judge, we are delighted to learn, absolutely escaped from the city with a whole skin, notwithstanding many attempts on the part of the patriots to 'blow him up.'

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.
AMOS G. BEMAN, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1851.

Call for a National Convention
OF THE
LIBERTY PARTY.

The subscribers, members of the National Committee of the Liberty Party, do hereby give notice, that a National Convention of the said Party will be held in the city of Buffalo, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 17th and 18th days of next September.

It is expected that the Convention will nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. But this will occasion only a small share of its time. The Convention will, doubtless, be principally occupied with inquiries into the true office of Civil Government, and with arguments for insisting that the administration of Civil Government shall, no less than in the conduct of individuals, be just—impartially and universally just.

We do not expect a large Convention. The Liberty Party is unpopular; and as a rule as unpopular. Scarcely any, but its handful of members, have so much as a kind word for it. Even reformers hate and ridicule it. They hate it, because its uncompromising character reflects upon their own bargaining expediency:—and because it insists, (and what less can it do, and be just?) that Civil Government is bound to redress all political wrongs—the wrongs of the white man, as well as the black man—the wrongs of one sex, as well as of the other—they hold up the Liberty Party to ridicule, under the name of the 'Omnibus Party,' or the 'party of nineteen ideas.'

The Abolitionist is impatient with the Liberty Party, because it will not consent to be a mere abolition party; and the land-reformer is impatient with it, because it will not consent to be a mere land-reform party. The free-trader expects no good from the Liberty Party, so long as it concerns itself with any other evil than tariffs; and the temperance man cannot be reconciled to it, whilst it aims at any thing else than to array Civil Government against dram-shops.

The Liberty Party, as well as any other political party, would like to increase its numbers. But, it dare not increase them, and it has no heart to increase them, by abandoning its great and distinctive principle. This is, that Civil Government must be just, equally just, ever just, toward all classes of its subjects. Civil Government, whilst it must suffer none of its subjects to be robbed of their liberty, must suffer none of them to be robbed of their land. It is no less true, that land is the birthright of all, than that liberty is the birthright of all. Indeed, the chief reason why millions are robbed of their liberty, and brought under the yoke of slavery, is, that they had already been robbed of their land, which was the indispensable protection of their liberty. Civil Government whilst it must protect its subjects in their natural right to buy and sell freely wherever they please, must also protect their lives and dwellings against the manufacture of maniacs by dram-shops. And, whilst nothing is more clearly the duty of Civil Government, than to defend the present generation from being compelled to pay the debts of former generations, nothing is more absolutely due from it then to protect woman in the enjoyment of her natural right to control her own property, and to participate in the choice of her civil rulers.

That the Liberty Party should be held by the mass of the wise and good to be unphilosophical and foolish in setting itself against all, and simultaneously against all, political wrongs, strikingly illustrates both the fact and the power of a false education. A man finds himself to be a liar, a thief, a drunkard, and an adulterer. Now, they who consider the philosophy of the Liberty Party, must, to be consistent with their own voting, bid this man work his reformation by making war upon one of his vices, and by keeping himself indifferent, for the time being, to his other vices. Nay, they must do far worse than this. They must bid him positively encourage and uphold all his other vices except the one he is betting with. We are authorized to say so, for the reason, that they vote not only for a candidate, who, whilst espousing their favorite reform, is indifferent to all other reforms, but, oftentimes also, for a candidate who is positively and most effectively hostile to all other reforms. Will the candidate wield his office for the slave? then will abolitionists vote for him, notwithstanding he will wield it against the landless, against free-trade, and against oppressed woman. Will the candidate use his official influence to restore to the landless their share of the land?—then, however oppressively that influence will be exerted in all other directions, land reformers will, nevertheless, vote for him.

Surely, the philosophy of these, who would procure one reform at a time, and neglect every other, until that one is crowned with success—nay, who would, knowingly and positively, strengthen every other wrong, whilst busy in overthrowing one wrong—is not the philosophy of reason nor religion. God's blessing cannot be on philosophy which is so entirely at war with His imperital rectitude and his universal love. He is not against one wrong to-day, and against another to-morrow. But He is against all wrongs, now and ever—and he requires his children to be likewise.

How blessed and how speedy would be the revolution, were all the wise and good men of this land to come together, under the name of the Liberty Party, or some other name, with the high and holy, and never-to-be broken purpose of voting for no men for civil office, but such as hold that Civil Government should be administered with impartial justice; and that the wrongs of one class of persons should not be redressed, at the expense of neglecting the wrongs, and still less, at the expense of positively sacrificing the rights, of any other class of persons!

We said, that we do not expect to see a large Convention. But we, nevertheless, do expect to see a good one. We expect to see in it wise and true men and women from a large share of the Free States. There are men and women, who discard unprincipled expediency, and rely on truth and justice, and who believe, that a party, however small, must, if it surrenders itself to the guidance of reason and religion, do infinitely more good service than a party, however numerous, whose policy is that of human cuoning, instead of Heavenly wisdom,—the policy of a poor, fallible, God-disowning, calculation, instead of the policy which trustingly identifies itself with the claims of an everlasting and universal justice.

There is great need of this Convention—great need, that the wise, and strong, and brave and upright of the land come to it to counsel with each other, in respect to the deplorable condition of our superlatively guilty country. The Convention would be needful, were it only for the purpose of having it considered what attitude we should take and maintain toward the diabolical Fugitive Slave Law, and toward the political and ecclesiastical recreants, who are its most responsible authors and upholders. But, this law is only one of many high crimes against God and man, which will cleave the attention of the Convention. The political liabilities of women, the slandering character of the land; the oppression of tariffs; the insecurity of life and property, while the laws permit the traffic in intoxicating drinks; these and other political wrongs, as well as slavery and its horrible exactions upon both the whites and the blacks, concern all those who are laboring for the establishment of a righteous Civil Government. Let us, then, have a full Convention—full of people—and no less full of wisdom and integrity. For such a Convention there will be enough to do.

JOHN THOMAS,
THOMAS WHITE,
JOSEPH R. JOHNSON,
G. JOHNSON, N. Y.
S. R. WARD, Mass.
J. H. COLLINS, Illinois.
E. ROBERTS, Ohio.

THE BUFFALO CONVENTION.

Owing to our absence, the call for the Convention has not appeared in our columns as it should. There were some reasons why many persons did not rely upon our paper for information. We left orders for the publication of the Call, however, when we left, but our poverty, and the neglect of our friends, (we don't suffer much from our enemies,) compel us to travel, and lecture, and canvass for the Citizen constantly.

But we hope the Convention will be well notified in local papers. We hope Free Soil and other papers will give the word as a matter of news.—Many who would be glad to attend, will have no other convenient means of information. The members of the craft will confer a favor by noticing the fact, that such a Convention is called, and we shall most cheerfully do twice as much for them. Say what you please, gentlemen, and tell the people that such a meeting is to be held at Buffalo, on the 17th and 18th inst.

Let there be a real representation of the black people there. Let such men as Jones, of Illinois, Banks, of Michigan, Stynes, of Wisconsin, Day, of Ohio, McCune Smith, of Eastern New York, (Douglass, of Western New York, will be sent to be there,) Whipper, of Pennsylvania, Morris, of Massachusetts, Beman, of Connecticut, Freeman, of Maine, and Brackett, of New Hampshire, be in the Convention. Any of the gentlemen above named can find an abundant number of substitutes. By all recess let the crushed class be fully represented. The counsel, the sympathy, the encouragement, the hope, afforded and excited by our mingling in such gatherings we especially need at this time. And the whites who will be there, need to be brought into that contact with black men of intellect and respectability, which will help neutralize their remaining prejudices, and teach them, by practice, more of the doctrine of human equality and brotherhood, doctrines which unfortunately many Abolitionists know but too little about.

Then it were worth something to cross the ferry at Black Rock, near Buffalo, and go to see Daniel, made free from the decision of the slaveocrat, H. K. Smith, by the decision of Judge Conkling, the unionist.

We hope that the Buffalo Convention will be the occasion of uniting the real radical friends of Equal Rights. Such a union is needed. Let the men who agree upon the nature and character of Slavery, and the real—not the moral relation of the Federal Constitution to that infernal system—those who agree with Goodell, Spooner, Smith, and Tiffany—and who go the doctrine of inalienable Rights in its universal application, impartially come together, and call themselves what they please. Do they agree to act out the principle of true Democracy, in all directions? Let all such come. Let them agree. Let them unite. Let them put aside nomination. Men of principle, self-sacrifice, earnest devotion to the cause, tried integrity, sterling character. Let such receive the nominations of the Convention, and the abominable old Battle of Slavery shall tremble. Pro-Slavery politicians will fear.—The honest masses will hope. The crushed and enslaved will rejoice. Let there be no compromising of principle, no yielding up of conscientious convictions, no sacrifice of God's demands upon the altar of expediency, for the sake of numbers, or any other sake, and the Convention will be one of great and lasting good.

We may not be in this Convention. We are too poor. And there will be more need of our talking to some dozen and a half of our hard-handed fellow workers, in some backwoods log school house, (and for such an occupation our humble and scanty talents better fit us, than for any other employment;) and our present series of engagements may be so imperious that we may not be able to attend this great meeting. But, as one of the people, we will once more suggest that Gerrit Smith, of New York, and James H. Collins, of Illinois, be the nominees. Mr. Smith is our first and only choice for the Presidency. We shall never vote for any man who, in our humble judgment, less fully represents our principle than the MAN OF PETERBORO'. But should Mr. Smith persist in declining a nomination,

and should the Convention be controlled by the disposition of Mr. Smith, (a thing not at all necessary,) we should be glad to see James H. Collins named for the Presidency, and some such man as Samuel Aaron, of Pennsylvania, Lindley Murray Moore, or William Goodell, of New York, for the Vice Presidency. But there are many good men, and the Convention can find and nominate none of them. We pledge not our own feeble support in advance, for two reasons. One is, it is not worth being pledged, and the other is, we learned better than that some years ago.

But let there be a great and glorious gathering. Let those tired and sick of a Whig party, destitute of the first element of the Whigism of 1776, a party with Millard Fillmore, the scourge of the Poor, the hated of the Just, the despised of the Unjust at its head, a party pledged to the support of the Fillmore Kidnapping Law; let these who are disgusted with a Democratic party, eschewing any real Democratic idea, and trampling under foot the best principles of Thomas Jefferson, shewing themselves more anxious to serve Slavery, than to serve their God or their country; let all those who have looked to and hoped of these two rivals in demagogueism in vain for their country's weal, or for the laboring man's protection, come up to the Convention.

FREE TRADE VS. TARIFFS.

We said in a former article that we oppose Tariffs, because of their war upon commerce. We do not mean to be understood to defend and uphold the commercial class, as a class, to receive especial favor of the government. We do not believe a more corrupt, a more unprincipled class of men infest the nation, than the commercial class. They make up that miserable band of slave-catcher's tools, the Union Safety Committee of New York city. For the sake of their trade with the South, they would stifle the humanity of the universe, if they could. They lay upon the altar of Mammon, all the precious interests of immortal man, when a severe exigency demands it. Were they manly enough to make Recent tyrants, it were another thing. But they are mere instruments of tyranny. They will do *any thing* to get southern trade, and when they can by such means become slaveholders, they make the worst of man-stealers. They will control the votes of the clerks, carmen, porters, and other workers subject to their employment, and they take pains to secure these votes for Slavery. They stimulate mobs to crush free Anti-Slavery discussion. They allow their slaveholding masters to do any thing, however oppressive, in Congress, and actually help them to do it. They allow the Constitution to be trodden under foot in regard to black seamen, and never question the propriety of it. They will try to crush such men as Bowen and McNamee, just because they sell *silks* and not *principles*. Principles the New York and Boston merchants *never sell!* They seldom have any, and such as they have can very easily be put up in a box of goods, *however full said box may be*. In a word, they are at once the most wealthy, the most domineering, the most aristocratic, and the most servile, and we think, nearly, if not quite, the most corrupt class of men in the country. It was to please them that Henry Long was sent to slavery, and for the same reason Boldon was sent. They fed George Wood, they make Judge Nelson, the Ellenborough of New York, what he is. For them, and not for Christ, *Krebs, Hawks, Spring and Cox preached their damnable heresies*. To please them, Sims must be returned, and the rescuers of Shadrach put on what was called a trial before the *Boston Jeffries, Peleg Sprague*. Indeed, but few men are aware how much of the deep and awful corruption of the pulpit, the press, and the government, is owing to the commercial class. We ask no favors for (nor *from*) them. We only say, that for this, as for all other classes of business men, the government should be a safeguard of rights.

Our opposition to a Revenue Tariff shall be the burden of this article. A Revenue Tariff is a tax upon consumption rather than upon ability. The poor man consumes as much, at least, as the rich man. His family is as large, and his natural wants are as many. The object of a tariff being to shift the burdens from the rich, the tariff makers always see to it that the necessaries of life shall be taxed more, in proportion, than the luxuries. This brings the burthen of taxation chiefly upon the poor people, who are obliged to use much of the necessaries of life, while the comparatively small tax upon luxurious articles falls on some of them, and so to aid the rich in bearing their small portion of the burden of taxation. Our belief is, that the chief burdens of the government should be borne by those most able to bear them. That the rich should pay according to his riches, and the poor according to his poverty. But this just and equal rule cannot be adopted and applied under a Revenue Tariff arrangement.

As an example of the injustice and inequality of this sort of taxation, take the case of a soldier and an officer in the late Mexican war. The soldier receives seven dollars a month, the officer sixty dollars a month. The officer and the private get shot, so as to lose a limb. Both are disabled for life. The private and the officer are equally taxed to support the government, under a tariff arrangement, though the difference in their income be so great. While in the war, the wife and the children of the poor private are paying as much to support the government as the family of the officer are paying. But some of the officers get three hundred and sixty dollars a month, yet the government gets no more support from such than from the poorest private. If this be fair, just and equal, then we know not what is unfairness, injustice and inequality. Here in New England, we say a great deal about our factory system, and its blessings to the operatives. But such family of those operatives is taxed as much to support the government, as the families of the owners are taxed. This inequality and downright injustice of the Revenue Tariff system, we do and ever shall oppose. Before we adopt, or approve, or advocate it, we must give up the doctrine of Equal Rights—we must treat the democratic idea, 'equal and exact justice to all men,' and 'no monopolies, no favored classes,' just as the democratic party treats them; i. e., *trample them under foot*.

Direct taxation, as a means of revenue raising, is certainly more just, more equal, and more democratic. It would only cause one man to pay according to his abundance, and another according to his smaller possessions. This is the rule by which state, county, and all other local revenue is raised, and we can see no good reason why the revenue of the general government should not be so raised. Besides, the great number of officers of the Customs, employed and paid out of the hard earnings of we, the people, would not be necessary under a system of direct taxation. And it is no small item in the list, to have the prodigality of Federal office-holders checked, and to have them constantly under the vigilent eye of the people, and to have the said people, through such inquiries, as it would be both their right and their interest to make, hold the office-holders to a strict accountability.

Such, generous friends, are some of our reasons for having long since repudiated the Revenue Tariff system. They are with us final and controlling. We know little, and care less, about politics, only so far as right and wrong are concerned. What we now say seems to us to be right, the opposite wrong. If you think otherwise, say so.

LETTER FROM A 'CHATTEL.'

ELMIRA, N. Y., Sept. 2d, 1851.

DEAR SIR:

A letter has just come to my hands from a sister in slavery to a fugitive brother, which I am authorized to publish as it stands:—

———, Va., Aug. 18th, 1851.

DEAR BROTHER:

I have long promised myself the privilege of writing you a few lines; I now embrace the opportunity to do so. I hope this may find you in good health, as it leaves us all. There has been no change with us. Brother, you cannot tell how much I want to see you and the boys, but I fear this will never be my privilege on this earth; but if we never meet in this world, I trust we all shall meet in heaven, where parting and sorrow can never come. Strive on, brother!

'Here's my heart, and here's my hand,
To meet you in that promised land.'

My oldest boy lives near to me. I see him quite often. He has grown to be quite large. My younger lives some distance from me. He is a promising boy. I do wish you had him; you could make a smart boy of him. He often speaks of you.

I should like to know if your boys live near. You please to give a great deal of love to them from us all. Tell them I often think of them at the 'throne of grace.' Tell them to strive to enter in at the 'strait gate.' We feel very anxious to hear from you. You promised to write C. a long letter next time; but you must write me the long letter, as you wrote to her last. M. was married in June; came up and staid a week. She is a very fine woman. They had several parties given them. You must not expect me to write a nice letter, as I take very little interest in any thing, except my meetings.

Please let me hear from you soon. I will send my letter down by brother B.; he is up visiting his family. He sends his best love to you. Sister desires to send her best love to you all. She has not heard any thing from her husband. No more at present, but remain,

Your devotnd sister until death,

———

To ———

This letter I have copied word for word, only correcting the spelling. The language is chaste, the style laconic, and exhibits good taste. What a pity that such a writer should be among the marketable commodities of this *free* Republic!

I am, sir, yours for the slave,

CALVIN FAIRBANKS.

LETTER FROM J. R. J.

BROTHER WARD:

Do help us to repeat to 'all the world and the rest of mankind,' the following well chosen words of WASHINGTON STICKNEY, of Canastota, N. Y. He says:—'I should be willing to abandon all party names, if we can secure thereby, more effectually, the co-operation of all the real friends of the cause, without at the same time yielding some point essential to the establishment and maintenance of righteous civil government. *That* sacrifice we cannot afford to make, even though we might secure thereby the co-operation of the whole created universe; for even then we should be found in a despicable minority. GOD, the great Author of civil government, would be against us.'

Let us go to our Convention on the 17th and 18th inst., and adopt such a creed as that, and we shall have a 'Buffalo Platform' which will stand the test.

Friends in Oswego county, N. Y., will excuse me from engagements with them. Reasons given when we meet. Those in several counties who can respond to my letters about a Home for a Missionary, will confer on me a great favor by doing so at the Buffalo Convention, or by letter to Syracuse, by the 25th Sept.

Yours, J. R. J.

☞ We copy the following notice of a work which should be read by every colored man from a letter in the *Liberator* of this week, written by R. D. Webb, of Dublin:—

'I am desirous to introduce to the notice of abolitionists a work they may not have seen, and with which I have been very much pleased. I allude to a little volume on Jamaica, by Mr. Bigelow, of the *N. Y. Evening Post*, and lately published by Putnam, of New York. It is written with great clearness, ability and impartiality, and gives a most attractive description of the island and its resources. He concedes that the value of the great sugar plantations has been greatly deteriorated since the abolition of slavery, not in consequence of this event, but merely because the result—which was at any rate sure, for a great part of the island was heavily mortgaged, long ago—was somewhat accelerated by emancipation. He says nobody in Jamaica desires the restoration of slavery. The emancipated slaves are rapidly acquiring property, and a right to the elective franchise. The island is consider much more salubrious than is commonly represented, and affords vast facilities for the attainment of independence, and even great wealth, to such as would settle in it with a determination to be industrious and energetic. Its resources are almost exhaustless, but are not called upon as they might be, in consequence of the contempt for labor that prevails, as one of the evil relics of slavery, and which leaves an excellent opening for free colored people from America to come in and outstrip the indolent and less educated natives of the island. Mr. Bigelow is no advocate for slavery, in any shape or manner, although I see no recognition of the labors of the abolitionists in its pages. His work conveys a very favorable impression of his talents and humanity. He triumphantly answers the statements that have been so often made respecting the impossibility of procuring laborers, unless at high wages, in Jamaica. He shows that the wages paid by the planters are not sufficient to procure the necessaries of life, in a country where, owing to the exclusive cultivation of sugar and coffee on the great plantations, there is little attention left for the raising of other articles, which the soil could produce in the most bountiful abundance. I would earnestly recommend you to read this book, and to give copious extracts on the fourth page, for the benefit of those intelligent colored people who would prefer abundance and equality in Jamaica to the contempt and slavery that threaten them under the rule of Daniel Webster, who, as N. P. Willis declares, is 'every inch a king.' This was meant as a piece of flattery, but, in the present state of Naples, I don't reckon it any great compliment. Nobody can deny that Daniel's recent conduct is that of one who is eminently disposed to play the parts of sycophant and tyrant together—'two single gentlemen rolled into one.'

☞ We find the following account of a horrible affair in the Woodville (Miss.) Whig of the 1st inst. During the last few days, a report has been in circulation in our vicinity to the following effect:—'It is stated that on Friday last, as three children were returning to their home from school, near Liberty, in Amite county, they were overtaken by a pack of dogs, in pursuit of runaway negroes. The dogs fell upon them, and before assistance could be rendered, killed and nearly devoured every one of them. The father of the children, hearing their screams and the barking of the dogs, ran out with his gun and succeeded in killing two of them. At this time, the owner of the dogs rode up and threatened to shoot the father if he shot any more of the dogs. The distressed father re-loaded his gun, and deliberately shot the owner of the dogs through the heart, after which he gave himself up, was tried, and discharged. We have not heard the names of any of the parties.'

SCRIBBLINGS.

☞ The New York State Whigs united upon a sort of platform, which it was hoped would cement the party together, so as to carry the State against the Democrats. One of the planks of the platform is, *that both sections should abide by the laws, as construed by the courts*. This plank not only included, but referred directly to, the Fugitive Slave Bill. The Silver Grays had no doubt but that the courts would construe that law according to their liking. They were well enough pleased, therefore, with this part of the platform. Indeed, it is not to be doubted, that this plank was proposed and insisted upon by that portion of the party. Soon after this agreement, the case of Daniel occurred, and the abominable ruling of H. K. Smith gave the poor man up to the Marshal, to be taken into slavery. Through the indefatigable labors of H. B. Love, Esq., the case of Daniel was brought before Judge Conkling, of the U. S. District Court. Judge Conkling issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, which freed Daniel. Such is the Fillmore Slave Bill, as construed by Judge Conkling, a Whig Judge—that the writ of *habeas corpus* can take a man out of its fangs and clutches. According to the agreement, the whole party are bound to receive and stand by the law, and to sustain Justice Conkling in his admirable decision. So the 'National' faction of the New York Whigs have not gained so much, after all—have they?

☞ We hope the Buffalo National Convention of the 17th and 18th inst. will be full of interest. Let there be a great representation of black men.

☞ The American Missionary Association held their next Annual Meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 24th inst. May there be a good gathering of those who are tired of sending the gospel to the heathen through pro-slavery Missionary Boards, and by money extorted from the unpaid toil of heathen at home!

☞ The Senior Editor in in Portage county, Ohio.

☞ If those who honestly owe for the *Citizen* would pay us for what time they have had it, and not for what time they have not had it, we could issue regularly, and pay our debts beside. If we fail utterly in this effort, we shall make no more trials. If impossible to live a living at honest hard work at this profession, we must try some other. Our obligations to our family and our creditors are imperious, and they shall be honored. Thank God, we can earn something with the hoe and spade. If we cannot with the pen and tongue. We can live by intellectual labor in some other country, if we cannot in this.

☞ Friend Randolph—James W. Randolph, we mean—has established an office at No. 192 Tremont street, for the sale of books, periodicals, &c. Were one-half the black young men of our country as enterprising as James W. Randolph, they would maintain a different character, and, as a result, they would reach a different destiny. Mr. R. is our Junior Editor. It was he who laid the lash on the black, servile, lickspittle barbers, a few weeks since. Keep them squirming, James! they deserve it, the dastards!

☞ Don't forget the King Fund. Who gives?

☞ 'Bob. Markle' is a new correspondent of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Who is he?

☞ Those who wish to attend the Buffalo Convention can pass over the New York State Railroads at half price, on account of the arrangements for the State Fair. A good chance.

☞ Calvin Fairbanks has kindly consented to act as our Agent.

☞ Judge Nelson and George Wood, of New York, are earning from the Union Safety Committee, and from the slaveholders, just such a reputation as they wish for and deserve. Whatever their masters demand of them, they readily yield, at whatever expense of law, liberty, right, humanity, or manhood. We can neither give ep Hemp or Hall while such men are about. The Gallows and Hades seem made on purpose for such folks.

☞ The Free Soilers of Ohio are exerting themselves more actively than are the Free Soilers or Abolitionists of any other State. Messrs. Giddings and Root, and Samuel Lewis, Esq., are stumping the State, in good earnest.

☞ Hon. S. P. Chase, U. S. Senator from Ohio, has gone over to the Democratic party, turning his back upon Samuel Lewis and the Free Soilers. We never regarded that gentleman as a sound and through abolitionist. Our good friend, J. H. Collins, of Chicago, now sees that his opinion of Senator Chase was no more than just.

☞ The Court House of Warren, Ohio, is the most shabby public building we ever saw.

☞ A slave of a Mr. Donaldson, of Nashville, Tenn., left his master at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 2d inst.

☞ We want every cent that is due us, *now!*

LEVI WOODBURY.

The very sudden demise of Judge LEVI WOODBURY, at Portsmouth, N. H., affords a striking commentary on the vanity of earthly aims and expectations.—Whether in one situation or another—in Congress or on the Bench—he has improved every opportunity and spared no pains to propitiate the accursed Slave Power of this country, to the utter disregard of the principles of justice and humanity, and the unbiased judgment of posterity; and was, doubtless, cherishing the hope that, as the reward of his servility, he should be the testamental candidate of the Democratic party, in the approaching Presidential struggle. For his partisan support of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the part he took judicially in the case of poor Sims, he would long be infamously remembered in this country, by all who revere God and love liberty impartially, were it not for the sure prediction, that 'the memory of the wicked shall rot.' He has done much to vitiate the integrity of law, and to corrupt the public mind in regard to human freedom and equality—all the while pretending to be a devotee at the shrine of Democracy. But his career has suddenly terminated, giving fresh solemnity to the interrogation of Jesus—'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'

We deem it before the necessity of a notice like this; but it is a necessity rendered all the more imperative, in consequence of the fulsome and indiscriminate panegyric which the public journals are bestowing upon the character of the deceased,—thus holding up to the rising generation, as worthy of the closest imitation, an example which cannot be too carefully shunned or too strongly condemned.—*Liberator.*

END OF THE CUBAN INVASION. Authentic intelligence from Havana announces the capture and execution of Gen. Lopez, the leader of the American buccaneers who recently attempted to excite a revolution in Cuba. Lopez was taken prisoner at San Cristobel on the 29th August.

In demonstration of the joy it produced in Havana, flags were hoisted, guns fired, and, at night, the principal buildings were illuminated, torch light processions formed, &c.

Lopez was taken in the interior, wandering alone, and nearly exhausted from fatigue and hunger. He asked for something to eat at a farm house, and permission to lie down. While asleep, he was bound and made prisoner. He was brought to Havana on the 31st, and publicly *garoted* on the morning of the 1st September, at sunrise.

The execution was witnessed by 5000 troops and as many citizens. He ascended the platform, and made a short speech. His last words were—'I DIE FOR MY BELOVED CUBA!' He then took his seat. The machine was adjusted, and in two minutes he was dead.

Of his followers, over one hundred are now imprisoned in Havana, and are to be sent to Spain for life, with confinement at the galleys. They say their sufferings have been beyond all power of description. For several days, they lived upon the leaves of trees, &c. The last meal they ate was the horse of General Lopez. They had no arms when taken. The remainder have either been shot, or they have perished from hunger. Capt. Platt, of the Albany, visited the prisoners in prison, and gained some interesting accounts, which he will despatch to the States.

The prisoners say that in no instance have the Creoles of Cuba manifested the least disposition to join them.

Gen. Enna was killed at the head of an advancing column, while in conflict with Lopez and his forces. He was second to Concha, Governor General of Cuba.

Aid to the Spanish Government.—In a recent debate in the Spanish Cortes, on a call for information concerning the antecedents of the last expedition of pirates, commanded by Don Narciso Lopez, against the island of Cuba, the Marquis of Miraflores, one of the ministers, in answer to an inquiry proposed by Senor Badia, one of the deputies, observed that all he could say at that time was, that 'the naval force of England and France, and the state of our relations with those countries, offer us the certain means of preserving the integrity of our valuable island.'

Death of Hon. Levi Woodbury.—This distinguished person died at his residence in Portsmouth, N. H., on the 6th instant, about 4 o'clock, P. M. In his official career, Judge Woodbury had been Chief Justice of the Courts of New Hampshire, Governor of that State, one of its Senators in Congress from 1825 to 1831, Secretary of the Navy and afterwards of the Treasury under General Jackson and Martin Van Buren, again Senator from New Hampshire, and finally one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States by the appointment of Mr. Polk.

Cool.—The National Era, which some people suppose to be an anti-slavery paper, speaks of Maria Weston Chapman as 'a noted abolition woman, in or about Boston, who is *reported* to entertain a deep interest in the anti-slavery cause.'—*Madison County Journal.*

Death of Dr. Fitch, the Conspirator.—The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser of Wednesday, last week, says:

'We learn by a gentleman from Detroit, that Dr. Fitch, the leader of the gang of railroad conspirators, died yesterday. He is the third one who has died since the commencement of the trial—a singular fatality. It is supposed that they poisoned themselves.'

Colored Population.—New Jersey has a larger colored population in proportion to its size and white people, than any other of the free States; and more than half of all the free colored people in the Union are to be found in the five Middle States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. The three adjoining States, Virginia, North Carolina and Ohio, contain over 100,000 more, leaving less than 100,000 in the other twenty-two States, there being comparatively few free negroes in the Eastern and Western States.

The Savannah Republican publishes a letter from a Georgia State Senator at Boston, who states that, after traveling through all the Northern and Eastern States, he had seen but one abolitionist, and he was for the compromise!

Immense Flight of Grasshoppers.—On Sunday last, at about 12 o'clock, M., a flight of grasshoppers passed over our city, continuing some three hours, and extending some miles to the east and west, which in point of numbers exceeded all computation. The sky was perfectly full, and in the rays of the sun myriads could be seen, looking like snow-flakes, moving about in circles, and apparently going southward. Some eight years ago, a similar phenomenon was observed in this city, but this is said to have been on a much larger scale.—*Reading, Pa. Press, 12th ult.*

☞ The Houston papers say the Indian Chief Wild Cat has 1800 runaway negroes at his town, lately built at Eagle Pass.

☞ Monigomery, the English poet, will be eighty years of age on the 5th of November next, on which day the citizens of his native town of Sheffield intend honoring him by the erection of a statue.

☞ The death of the Right Rev. Dr. Dallard, R. C. Bishop of New Brunswick, is announced as having taken place at Fredericktion, on the 29th ult.

☞ A colored barber at Westfield attempted to murder his wife on Friday afternoon last, by cutting her throat. When pursued, he cut his own throat in a horrible manner. Both are in a very critical condition.

☞ The cholera has been making fearful ravages at Batavia. Throughout the Dutch possessions, it is estimated that from 12,000 to 13,000 were attacked during too late visitation, of which number fully one half perished.

☞ A Free Soil Convention will be held at Worcester, on the 16th of September. Charles Allen, of Worcester, has been chosen one of the delegates.

☞ Six runaway slaves from Wood county, Va., were arrested near Bloody Run, Bedford county, Pa., 16th ult., and carried back.

Abolition of Slavery by Portugal.—Advices from Lisbon of the 9th Aug., received by the America, state that the Portuguese government was preparing to decree the entire extinction of slavery within its dominions, as also more stringent measures for suppressing the traffic gradually on the coast of Africa.

W. L. Chaplin.—We see by the New York papers, that Wm. L. Chaplin, late of the Maryland prison, was recently married at Glen Haven Water Cure, to Theodocia Gilbert.

Melancholy Accident on the Hudson River Railroad.—On Thursday afternoon, as a gravel train, with a powerful locomotive attached, was coming down the track at full speed, it was obstructed by several cows and hogs lying on the track, which threw the entire train down an embankment of ten or fifteen feet. Three men were killed, two seriously wounded, and others are more or less injured.

Mutability.—The *Portsmouth Journal* says:—'The Democratic papers of New Hampshire, only ten days ago, had at the head of their columns the names of Levi Woodbury for President of the United States, and his cousin, Luke Woodbury for Governor of New Hampshire. Now both are withdrawn by death!'

Absconding Slaves.—Many slaves in Hampshire Co., Va., are making the present a season, of 'great rush' to north Pennsylvania. The Cumberland Unionist says a large number have absconded from that vicinity within the last week, some of whom have been arrested, but the largest portion of them have as yet evaded pursuit.

Seven Negroes Killed.—The Bolivar, Mo., *Herald* mentions the death, by lightning, of seven negroes belonging to Mr. John Reeves, 16 miles south of that place. They had taken refuge during a storm under a large tree.

☞ The Whigs of Massachusetts, in State Convention, have nominated Mr. Winthrop for Governor.

☞ The venerable Henry Williams, who valiantly crammed the Webster resolution down the throats of the Scott Whigs, in Boston, the other evening, in the very man who, in 1835, tore down the sign of the Anti-Slavery Office, and threw it to the mob.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

TEMPERANCE CELEBRATION.

The members of the Elmira Temperance and Benevolent Society, No. 1, will hold their first Celebration on the 25th of September, 1851, in commemoration of the organization of the Society, on the 1st day of September, 1846, in Elmira.

In connection with the Society, the colored Sabbath School will unite with them in the Celebration. A grand Dinner will be prepared on the occasion. In inviting the public to unite, the Committee deem it unnecessary to make any appeal in behalf of the event, as it is the duty of all to pay reverence to the cause of Temperance, and show appreciation of its importance.

The procession will meet at Zion Church, in Elmira, at 10, A. M., and the services be opened with singing and prayer.

Binghamton, Ithica, Geneva and Beth Sociniss are solicited to unite with us.

There will probably be orations delivered by John A. Williams and others.

Tickets for Dinner will be 75 cents.

CHARLES HAMILTON, A. MURPHY, JOHN WILLIAMS, H. WASHINGTON, WM. DICKS, *Committee of Arrangements.*

SANDY BRANT, *President.*
WILLIAM F. GOODMAN, *Secretary.*
Elmira, Aug. 25, 1851.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

In accordance with a vote of the Women's Rights Convention, held in Worcester, Mass., the 23d and 24th of Oct. last, another Convention, for the same objects, viz., 'to consider the Rights, Duties, and Relations of Woman,' will be held in Worcester, Oct. 15th and 16th.

We invite all, both men and women, to meet at the appointed time and place, for the free and full discussion of this great question.

The work contemplated is no 'child's play'. It wars directly with the *thought*, so deeply rooted and so heavy, the woman is only an appendage, and not an integral part in the fabric of human society.

It is in full conflict with the world's teachers;—its preachers; its lawyers; its poets, and its painters. It stands opposed to those soul-blighting influences of society, which have consigned woman to an aimless and objectless existence, and have begotten a life so unworthy so peculiarly fitting and graceful for women.

Such are some of the circumstances. Come then to the Convention, prepared as thought meets thought to assist and see each new ray of light in dispelling the 'gross darkness' which envelope both man and woman relative to woman's rights, and the duties which grow out of those rights.

Reports will be presented from the Committees appointed by the last Convention; on Education, Industrial Avocations, Civil and Political Functions, and Social Relations.

In addition to those who last year gave interest to the Convention, Mrs. Coe, of Ohio, will be present.

Papers from county to the movement will please copy.

In behalf of the Committee,

LUCY STONE,
WM. H. CHANNING,
PAULINA W. DAVIS.

NOTICE.

There will be a Convention of the Liberty Party of Chenango County held at the Free Church in Sherburne, the second Wednesday of September next, at 10 1-2 o'clock, A. M., to appoint delegates to the National Liberty Party Convention, to be held in Buffalo, 17th September; and, also, to nominate candidates for County officers, &c. A. Scofield will address the meeting.

WILLIAM AVERY,
JULIUS WOOD,
BENJAMIN HORTON,
JAMES VAN VALKINBURG,
W. W. CHAPMAN,
S. K. COLE.

Sherburne, August 18th, 1851.

SELECTIONS.

From the Liberator.

ARTHUR'S HOME GAZETTE.

This periodical has now been in existence about a year. Those who are acquainted with T. S. Arthur's published works need not to be informed that it assumes a very high degree of literary refinement and taste, an exalted moral tone, and superior wisdom in all that appertains to the social, moral, intellectual and physical wants of society. As a family newspaper, it presents many good qualities; its defects are rather negative than positive. It inculcates the highest quality of the popular morality of this age and nation, and in this respect is eminently conservative. Its spirit is national in a remarkable degree. We should scarcely suppose, from its contents, that any difference could be perceived in the external manifestations of virtue and vice in any two sections of our widely extended republic; and in truth we are led to presume, with the most gratifying complacency, that there is nothing in our national character or our institutions for which we have any reason to be ashamed. It tacitly presumes to be, par excellence, the guide and instructor of youth in all virtue and righteousness which exalt a nation.

Assuming at the commencement to be neutral in politics, it carries its neutrality so far, that, like a tall tree so perfectly erect that no leaning could be discovered in the trunk from an exact perpendicular, the beholder would be unable to decide which way it would fall when subjected to the axe, unless he looked carefully at the top, where, upon examination, he might perceive that the greatest portion of foliage and the aspect of every leaf were towards the South.

Making its appearance at the time when the Fugitive Slave Law was exciting the most intense feeling all over the country, nobody would have suspected that such a law had ever been mentioned or thought of, much less called into existence. The institution of slavery in the model republic would not have been known to exist from any thing contained in the Home Gazette until after the return of Sims. Designed to have the widest circulation, to suit all latitudes, and to gather the greatest number of dollars, it avoided speaking till it could speak wisely, at the same time seeming not to speak at all; for after the rendition of Sims, it merely transferred to its columns an article from a Savannah paper, speaking of Sims as a worthless, idle and vicious vagabond, who might have obtained his liberty by purchase upon the very easiest terms, had he chosen an honest and virtuous course, but who, choosing the opposite, was now experiencing the consequences of vice.

But while this prudent on the subject of slavery, this careful conservator of public morality cud truth seized the earliest moment, after the holding of the Women's Rights Convention in Ohio, to copy into its columns, with approval, a garbled and slanderous report of its proceedings and speeches, assuming it to be a true report, and commenting upon it as such. Several articles have since appeared, containing lies by implication, and designed to cast ridicule on the movement on the one hand, and on the other to show that, as courtesy extended many indulgences and privileges to women, the effect of which upon their tempers and characters is rather questionable, and calculated to superinduce a spirit of selfishness and assumption, the slaves, the demand for rights withheld, and the removal of certain social and legal disabilities, is altogether gratuitous.

And while this impartial and neutral periodical has not scrupulously avoided touching the irritable cuticle of the peculiar institution, it took the opportunity to recommend itself to the Southern and conservative supporters by an article, the character and design of which no intelligent person could tolerate. A few weeks after the arrival of George Thompson in Boston, 'Arthur's Home Gazette' had the following, as near as I can recollect:—

'When pseudo-philanthropists from England, who see nothing wrong at home, come to this country and rail at our institutions, it would be well for them to look at the condition of the poor in their own country, and see if there is not something there to reform.'

Then follows an article taken from 'Chambers' Magazine,' detailing the condition of the peasantry of England, which every one, who is not unpardonably ignorant, knows George Thompson has so unremittingly labored to improve, as well as all classes of the English poor. Thus this high-toned moralist descends to the meanest arts which characterize the lowest demagogues of the political press, to recommend his paper to the support of the vile system of slavery; not by any direct attack upon the anti-slavery enterprise, but by more implication, and manifesting the cowardly spirit of one who carries concealed weapons, to be used in the dark.

Among the contributors to the columns of 'Arthur's Home Gazette' is one Arthur J. Stanbury, whom none of his readers will fail to perceive is a man after the editor's own heart. This Mister Arthur J. Stanbury has been writing sketches of the lives of the Presidents of the United States for the paper, which are certainly well written, and, so far as I know to the contrary, truthful and impartial.

The last number of the Gazette, August 23d, contains an article by Mister Arthur J. Stanbury, not on one of the Presidents, but on Thomas Paine, with whom it is manifest the writer has no sympathy. He congratulates himself on 'having seen the two extremes of human character, George Washington and Thomas Paine,' the last of whom he pronounces to be entitled to the 'bad eminence' of being one of his country's worst enemies. Paine was invited by Jefferson to return to the United States in 1802. 'The Invitation was placed by the President's friends solely on patriotic grounds, in consideration of the early and eminent services rendered to the cause of the Revolution by the distinguished author of 'Common Sense,' but those who knew Mr. Jefferson better could not be brought to believe such an account of the matter. True, Mr. Paine coming to America at the great crisis of our affairs, when the minds of men were like a magazine, ready to explode on the first touch of a match, did render a most acceptable and very efficient service, by writing a clear, brief, and cogent statement of our case with England; but had not that service, beside the ample revenue of fame it brought him, been rewarded by a substantial recompense in money? Had he not, too, by way of public testimonial to his merits, been placed in a public situation of honor and trust, from which he had to be disgracefully expelled? Had he not been guilty of a similar act in France? to say nothing of the disgrace in England on the same ground before he came here; and was this a man to be publicly honored? Was not the woman who accompanied him here the first time an abused, broken-hearted wife, and the woman who'eres with him the last time, the wife of another man? Was not Paine's moral character perfectly well known in England, in France, and in the United States? Would Washington have asked such a man to visit us? Ah, no!'

The writer proceeds to speak of Paine's character as an infidel, a debauchee, a drunkard, a liar, a blasphemer, a profane swearer, &c. He says, speaking of the last time he saw him, 'He was angry.' 'I never saw such eyes before or since; they seemed like inlets of the hall within.' 'And, Oh! if his eyes seemed like inlets to hell, what shall I compare his mouth to its open gate? Such torrents of oaths and blasphemy I never listened to. Every word was a curse. I stood, gazed, listened, and was instructed. And well I remember the wish that rose within me, that every man, woman and child that had ever read his "Age of Reason" could stand where I stood, and contemplate its author.' In this strain he proceeds through the whole article to speak of its subject, perhaps truthfully.

It is no part of my object to defend the character or sentiments of Thomas Paine. From my earliest boyhood, I have heard but one opinion of his private character, and it was bad. I never heard the charge contradicted that he was licentious, intemperate, and profane; and these very vices have operated to throw his religious sentiments, or his sentiments on religion, into disrepute, and to prevent, in latter days, his book from being read. Men who are hostile to infidelity, and wish its destruction, ought to thank God that he was the vile wretch he was allways represented to be, without successful contradiction. Having in my youth read Paine's political writings, which the present writer pronounces 'clear, brief and cogent,' I never had any doubt but that there were many things in his 'Age of Reason' that were more easily denounced than answered. I have heard much of his book, but never read it; but I have conversed with clergymen who had read it, and who said that though they did not wish to believe it, they could hardly avoid doing so at the time. Paine's character probably had more to do in preventing their reception of his opinions than any reasons against their seeming truth. I once had his book in my hand for a few minutes, but would not read it, though, I turned over a few leaves and discovered what was in my mind then rank infidelity, and is so yet; though since that time I have found the generality of our religious professors and teachers on Paine's side, and who are quite ready to denounce as infidelity the idea that he opposes. As it is the only sentence I ever read in the book, and which entirely satisfied me of its character and the false medium of the writer's moral vision, it is all that I can speak of as standing.

Paine could not comprehend the idea of overcoming evil with good; he was at perfect agreement with that part of the jurisprudence of Moses which declares, 'As a man hath done to another, so shall it be done unto him'; and he denounces the precept, 'If any man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also'—'Resist not evil'—'Bless those that curse you, and do good to them that hate you and persecute you,' as an absolute absurdity, tending to prostrate the dignity of the human character, and reduce the spirit of a man to that of a spaniel.' Washington, I believe, was at perfect agreement with Paine in this respect, and I believe with the sentiment here expressed the principal part of professing Christians have no controversy.

Mr. Arthur J. Stanbury closes his notice of 'this most wretched being' as follows:—

'But let us rejoice that the dark day is past; let us think of God that our fathers were so enlightened to know in the highest places (!) their true belief in the truth of Revelation. While Judge Marshall, DANIEL WEBSTER, Joseph Story and Henry Clay find evidence of the Bible's truth an impregnable vestry, let no youthful sciolist swell with the consoling conviction that he owns a mind too discriminating and too strong to be gulled with old wives' fables.'

'There!!! is not that rich? Must there not have been a shout of diabolic glee in pandemonium, when Satan from his 'bad eminence' announced to his dark conclave of spirits damned the last sentence of Mister Arthur J. Stanbury's notice of Thomas Paine? The Revelation of God's law and the impregnable vestry of the Bible's truth backed up by Daniel Webster! who con nowhere find any law of higher authority than one of his own making!!! If Paine was not sound regarding the state of the soul after death, and evil spirits know what passes among living men, may not such selfish eyes and that horrible mouth have been distorted by an infernal smile of exultation, such as an unhappy ghost, writhing in the extremity of torments, could only express? John Marshall, Joseph Story, Henry Clay, stood ye behind the 'Godlike,' and hide your diminished heads in this connection! Daniel Webster is the man, per excellence, before whom the youthful sciolist must bow, to learn with reverence, from inspired lips, the exclamation of the divine over human law! Surely, Mister Arthur J. Stanbury, who congratulates himself on having seen the two extremes of human character in George Washington and Thomas Paine,' must acknowledge, with Professor Stuart, that he was 'no old a man' when he wrote that sentence; and yet nothing else that I have seen from his pen carries with it any evidence of dotage; yet no one who reads his communications can intelligently doubt the depth of his idolatry.

But what Thomas Paine failed to accomplish by publishing the Age of Reason, the framers of our Federal Constitution undeviingly effected by simply inserting a provision for the return of fugitive slaves. Paine sought to destroy the Christian religion in theory, and failed; the Constitution struck a blow at its practice, and succeeded; and in 1851, two men, *whose characters are exactly alike*, receive denunciation for the one and homage for the other, from the same source. Thomas Paine denied the revelation and truth of the Bible, and was an infidel and a miserable wretch; Daniel Webster denies any higher law than the Constitution, and is a Christian whom good men should delight to honor. Paine was a drunkard, and therefore his opinions were detestable. Webster is a drunkard, but his opinions are worthy of all deference. Paine was licentious, and therefore unfit to receive distinguished consideration. Webster is licentious, but is worthy of the highest national honor, and to sit in the high councils of his country. Paine was a debauchee, and denied revelation, and was therefore his country's worst enemy; Webster is a debauchee, and denies the divine law, but is his country's fast friend. Paine received pay for services, and therefore had no claim to his country's consideration; Webster has received double and treble payment for his services, but his claims seem to be inexhaustible. Paine's time was a day of darkness, which caused good men to quake; Webster's day is one of glorious light, in which man should thank God that such as he should guide the State.

Verily, Thomas Paine's work has been accomplished in a way that he thought not of, but the end is not yet. The good shall yet triumph, though iniquity be framed into a law and pronounced divine; but the stultifying power of compromise with evil, who can estimate?

D. S. ORANDIN.

MORAL COURAGE.

BY MARIE MORLAU.

Not on the battle-field, alone,
With strong and hostile foes around,
'Mid tumult loud and wild affray,
Is trust moral courage found.

Too often mere ambitious men,
Excited by the lust for fame,
Have wrought strange deeds of skill and might,
And gained a victor's wreath and name.

Our country's pride and gratitude
Guard well its hallowed scroll of fame;
Nor would I, with an impious touch,
Blot from that scroll a single name.

There were brave, self-denying men,
Who met the dark and fearful strife
With stern, unwavering strength of mind,
That knew no thought of self or life.

Upon their sacred tombs shall fall
The homage of a nation's tears;
Their memory, in her heart enshrined,
Be hallowed through all future years.

Yet look not on the battle-field
For purest courage, bravest might;
For stern resolves and high-born thoughts,
That nerve the soul for deeds of right.

For in the human heart unseen,
On quiet spots by blood unstained,
Are battles fought and souls subdued,
And noblest victories often gained.

Roused by no martial pomp or noise,
From all unhealthy impulse free,
The soul, in quiet calm of thought,
Relies on its own energy.

The withering smile of ridicule,
With brave and steadfast heart to bear;
To let us weak'ning fear or man
Allure the feet to folly's snare;

All selfish thoughts of pride and ease
At duty's shrine in faith to lay;
In walk with firm unyielding tread,
Where truth and wisdom point the way.

These virtues, needed every day,
Within the common paths of life,
Require more real courage oft,
Than nerves the warrior for the strife.

They win for us no name on earth—
No marble tablet when we die—
Yet in imperishable words
Their record is inscribed on high.

THE LYNCHING OF A WOMAN IN DOWNIEVILLE, CALIFORNIA.

The San Francisco Picayune thus announces on the hanging of a woman at Downieville in the mining district. It presents a sad picture of morals in California, but we fear a true one:

'What are the circumstances of the case? A party of drunken men, rushing home after a debauch, forced the door of a private house, in which a female resided, and insulted the inmates. The house was not a brothel, nor the woman a prostitute. Of this outrage no notice was taken, but the party returning for the wicked purpose, and insulting the women with the greatest spitefulness, her Southern blood boiled over with indignation, and in a moment of passion, she seized a knife and inflicted on one of them a mortal wound. For this she was taken in the cross-roads, and publicly hanged.

'Now, we venture to say, that had this old woman been an American resident of a Mexican—had she boasted of white blood, as they call it—as though the caste of a woman, if it affected her case—at all, should not have tended to make her sentiments more lenient—had she been of the Anglo-Saxon race, instead of being hung for the deed, she would have been hailed as a heroine, and instead of an account appearing in the papers of a 'horrible murder by a Mexican woman,' every press in the State would have rung with acclamations for the 'heroic conduct of a female,' or the 'determined defence of her virtue by the fair daughter of Columbia.' It was not her guilt which condemned this unfortunate woman, but her caste and Mexican blood.

'Of her trial we know not how to speak. We know of no terms which are capable of expressing the horrible, the savage brutality of it. *Of course*, the witnesses were savage; the men who tried her needed no testimony; they thirsted for her blood, and the form of a trial was an impediment to their desires, which they cursed as they hurried through it. The Judge—John Rose, of Rose's Ranche—let his name be remembered—stated to the witnesses that they must tell the truth, 'just as if they had been sworn,' to which they assented—*and lied*; a physician who testified in her behalf was beaten; a lawyer who attempted to get justice done her, was threatened with hanging, and ordered to leave town; and amid the shouts of the blood-thirsty monsters, whose rage could hardly be restrained even for the short hour, the upright, intelligent and impartial jury brought in a verdict of murder, and condemned her to be hanged in two hours!—WHICH SENTENCE WAS EXECUTED.

'But one circumstance was wanting to make the murder of this woman unparalleled in atrocity. She was in a condition that would have made her life sacred, even in the most barbarous ages, and under the bloodiest code that ever cursed the world. *An unborn infant perished* with its murdered mother, before it saw the light.'

From the Dedham Gazette.

PUFFING NEWSPAPERS.

The scheme of one newspaper puffing another—for which I suppose they receive pay—has become, of late, so common and frequent, that it has become a nuisance to the honest reader. For instance, in The Daily Commonwealth of the 8th ultimo, I find the practice is carried so far as to have engaged such honorable men and high dignitaries as the Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, the Massachusetts Senate, as well as a late United States Senator from Massachusetts, and several representatives of the State, and the Mayor of Boston; all to puff a puffing rival, 'The American Union,' not the Union of the States, but a pro-slavery newspaper called 'The American Union,' published by R. B. Fitts & Co.

Now I happen to think the scheme to be quite out of character, and conceived in bad taste, especially by those professed Free-Soilers of the State Government who have signed the puff, as there is not a more decided pro-slavery paper in the State, notwithstanding it professes to be a neutral family newspaper. Perhaps the puff was given in consequence of several of the above dignitaries having had their likenesses presented to the gaze of an admiring world, in the columns of that paper.

In order to show your readers the sentiments of the paper, I send you extracts for publication taken from its columns directly after the Sims affair, which is chronicled without one word of disapprobation of the kidnappers.

In one article, under the caption of 'More Evidence of Fanaticism,' all those who opposed the capture of Sims are denounced as 'noisy brawlers, who lead the ultra faction of the opponents of the new law,' Theodore Parker and Nathaniel Colver are abused, 'Wright, Garrison, Phillips, Parker, Colver, *et id omne genus*, have had a grand time for the past fortnight,' &c.

I do not see how a friend of liberty can consistently patronise such a pro-slavery paper.

I see that The Commonwealth puffs up, almost every day, 'Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion,' which paper puffs up the chief mskmr of the Fugitive Slave Law, and shows the leading opponents of that enactment. So we go.

S—s.

HANDSOME FEES.

The suits brought against New York and Massachusetts, by merchants of New York and Boston, to recover back head money on emigrants, have been carried by Mr. Webster for the claimants. A bill passed the New York Legislature at its recent session to refund two hundred and odd thousand dollars of head money paid by ship owners. Mr. Webster's commissions on those suits, and others of a similar nature, are stated to reach the enormous sum of $70,000.—*N. O. Bulletin.*

It is very astonishing that with such immense fees,—together with $45,000 donated to him on his accession to the Secretaryship of State,—with $10,000, the interest of an investment made for his benefit by his friends in Boston, $6000, his salary of office and innumerable retainers, including one of $3000 for the city of New Orleans, in the McDonough case, and $1000 in the Gaines case,—that Mr. Webster should still be poor and embarrassed. His son, too, is provided for, being a lucrative office. We should consider its low estimate to place Mr. Webster's receipts, since his accession to the Secretary of State's office, at $150,000.

Thinks double the income of his highest paid official in the world, the Lord Chancellor of England, who receives about $75,000 a year. Though Mr. Webster, in his letter to Mr. Havens of Boston, hinted at the incompatibility of a Cabinet officer practising the law, he has no scruples against receiving fees which are undoubtedly, not as imposing any labor or duty, but merely as retainers—lucrativeness to balance the other side.

When a joint Committee of one Municipal Council telegraphed Mr. Webster, to know if he would undertake the defence of the city's interest in the matter of John McDonough's estate, his reply was a model, laconic one, as much so as his late telegraphic denial of the report of his resignation, as Secretary of State. It was in these words:—'Send on the money!'—*N. O. Delta.*

From the New York Tribune.

TOIL.

'Do what thou canst—no more can reason ask,
But think not unapplauded in idleness to bask.'

In the wide waiting harvest field of Labor,
I bid thee enter, with a willing heart;
Come not alone, but bring thy friend and neighbor,
And urge them on to bear their destined part.
Gird on thine armor, with Industry rife,
No longer crippled by a slothful life.

In idle, selfish ease no longer tarry,
Dreeding the toil and trouble of the day;
But one another's burdens bear, and carry
Comfort to those who labor day by day.
Rethink thee of the hands that dig the soil,
And fear them not in the same field to toil.

O if the Power and Will be but united
To rise and labor truly, heart and hand,
How soon, O friends, the wrong'd would be the righted!

And so, the nobly free, who *toil*, and stand
Ready an honest mission to achieve—
To aid, encourage, comfort and relieve!

Pass from thine own small world of self, and labor
For *others'* good, according to thy power;
Pass not to ask *who* is thy friend and neighbor;
The poor are always with you, every hour!
Work while 'tis day, for the night cometh on
When none can toil! O! then have nought undone.

From the Liberator.

THE NEW COSTUME.

Dear Garrison:

Although I am fully sensible that your columns are too valuable, at this eventful time, to be occupied with matter of small moment, yet I should like to express, through the *Liberator*, my opinion and feelings with regard to the new costume, at present so much discussed. I would be the last to call attention to a new fashion, unless I saw in it a desirable improvement. Such I think the short dress and trowsers. I believe woman has been physically injured by her dress. Long, heavy skirts, connected with bodice waists, have contributed largely to this injury; and now that fashion is for once on the side of physiology, of convenience and utility, I hail it as an omen of the good time coming. Short skirts will greatly facilitate woman's capabilities for different occupations, she being now, almost of necessity, confined by her dress to sedentary employments. I speak from experience. I find the new style decidedly advantageous as a working and walking dress. I believe every woman having the care of a family, without domestics to rise up and down stairs for her, or to take her children out for the morning air, will find her time and labor so saved as to honor the 'Bloomer dress,' and lead her to urge its adoption upon all who are disposed to make themselves useful to the extent of their abilities. I conceive it to be more modest, more convenient, more healthful, more becoming, for all occasions save the drawing-room or the sick-room, and that it is high time every true woman arrayed herself so as best to perform life's duties. I hope the readers of the *Liberator* will very seriously consider the change, startling as it may seem at first. I am sure their reason and good sense will favor it, from motives of duility, remembering that, after having had this favorable opportunity presented for considering and approving the subject, our condemnation will be greater for time and strength wasted in repairing long appurel, torn by being stepped on while going down stairs, or hitched in alighting from carriages, or muddied by the sidewalks, or wet by the grass.

In haste, yours, &c.,

ABBY H. PRICE.

Hopedale, Mass.

REST NOT.

Rest not—toiling man rest
Unnerves the man;
Struggle—'tis God's behest!
Fill up life's little span
With godlike deeds; it is the test—
The test of high-born soul,
And lofty aim
The test in history's scroll
Of every honored name—
None but the brave shall win the goal.

☞ A young artisan of Cincinnati has succeeded in the art of japanning free stone slabs with an enamel of a kind of glass, which will resist the action of all common acids, thereby making the stone to represent perfectly the finest Egyptian marble at a very trifling cost. Slabs for counters, &c., can be furnished by the inventor at about the price of common wood.

The Impartial Citizen.

S. R. WARD AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS. THE WISDOM WHICH IS FROM ABOVE IS WITHOUT PARTIALITY. VOLUME 3, NUMBER 12.

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PRO-SLAVERY.

From the Boston Courier.

PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE HIGHER LAW.

The outbreaks, from time to time, we have just had occasion to chronicle in our colonies—namely, the murder of two American citizens by an armed mob of negroes, must give a most serious and alarming turn to the thoughts of every man who has been hereto fore in the habit of looking with any forbearance upon the doings of the Abolitionists and Free Soil agitators. There is no man of common information, who does not see that this melancholy occurrence never would have taken place but for the instigations which have been addressed to the ignorant and deluded blacks by the function of the 'higher law' creed. They are the principals in the murder; the blacks are the agents; the principle will escape punishment, while the unhappy and misguided agents are sure to suffer.

All this we clearly foresaw from the beginning, and distinctly pointed out to the public, wherever coroners sense and common discretion had any connection with the newspaper press. In the nature of things, *could* any other consequences than sedition, riot and murder, with their regular concomitants of evil and suffering, follow the teachings of those madmen who have been urging people to resistance against legal authority?

Again we say, these dreadful deeds of bloodshed ought to bring to his senses every man who has been so far misled as to lend the smallest countenance to the wild and very fanatical higher law doctrine. What has been done in Pennsylvania, at the instigation of the pseudo-philanthropists in that region, might, but for mere accident, have taken place at our own doors, as a consequence of the insane ravings of Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, &c. If we have escaped bloodshed thus far, it has been owing to the greater self-restraint of the blacks in this quarter, greater vigilance of the authorities, and greater cowardice in the apostles of seditious and murder.

And now, let any one ask himself—Who are the real friends of the blacks? Are those men their friends, who stir them up to crime, and then leave them to suffer the penalties of the law? Are those men their friends who are doing their utmost to change their character from that of peaceable and inoffensive beings to that of rioters and shedders of blood? Are those men their friends, who are fomenting between them and the whites, that most savage and inexpressible of all hostilities, a war of races? Are those men their friends, who, under the cause of philanthropy, emancipation, equal rights, and the like fine-sounding phrases, have in all questions brought upon them increased oppression and minuteness, a heavier pressure of evil, and a blacker prospect for the future?—who have added weight to the chains of the slave, and made the free black an object of jealousy and suspicion?—who are making darker and more dreary the house of bondage, and removing farther off the day of universal freedom?

The sad destiny which awaits the colored race in this country, should they continue much longer under the guidance of such 'friends,' is well depicted in the following extract from the New York Express:—

'The poor negro of the free States, under the criminal advice to 'arm and shoot' of the Free Soil Abolitionists, is preparing for himself a bitter doom. The wounding of United States officers in Pennsylvania, shot by the negroes there, and the blood of Gorsuch, father and son, are very certain to result in a cry of vengeance, and in that sort of excitement of the white race against the black, which will lead to the prohibition of their further emigration into Pennsylvania, if not their expulsion therefrom. The blood of white men, in the faithful execution of the Constitution and the laws, cannot be shed with impunity by the black men; and when it is so shed, that blood will sow the seeds of retribution, the product of which, it is easy of foresee, will be the conviction that the two races cannot live together in the free States, so they have been living until the abolitionists taught them to arm against and to shoot white men. Indiana has already reached that conviction, and the negro is forbidden to enter that State; but this is only a step preparatory to his expulsion, if abolitionism keeps up its excitement and its efforts to array the black man against the white man.

The atrocious murders that have been perpetrated in Pennsylvania, by a mob of colored people, *they* are held responsible for under the laws, as they were the instruments used to perpetrate the murders; but the real murderers are the white abolitionists, who advised the negroes to arm, and to resist the law surrendering the fugitive slave. The 'higher law' we have been hearing so much of is 'theory' is only 'the musket and bullet in practice,' and when the ignorant negro is taught this higher law, he knows no other way to execute its high behests. Hence, when the *lower law*, as it is nicknamed, of the Constitution and of the Federal Government, is brought to bear upon one of his race, he naturally resorts to the higher law of shooting the other race; and so came these murders and these mobs we record to-day in Pennsylvania.

Teaching men day after day, especially the ignorant negro race, that the law which Congress has passed, and which the judges of our Courts all inculcate obedience to, is no law, if law, is law against God, and then teaching him resistance to it, in doors and out, by prevarication, falsehood, force, and murderous weapons, even, is only teaching murder, as we now see, in Pennsylvania. The greatest efforts were made in Boston to perpetrate like murders there; but the good sense of the people and the good government of the city saved Boston from the disgrace,—not, however, until a negro mob entered the sacred halls of justice, and rescued a black prisoner from the custody of the law.

Have the colored people no sense left to see where they are drifting in these United States, and to feel that the abolitionists are their greatest curses? See they nothing in that alarming omen of Indiana? Have they forgotten the riots in New York on the adoption of the Constitution of the State? Are they blind to the fact that twenty-five years ago they had a hold in the hearts and heads of the white population of these United States, which Abolitionism has nearly lost to them by its insane ravings, and its action yet more insane? The finger is on the wall—do they not see it?—which is writing now: '*Such scenes as these in Pennsylvania are expelling us from the free States.*' 'We shall be driven out as were the Acadians from Nova Scotia.' 'We are demonstrating that the white man and the colored man cannot live in the free States together.' We expect no heed to be paid to these signs by the abolitionists proper, who glory in these excitements, and revel in them as giving them the elements of agitation; but why should the colored man be duped? Why his instrument? Why fire the musket the abolitionist puts in his hand, and so be hung for the abolitionist's murder?

From the Boston Evening Journal.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE RIOT IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The late bloody riot in Pennsylvania, consequent upon an attempt to arrest a fugitive slave, requires something more than a passing notice. Indeed, we are much mistaken if it does not arrest the public attention, and lead to a serious consideration of the causes which have produced effects of so grave a character. It appears from the published accounts, that Mr. Gorsuch, a respectable citizen of Maryland, with his two sons and several United States officers and police men, proceeded to Christiana, for the purpose of arresting a fugitive slave. The colored population of the place were informed of the intended visit, and acting, it is said, under the direct advice of several leading abolitionists, assembled to the number of about eighty, formed an ambuscade, and deliberately fired upon the party—killed Mr. Gorsuch, severely wounded one of his sons, and wounded one or two of the officers.

If these statements, which we find in the Philadelphia papers, are true,—and there is too much reason to believe that they are correct,—there is no mistaking the character of outrage. It was premeditated, wanton as it was malignant. *It was not intended to secure the liberty of the slave, but to punish the master for claiming the rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution and the laws.* The liberty of the slave might have been secured without bloodshed, for it appears that the colored rioters had warning of the approach of the officers, and ample time to hurry the fugitive to a place of security. But no! the abolitionists *thirsted for the blood of the Southerners*, and they urged their ignorant dupes, the colored mob, into an attitude of hostility to the laws, and aided and abetted them in the commission of a most foul murder!

Our readers will remember, that when the case of the fugitive Sims was under examination in this city last spring, some of the prominent Free-Soilers and abolitionists counselled a resort to force to effect a rescue of the slave from the constituted authorities. The colored population were urged to go home and bring their guns, and fire upon the officers of the law. Similar counsels were given by the Pennsylvania abolitionists—the advice was acted upon, and we know as the result. We ask those who were rescue the laws, who prize the blessings of good order and good government, to consider the fruits of the seed sown by the Free Soilers and Abolitionists. Is not human life precious, and can blood be shed with impunity? Can an ignorant mob be encouraged to deeds of violence, without danger to society? Melancholy as are the results of the cold-blooded outrage in Pennsylvania, will that be the end? Will the ingenious men who have thus trampled now settle down, and become good citizens? Does not all experience prove that a spirit of disorder once aroused is not easily allayed?

The more remote consequences of this outrage will not be less serious than those to which we have alluded. The unhappy differences between the North and South having been amicably adjusted, the people of both sections were beginning to return to their old relations of harmony and good fellowship. But this affair will produce a new—this half-healed wound. It will give the enemies of the Union aid and comfort, and furnish them with an argument which will be potent to arouse the passions of the excitable. The abolitionists, who are laboring to break down the Union, may rejoice at this, but no true patriot—no sincere friend of the Union—can reflect upon this outrage, other than with feelings of deep regret and mortification.

We take it for granted that the perpetrators of this outrage will be brought to justice, and we hope that not only the *actors*, but the *instigators*, will be visited with condign punishment. The authorities of Pennsylvania owe it, not only to the credit of the State, but to the peace and well-being of the country at large, to cause the laws to be respected, and to punish those who have so boldly set the representatives of the law at defiance.

INSTIGATORS.

☞ The assassination of two American citizens in Pennsylvania, while in the exercise of their legal and constitutional rights, is directly attributable, not to the negro mob, who resisted the agents of the law, but to the short-sighted and law despising men, whose inflammatory appeals and reckless counsel induced the blacks to an outrage, frought not only with ruin and disaster to the actors, however severely aloof from molestation might be the instigators. Two white men and nine negroes have, it appears, been arrested for 'high treason,' and, if punishment is to be visited on any, we hope the law will not forget that the aiders and abettors of treason are equally guilty with the active perpetrators.—*Boston Transcript.*

From the Baltimore Sun.

THE CHRISTIANA OUTRAGE.

There is an activity of sentiment, with respect to this atrocious affair, which promises a decided and emphatic result. It is time that something was done effectually to counteract the murderous and treasonable doctrines which have been so extensively sowed in the minds of the colored people of the free States, and the fruit of which is seen in the deplorable occurrences at Christiana. The tone of the Philadelphia press is salutary and sure, if it should not be warped by subsequent considerations or party influences. The action of the general government is prompt and decisive; and the State of Pennsylvania exhibits a degree of zeal and determination which contrasts favorably, indeed, with the course she has some little heretofore evinced.

This event cannot be passed over with an indecisive result, without greatly impairing the confidence of the Southern people in that integrity of purpose which affects to regard the fugitive slave law as the law of the land, to be obeyed and carried out in good faith everywhere. The deed in question involves all the ingredients of murder, the testimony before the coroner's inquest clearly establishing deliberation, premeditation and wilful homicide. For such an offence as this, the penalty is also as clearly established, and if justice is meted out according to law, the administration of it in Pennsylvania will be exemplary in the highest degree, and exert an effective restraint upon the lawlessness of fanaticism all over the land.

From the Philadelphia Bulletin.

THE CHRISTIANA TRAGEDY.

The melancholy tragedy at Christiana, in this State, by which two citizens of Maryland lost their lives, has established, in letters of blood, the dangerous character of the modern abolitionists.

The fugitive slaves in question, when they fired on the representatives of the law, only carried out, in practice, what the abolitionists constantly assert in principle. For years past Garrison and his followers have been telling fugitives that they have a right to slay any man, be he even minister of public office, who attempts to impede their flight; and these deluded negroes, in perpetrating the atrocious murder we record to-day, have only obeyed the advice of those whom they consider their friends. Other negroes, too, who were in no danger of re-capture, have become, under the influence of the same pernicious doctrines, accessories in the murder. Nor do the guilty parties stop here. The blood of all, whether white or black, who fell in this fray, is on the souls of those who incited the riot, as fully as those who engaged in it.

We have, on more than one occasion, predicted this result from the doctrines of the Abolitionists. Man who advocate an armed resistance to law, especially in a republic, are enemies to order; and, instead of doing God service as they pretend, are damaging him by disorganizing society. The theory of a higher law, is misapplied in the case of fugitives, since it is the soundness of every law, which does not happen to please the private citizen, for it transfers the decision as to the binding force of the law from human tribunals to the individual conscience. It is manifest that, where such sentiments prevail to a sufficient, society cannot be maintained; but anarchy must follow.

This murder is among the first fruits of the teachings of these modern abolitionists. The question now is, shall the laws be maintained, or shall they not? Shall an inconsiderable knot of men, mostly fanatical in character, dictate to the majority, or shall the majority rule? The majority has said that their security, prosperity and liberties depend on the honest surrender of fugitives. On the other hand, the abolitionists say, that the peace, prosperity and liberties of the negro require resistance to such surrenders. Who is to prevail, the many or the few? The old Saxon blood, which, at vast sacrifices, founded these republics; or these African fugitives, whom we Pennsylvanians neither wish, nor will know?

For us, this is the true way to put the question.—Where the interests of two races come into collision, the weaker must yield, not merely as a matter of might, but, according to our republican doctrines, of right also. Among ourselves, we whites understand this and act upon it, whatever we may profess in point presents itself to us now. A very large portion of Pennsylvanians, perhaps a decided majority, regard the present tariff as ruinous to their interests, and the cause of the present monetary difficulties; yet, when a majority of the people of the United States have voted for this law, it is endured, with all its evils. Does white men against white, because the tariff has made him a beggar? Does the ruined man, whose sheriff comes in to sell his household effects, and turn his wife and children into the street, stand at the door and slay the officer, justifying himself on the ground that a law, which he thinks unjust, has stripped him of his wealth? And yet this is the same kind of excuse, exactly, that these fugitives make for their murder, and their abolition friends will make for them.

But enough. Every citizen, except those crazed upon the subject of abolition, will, we feel convinced, join in condemning this atrocity. That dangerous moral results will flow from this murder, is certain; and we fear they will be many and serious.—The south will have a just right to complain, if its citizens, in the legal execution of a concealed right, are liable to be murdered on the soil of the Northern States. Secession is bad enough, but modern abolitionism, which insults outrages like this, is infinitely worse.

From the Philadelphia United States Gazette.

The Christiana Murder. There can be no difference of opinion concerning the shocking affair which occurred at Christiana on Thursday—the resisting of a law of Congress by a band of armed negroes, whereby the majesty of the government was insulted, and life taken on one and the same act. It is something more than a mere ordinary, something more than a mere rumderous riot in all this. It is an insurrection—we might, considering the peculiar class and condition of the guilty parties, almost call it a civil insurrection—and if not, also, one of treason. Fifty—eighty—or a hundred persons, whether white or black, who are deliberately to arm for the purpose of resisting the law—even the law for the recovery of fugitive slaves—are in the attitude of levying war against the United States; and doubly heavy becomes the crime of murder in such a case, and doubly serious the accountability of all who have had any connection with the act as advisers, aggesters, countenancers, or accessaries in any way whatever.

Along with the first account of the atrocity—that which we published yesterday morning—was a report that it originated in consequence of some of the leading abolitionists advising the negroes to 'stand their ground,' that is, to resist—to arm and fight. We are no friends or apologists of the abolitionists; but we must say, we find it difficult to believe there can be any foundation for such a dreadful charge. Were it the behaviour of more Northern men—even the Garrisons, the Abby Kelleys, the Frederick Douglasses, who have made the name equally ridiculous and odious—were it the theatrical and rhetorical cracksports, who declare their indifference to alike of the laws of man and God, against whom the accusation was made—it would be credible enough, because they have continually preached such doctrines, and been proud to be abused, or laughed at on occasions of them. But we are not aware there are any fanatics of this description in Pennsylvania, and we should never have thought of looking for them in Lancaster county. Nevertheless, the charge having been made, ought to be investigated, and, if proved, speedily will be, as the most exact rigorous way, so that full justice may be done against all engaged in this most seditious and sanguinary tumult.

Here is the hour when all men, of all parties, openly declare that the abolitionists and their allies are GUILTY, GUILTY, GUILTY, of that damning deed, Johnston and his organ crowpin to shield themselves. A more audacious insult to the community was never dreamed of, even by desperate men who see and feel that their doom is approaching.

We will not, however, insult the reader by arguing that which has not been heretofore doubted, and which is now doubted by ten honest men in the State—and that is; that the Abolitionists are implicated in the Christiana murder. All the ascertained facts go to show that they were the real, if not the chief instigators. White men are known to have left the fugitives in the neighborhood of Christiana—and those white men are *known* to be *Abolitionists*—known to be opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law—and known to be the warm friends of William F. Johnston. And, as if to clinch the argument, no less than three white men are now in Lancaster prison, and were arrested on the morning of the 11th. And one of these white men was committed on a charge of High Treason, on Saturday last, by U. S. Commissioner Ingraham.—*Pennsylvanian.*

On would suppose, from the advice of forcible resistance, so familiarly given by the abolitionists, that they are quite unawares that there is any such crime as treason recognized by the Constitution, or punished with death by the laws of the United States. We would remind them, that not only is there such a crime, but there is a solemn decision of the Supreme Court, that all who are concerned in a conspiracy which ripens into treason, whether present or absent from the scene of actual violence, are involved in the same liabilities to the immediate actors. If they engage in the conspiracy and stimulate the treason, they may keep their bodies from the effray, without saving their necks from a halter.

It would be very much to the advantage of society, if an example could be made of some of these pestilent agitators, who excite the ignorant and reckless to treasonable violence, from which they themselves shrink; but who are, not only in morals but in law, equally guilty and equally amenable to punishment with the victims of their inflammatory counsels.—*Washington Republic.*

From the Journal of Commerce.

HORRIBLE MASSACRE.

THE DOCTRINES OF THE 'INDEPENDENT' PUT IN PRACTICE.

Colby extracts from Philadelphia papers in another column, it will be seen that the assassination doctrines of the *Independent* have been carried into effect, at a place called Christiana, in Lancaster county, Pa., upon Edward Gorsuch, of Baltimore county, the owner of a fugitive slave, and upon his son, Dickinson Gorsuch, both of whom are dead; and upon several other persons, two of whom are missing, (supposed to have been killed.)

The particulars of this horrid business are but imperfectly given in the accounts which have reached us; but of the killing of several persons, including the claimant and his son, there can be no doubt. One dispatch says, that the fugitive first shot the owner, that then the owner's son shot the fugitive, that then another negro shot the son, &c. That in just what might have been expected from an armed resistance to the laws of the land. And it is a legitimate result of the teaching of the *Independent*, and some other preachers of the Gospel of *Peace?* Are they not morally responsible for these murders? The ignorant negroes do as they are told by those whom they regard as their friends and counsellors, and may be less guilty, morally, than those who instigate them.

A dispatch from Baltimore states that the excitement there, in consequence of the above occurrences, is most intense; and so it will be throughout the Union. A more unfortunate event for the colored people could scarcely have happened. The victims of the massacre are stated to be among the most respectable inhabitants of Baltimore county. The resistance was preconceited on the part of the blacks, large numbers of whom were in ambush, armed with deadly weapons, and sprang out after Gorsuch, he returned the fire of the slave who had killed his father.

Now comes the law as an avenger, to punish the murders. Some will be arrested, doubtless, who are not guilty of murder; why should not they, too, shoot down the officers, or whoever attempts to arrest them, as well as the fugitives? The principle is the same; and if is a principle, we do not hesitate to say, direct from the bottomless pit, whoever may be its mouth-piece.

From the Philadelphia Ledger of Monday.

We received last night from the office of the Pennsylvanian a call for a town meeting, in Independence Square, on the evening of the 17th instant, for the purpose of the self-respect, of taking a high and efficient action to prevent the recurrence of so terrible a scene upon the soil of Pennsylvania, to ferret out and punish the murderers thus guilty of the double crime of assailing the Constitution, and of taking the lives of men in pursuit of their recognized and rightful property;—as well as to take preparatory steps for the protection of our rights and the rights of our brethren, under the Federal Constitution, daily imperiled and assailed by a race who can never be an object of political equals, and the prevention of whose future emigration within our borders is the only guarantee we have to render powerless the efforts of the vigilent enemies of the Republic!

We also received, from the same source, the following appeal to Governor Johnson, signed by John Cadwalader, John Swift, John W. Forney, R. Simpson, Charles Ingersoll, James Page, A. L. Roumfort, and others:

'To the Governor of Pennsylvania: The undersigned, citizens of Pennsylvania, respectfully represent.

That citizens of a neighboring State have been cruelly assassinated by a band of armed outlaws, at a place not more than three hours' journey distant from the seat of government, and from the commercial metropolis of the State.

That this insurrectionary movement in one of the most populous parts of the State has been so far successful as to baffle the ordinary ministers of justice, and paralyze the powers of the law.

That your memorialists are not aware that any 'military force' has been sent to the seat of the insurrection, or that the civil authority has been strengthened by the adoption of any measures suited to the momentous crisis.

They therefore respectfully request the Executive Magistrates of Pennsylvania to take into consideration the necessity of vindicating the outraged law, and sustaining the dignity of the Commonwealth, on this important and melancholy occasion.'

THE RIOT AT CHRISTIANA.

Certain gentlemen of Philadelphia, having addressed a quiet note to Gov. Johnson of Pa., on occasion of the late fatal affray at Christiana, speaking of it as an 'insurrectionary movement,' and informed the Governor that they were 'not aware that any military force had been sent to the seat of the insurrection, or that the civil authority had been strengthened by the adoption of any measures suited to the momentous crisis;' and finally calling on him to see that the law was vindicated, he replied as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 14, 1851.

To Messrs. John Cadwalader, A. L. Roumfort, James Page, C. Ingersoll, Isaac Leech, Jr., R. Simpson, W. Deal, Geo. H. Martin, Samuel Hays, S. R. Crawford, Thomas McGrath, John Swift, Frederick McAdams.

Gentlemen:—Your letter, without date, was this afternoon put into my hands by one of the servants of the Hotel. The anxiety which you manifest to maintain the laws of the land and the public peace, is fully appreciated, and I have great pleasure in informing you that, more than twenty-four hours before the receipt of your letter, the parties implicated had been, through the vigilance and decision of the local authorities, arrested, and are now in prison, awaiting an inquiry into their imputed guilt. The District Attorney and Sheriff of Lancaster County, acting in concert with the Attorney General of the State, deserve special thanks for their prompt and energetic conduct. This was all done early on Saturday morning, and duly reported to me by the local officers.

The testimony taken by the U. S. Commissioner, who arrived at a later period on the ground, a printed copy of which has accidentally reached me this afternoon, confirms me in the belief that the State authorities had vindicated the law, and to a large extent, arrested the perpetrators of the crime.

The cool murder of a citizen of a neighboring State, accompanied by a gross outrage on the laws of the United States, in the resistance of its process, had been committed; and you may be assured that so soon as the guilty agents are ascertained, they will be punished in its severest penalty by the law of Pennsylvania. I am very proud that the first steps detected and arrest these offenders have been taken by Pennsylvania officers.

Permit me, gentlemen, having thus removed all just cause of anxiety from your minds, respectfully to suggest, that the idea of rebellion or insurrectionary movement in the County of Lancaster, or anywhere else in this Commonwealth, is a mere fabrication, and is an offensive imputation on large body of our fellow-citizens. There is no insurrectionary movement in Lancaster County, and there would be no occasion to march a military force there, as you seem to desire, and intimate to the public mind by any such strange exaggeration. I do not wish our brethren of the Union to think that in any part of this State, resistance to the law goes undetected or unpunished, or that there lurks such a sentiment as treason to this Union and the Constitution. The alleged murderers of Mr. Gorsuch, whose crime is deep enough without exaggerating it, have been arrested and will be tried, and they and their abettors be made to answer for what it may be they have done in contravention of the law. But in the mean time, let me invite your co-operation, as citizens of Pennsylvania, not only to see that the law is enforced, but to add to the confidence which we all feel in the judicial tribunals of the land, by abstaining from undue violence of language, and letting the law take its course. Depend upon it, gentlemen, there is in Lancaster County a sense of duty to the laws of the land, manifested in the quiet and prompt arrest of these offenders, which will on all occasions show itself in practical obedience.

The people of that county are men of peace and good order; and not easily led aside from the path of duty which the Constitution prescribes. They are every Pennsylvanian love the Constitution and the Union. They will detest, as they have done in this case, and arrest and punish, all who violate the laws of the land. There is no warrant, depend on it, for representing the men of Lancaster County as traitors and participants in an 'insurrectionary movement.' You do them, scientiously I have no doubt, great injustice.

I acknowledge indebted to you for affording me this opportunity of expressing my views. But for your communication, I might not have been able to do so. You, and my fellow citizens at large, may be assured of my firm determination, at all hazards and in all legitimate ways, to sustain the supremacy of the Constitution, and enforce obedience to the laws alike of the United States and of this Commonwealth.

In order that I may be sure that my answer may reach its destination, (your letter having last accidentally come to my hands,) I have requested Mr. White to put it in the hands of Mr. John Cadwalader, whose signature, I observe, is first.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

Wm. F. Johnston.

From the 'Evangelical Christendom' for June, 1851.

UNITED STATES.

August Conference—Evangelical Alliance—State of Religion—Slavery.

Missionary House,
Pemberton Square, Boston, April 12, 1851.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 8th of March, on the sheet containing the 'Resolutions des Comites de Paris et de Geneve,' came safely to hand. It strikes me as very desirable that you should have a large and interesting meeting of the Alliance in August this summer, and that the United States should be well and fully represented in it. I am frequently in New York, and will confer with Dr. Baird and others on the subject, and see what can be done toward furthering this object. What the result may be, I cannot say.

The Alliance, *as an organization*, has never succeeded in this country, and probably will not, for reasons which I mentioned to you in a letter, some two or three years since; and yet the *principles and spirit* of that blessed meeting in the summer of 1846, have diffused themselves very widely among the evangelical denominations of this country. My present position and relations to the churches, in different parts of the land, enable me, I think, to say this with a good deal of confidence. There is decidedly less of the disputatious, sectarian spirit, and more harmony, kind feeling, brotherly love, and cordial co-operation among Christians of different names, than has ever before been known among us. At least, so it seems to me, and I think not without good reason. A general organization, on the plan of the Alliance is attended with great or *geographical* difficulties here than in England, France, or Switzerland, or any other European country; and yet, standing, as all our churches do, on the same platform of equal rights and privileges, there are fewer disturbing causes among them; and animosities, wherever they exist, are perhaps less bitter than in most other countries. Legislation, with us, has erected no barriers to Christian love and fellowship. We need, simply, an *increase* of the spirit and power of the gospel, together with a better understanding of each other's *real* views and feelings. And I cannot but hope there is an *advance* among us, in both of these particulars.

The general state of religion in the non-slaveholding States is encouraging, on the whole. At the present time, evangelical churches are blessed with the quickening and converting influence of the Divine Spirit, to a greater extent than at any previous time for the last ten or twelve years. The greatest obstacle which true religion has to contend with, at present, is found in the sweeping tide of our worldly prosperity. This has probably no parallel in the history of any nation; but I trouble for the results.

As to slavery, to which you allude, you must not suppose there is any diminution of hostility to it in the Northern States; on the contrary, I believe it was never viewed with feelings of deeper detestation, by the great mass of the people of the North, than at present. This abhorrence has been greatly increased by the passage and operations of the infamous 'Fugitive Slave Law.' The simple fact is, that the slave power in this country has reached its culminating point. This it knows and feels, and hence its unparalleled efforts to consolidate itself. No sensible man in the free States has any doubt that slavery is *doomed*. It must go down. Unsatisfactory as were some of the doings of our late Congress, one thing at least was demonstrated, and that is, *freedom is to the ascendant*. It has the numbers, in-

The Impartial Citizen.

S. R. WARD AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS. — THE WISDOM WHICH IS FROM ABOVE IS WITHOUT PARTIALITY. — VOLUME 3, NUMBER 12.

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PRO-SLAVERY.

From the Boston Courier.

PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE HIGHER LAW.

The deplorable, but doubtless we have just had occasion to chronicle in our columns—namely, the murder of two American citizens by an armed mob of negroes, must give a most serious and alarming turn to the thoughts of every man who has been heretofore in the habit of looking with any forbearance upon the doings of the Abolitionists and Free Soil agitators. There is no man of common information, who does not see that this melancholy occurrence never would have taken place but for the instigations which have been applied to the ignorant and deluded blacks by the fanatics of the 'higher law' creed. They are the principals in the murder; the blacks are the agents; the principals will escape punishment, while the unhappy and misguided agents are sure to suffer.

All this we clearly foresaw from the beginning, and distinctly pointed out to the public, wherever common sense and common discretion had any connection with the newspaper press. In the nature of things, *could* any other consequences then sedition, riot and murder, with their regular concomitants of evil and suffering, follow the teachings of those madmen who have been urging people to resistance against legal authority?

Again we say, these dreadful deeds of bloodshed ought to bring to his senses every man who has been so far misled as to lend the smallest countenance to the anti-slavery higher law doctrine. What had been done in Pennsylvania, at the instigation of the pseudo-philanthropists in that region, might, but for mere accident, have taken place at our own doors, as a consequence of the insane ravings of Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, &c. If we have escaped bloodshed thus far, it has been owing to the greater self-restraint of the blacks in this quarter, greater vigilance of the authorities, and greater cowardice in the apostles of sedition and murder.

And now, let any man ask of himself—who are the real friends of the blacks? Are those men their friends, who stir them up to crime, and then leave them to suffer the penalties of the law? Are those men their friends who are doing their utmost to change their character from that of peaceable and inoffensive beings, to that of rioters and shedders of blood? Are those men their friends, who are fomenting between them and the whites, that most savage and implacable of all hostilities, a war of races? Are those men their friends, who, under the name of philanthropy, emancipation, equal rights, and the like fine-sounding phrases, have in all quarters brought upon them increased oppression and aggravation, a darker present, evil, and a blacker prospect for the future?—who have added weight to the chains of the slave, and made the free black an object of jealousy and suspicion?—who are making darker and more dreary the hours of bondage, and removing farther off the day of enlightened freedom?

The end destiny which awaits the colored race in this country, should they continue much longer under the guidance of such 'friends,' is well depicted in the following extract from the New York Express:—

'The poor negro of the free States, under the criminal advice to 'arm and shoot' of the Free Soil Abolitionists, is preparing for himself a bitter doom. The wounding of United States officers in Pennsylvania, shot by the negroes there, and the blood of Gorsuch, father and son, are very certain to result in a cry of vengeance, and in that sort of excitement of the white race against the black, which will lead to the prohibition of their further emigration into Pennsylvania, if not their expulsion therefrom. The blood of white men, in the faithful exercise of the Constitution and the laws, cannot be shed with impunity by the black men; and when it is so shed, that blood will sow the seeds of retribution, the product of which, it is easy to foresee, will be the conviction that the two races cannot live together in the free States, as they have been living until the abolitionists taught them to arm against and to shoot white men. Indiana has already reached that conviction, and the negro is forbidden to enter that State; but this is only a step preparatory to his expulsion, if abolitionism keeps up its excitement and its efforts to array the black man against the white man.

The atrocious murders that have been perpetrated in Pennsylvania, by a mob of colored people, *they* are held responsible for under the laws, as they were the instruments used to perpetrate the murders; but the real murderers are the white abolitionists, who advised the negroes to arm, and to resist the law surrendering the fugitive slave. The 'higher law' we have been hearing so much of in theory, is only the musket and bullet in practice; and when the 'higher law' is taught, this higher law, he knows no other way to execute its high behests. Hence, when the *inferior law*, as it is nicknamed, of the Constitution and of the Federal Government, is brought to bear upon such a case, he inherently recurs to the higher law of shooting the officer down, and so came these murders and those mobs we record to-day in Pennsylvania.

'Teaching men day after day, especially the ignorant negro man, that a law which Congress has passed, and which the Judges of our Courts all inculcate obedience to, is no law, if law, a law against God, and thus teaching him resistance to it, in doors and out, by persuasion, by threats, force, and murderous weapons, even, is only teaching murder, as we now see in Pennsylvania. The greatest efforts were made in Boston to perpetrate like murders there; but the good sense of the people and the good government of the city saved Boston from the disgrace,—not, however, until a negro mob entered the sacred halls of justice, and rescued a black prisoner from the custody of the law.

Have the colored people no sense left to see where they are drifting in these United States, and to feel that the abolitionists are their greatest curses? See they nothing in that alarming omen of Indiana? Have they forgotten the vote in New York on the adoption of the Constitution of the State? Are they blind to the fact that twenty-five years ago they had a hold in the hearts and heads of the white population of these United States, which Abolitionism has nearly lost to them by its insane ravings, and its action yet more insane? The finger is on the wall—do they not see it?—which is writing now: '*Such scenes as these in Pennsylvania are expediting us from the free States.*' We shall be driven out as were the Acadians from Nova Scotia.' We are demonstrating that the white man and the colored man cannot live in the free States together. We expect no heed to be paid to these signs by the abolitionists proper, who glory in these excitements, and revel in them as giving them the elements of agitation; but why should the colored man be his dupe? Why his instrument to fire the musket the abolitionists put in his hand, and so be hung for the abolitionist's murder?

From the Boston Evening Journal.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE RIOT IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The late bloody riot in Pennsylvania, consequent upon an attempt to arrest a fugitive slave, requires something more than a passing notice. Indeed, we are much mistaken if it does not arouse the public attention, and lead to a serious consideration of the causes which have produced effects of so grave a character. It appears from the published accounts, that Mr. Gorsuch, a respectable citizen of Maryland, with his two sons and several United States officers and police men, proceeded to Christiana, for the purpose of arresting a fugitive slave. The colored population of the place were informed of the intended visit, and acting, it is said, under the direct advice of several leading abolitionists, assembled to the number of about eighty, formed an ambuscade, and deliberately fired upon the party—killed Mr. Gorsuch, mortally wounded one of his sons, and wounded one or two of the officers.

If these statements, which we find in the Philadelphia papers, are true,—and there is too much reason to believe that they are correct,—there is no mistaking the character of this outrage. It was as malicious as it was malignant. *It was not intended to secure the liberty of the slave, but to punish the master for claiming the rights guaranteed to him by the Constitution and the laws.* The liberty of the slave might, in this case, have been secured without bloodshed, for it appears that the colored rioters had warning of the approach of the officers, and ample time to hurry the fugitive to a place of security. But no! the abolitionists *thirsted for the blood* of the Southern gentlemen, and their ignorant dupes, the colored mob, into an attitude of hostility to the laws, and aided and abetted them in the commission of a most foul murder!

Our readers will remember, that when the case of the fugitive Sims was under examination in this city, last spring, some of the prominent Free Soilers and abolitionists counselled a resort to force to effect a rescue of the slave from the constituted authorities. The colored population were urged to go home and bring their guns, and fire upon the officers of the law. Similar counsels were given by the Pennsylvania abolitionists—the advice was acted upon, and we saw see the results. We ask those who revere the laws, who prize the blessings of good order and good government, to consider the fruits of the seed sown by the Free Soilers and Abolitionists. Is not human life precious, and can blood be shed with impunity? Can a ignorant mob be encouraged to defiance of authorities, without danger to society? Melancholy as was the results of the cold-blooded outrage in Pennsylvania, will that be the end? Will the negroes who have tasted human blood now settle down, and become good citizens? Does not all experience prove that a spirit of disorder once aroused is not easily allayed?

The more remote consequences of this outrage will not be less serious than those to which we have alluded. The kindly feelings between the people of the North and South having been amicably adjusted, the people of both sections were beginning to return to their old relations of harmony and good fellowship. But this affair will probe anew the half-healed wound. It will give fuel to those who would fan into flame, and furnish them with an argument which will be potent to rouse the passions of the excitable. The abolitionists, who are laboring to break down the Union, may rejoice at this, but no true patriot—no sincere friend of the Union—can reflect upon this outrage, other than with feelings of deep regret and mortification.

We take it for granted that the perpetrators of this outrage will be brought to justice, and we hope that not only the *actors*, but the *instigators*, will be visited with condign punishment. The authorities of Pennsylvania owe it, not only to the credit of the State, but to the peace and well-being of the country at large, to cause the laws to be respected, and to punish those who have so boldly set the representatives of the law at defiance.

INSTIGATORS.

☞ The assassination of two American citizens in Pennsylvania, while in the exercise of their legal and constitutional rights, is directly attributable, not to the negro mob, who resisted the execution of the law, but to the short-sighted and law despising men, whose inflammatory appeals and reckless counsel instigated the blacks to an outrage, fraught only with ruin and disaster to the actors, however great may be their malcontentment. The deed in question, involves all the ingredients of murder, the testimony before the coroner's inquest clearly establishing deliberation, premeditation and wilful homicide. For such an offence as this, the penalty is also clearly established, and if justice is meted out according to law, the administration of it in Pennsylvania will be exemplary in the highest degree, and exert an effective restraint upon the lawlessness of fanticism all over the land.

From the Philadelphia Bulletin.

THE CHRISTIANA TRAGEDY.

The melancholy tragedy at Christiana, in this State, by which two citizens of Maryland lost their lives, has established, in letters of blood, the dangerous character of the modern abolitionists.

The fugitive slaves in question, when they fired on the representatives of the law, only exercised not in practice, what the abolitionists constantly assert in principle. For years past Gorsuch, and his fellows have been telling fugitives that they have a right to slay any man, be he who, or whom he may, who attempts to impede their flight; and these deluded negroes, in perpetrating the atrocious murder we record to-day, have only followed the advice of those whom they consider their friends. Other negroes, too, who were in no danger of re-capture, have become, under the influence of the same pernicious doctrines, accessories to this murder. Not do the guilty parties stop here. The blood of all, whether white or black, who fell in that fray, is on the souls of those who instigated the affray, as fully as those who actually fired the guns.

We have, on more than one occasion, predicted the result from the doctrines of the abolitionists. Men who advocate an armed resistance to the expressed will of a republic, are enemies to order; and instead of doing God service as they pretend, are corrupting him by disorganizing society. The theory of a higher law, is misapplied in the case of fugitives, since all the soundness of every law, which does not happen to please the moral citizen, for the moment, is the decision as to the binding force of the law from human tribunals to the individual conscience. It is manifest that, where such sentiments prevail to any extent, society cannot be maintained; but society must follow.

This murder is among the first fruits of the preachings of these modern abolitionists. The question now is, shall the laws be maintained, or shall the land be the theatre of interminable feuds—of men, mostly fanatical in character, dictate to the majority, or shall the majority rule? The majority has said that their peace, prosperity and liberties depend on the honest surrender of fugitives. On the other hand, the abolitionists say that the peace, prosperity and liberties of the negro require resistance to such surrenders. Who is to prevail, the many or the few? The old Saxon blood, which, at vast sacrifices, founded these republics; or these African fugitives, whom we Pennsylvanians neither wish, nor will have?

For this is the true way to put the question.—Where the interests of two races come into collision, the weaker must yield, not merely as a matter of might, but, according to our republican doctrines, of right also. Among ourselves, we whites understand this, and act upon it, whatever our party. A case in point presents itself to us now. A very large portion of Pennsylvania, perhaps a decided majority, regard the present tariff as ruinous to their interests, and the cause of the present monetary difficulties; yet, since a majority of the people of the United States have voted for this law, it is enforced, with all its evils. Does anbody mutter against the hateful tariff has made him a beggar? Does the ruined man, when the sheriff comes in to sell his household effects, and turn his wife and children into the streets, shut the door and slay the officer, justifying himself on the ground that a law, which he thinks unjust, has stripped him of his wealth? And yet this is the same kind of excuse, exactly, that these fugitives make for their murder, and their abolition friends will make for them.

But enough. Every citizen, except those crazed upon the subject of abolition, will, we feel convinced, unite in condemning this atrocity. That dangerous and fearful results will flow from this murder, is certain; and we fear they will be more than serious. The south will have a just right to complain, if its citizens, in the legal execution of a conceded right, are liable to be shot down on the soil of the Northern States. Secession is bad enough, but modern abolitionism, which incites outrages like this, is infinitely worse.

From the Philadelphia United States Gazette.

THE CHRISTIANA MURDERS. There can be no difference of opinion concerning the shocking affair which occurred at Christiana on Thursday—the resisting of the law of Congress by a band of armed negroes, whereby the majesty of the government was defied, and life taken in one and the same act. There is something more than a mere ordinary, something more than a mere unlawful riot in all this. It is an insurrection—we might, considering the peculiar class and condition of the guilty parties, almost call it a servile insurrection—if not also, one of treason. Fifty—eighty—or a hundred persons, whether white or black, who are deliberately in arms for the purpose of resisting the law—even the law for the recovery of fugitive slaves—are in the attitude of levying war against the United States; and doubly heavy becomes the crime of murder in such a case, and doubly serious the accountability of all who have had any connection with the act as advisers, suggestors, countenancers, or accessories in any way whatever.

Along with the first account of the atrocity—that which we published yesterday morning—was a report that it originated in consequence of some of the leading abolitionists 'advising the negroes to 'stand their ground,' that is, to resist—to arm and fight. We are no friends or apologists of the abolitionists; but we must say, we find it difficult to believe there can be any foundation for such a dreadful charge. Were it the bodlamites of more Northern regions—the Garrisons, the Abby Kelleys, the Frederick Douglasses, who have made the name equally opprobrious and odious—were it the theatrical and theological crackbrains, who declare their independence alike of the laws of man and God, against whom the accusation was made—it would be credible enough, because they have continually preached such doctrines, and been proud to be abused, or laughed at on account of them. But we are not aware there are any fanatics of this description in Pennsylvania, and we should never have thought of charging for them in Lancaster county. Nevertheless, this charge having been made, ought to be investigated, as it assuredly will be, in the most exact and rigorous manner, so that full justice may be done against all engaged in this most seditious and sanguinary tumult.

Even in the hour when all men, of all parties, seem disposed to think the abolitionists and their allies are GUILTY, GUILTY, GUILTY, of that damning deed, Johnston and his organ conspire to shield them. A more audacious insult to the community was never dreamed of, even by desperate men who see and feel that their doom is approaching. * * *

We will not, however, insult the reader by arguing that which has not been heretofore doubted, and which is not now doubted by ten honest men in the State—and that is, that the Abolitionists are implicated in the Christiana murder. All the accessorial facts go to show that they were the real, if not the chief instigators. White men are known to harber the fugitives in the neighborhood of Christiana—and these white men are known to be *Abolitionists*—known to be opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law—and known to be the warm friends of William F. Johnston. And, as if to clinch the argument, no less than three white men are now in Lancaster prison, and were arrested on the morning of the 11th. And one of these white men was committed on a charge of High Treason, on Saturday last, by U. S. Commissioner Ingraham.—*Pennsylvanian.*

Our world suppose, from the advice of forcible resistance, so familiarly given by the abolitionists, that they are quite unawares that there is any such crime as treason recognized by the Constitution, or punished with death by the laws of the United States. We would remind them, that not only is there such a crime, but there is a solemn decision of the Supreme Court, that all who are concerned in a conspiracy which ripens into treason, whether present or absent from the scene of actual violence, are involved in the same liabilities as the immediate actors. If they engage in the conspiracy and populate the treason, they may keep their bodies from the affray, without saving their necks from a halter.

It would be very much to the advantage of society, if an example could be made of some of these peripatetic agitators, who excite the ignorant and reckless to treasonable violence, from which they themselves shrink, but who are, not only in morals but in law, equally guilty and equally amenable to punishment with the victims of their inflammatory counsels.—*Washington Republic.*

From the Journal of Commerce.

HORRIBLE MASSACRE.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE 'INDEPENDENT' PUT IN PRACTICE.

By extracts from Philadelphia papers in another column, it will be seen that the assassination doctrines of the *Independent* have been carried into effect, at a place called Christiana, in Lancaster county, Pa., upon Gorsuch, of Baltimore county, the owner of a fugitive slave, and upon his son, Dickinson Gorsuch, both of whom are dead; and upon several other persons, two of whom are missing, (supposed to have been killed.)

The following extracts of the herrid occurrences are but imperfectly given in the accounts which have reached us; but of the killing of several persons, including the claimant and his son, there can be no doubt. One despatch says, that the fugitive first shot the owner, then the owner's son shot the fugitive, that they smothar negro shot the son, &c. That it just what might have been expected from an armed resistance to the laws of the land. And it is a legitimate result of the teaching of the *Independent*, and some other preachers of the Gospel of *Peace!* Are they not morally responsible for these murders? The ignorant negroes do as they are told by those whom they regard as their friends and counsellors, and may be less guilty, morally, than those who instigate them.

A despatch from Baltimore states that the excitement there, in consequence of the above occurrences, is most intense; and so it will be throughout the Union, if some unfortunate event for the colored people could scarcely have happened. The victims of the massacre are stated to be among the most respectable inhabitants of Baltimore county. The resistance was preconceited on the part of the blacks, less numerous of whom were to ambush, armed with deadly weapons, and sprang out after Gorsuch, Jr., returned the fire of the slave who had killed his father.

Let the law take its avenger, to punish the murders. Some will be arrested, doubtless, who are not murderers; why should not they, too, shoot down the officers, or whoever attempts to arrest them, as well as the fugitives? The principle is the same; and it is a principle, we do not hesitate to say, direct from the bottomless pit, whoever may be its mouth-piece.

From the Philadelphia Ledger of Monday.

We received last night from the office of the Pennsylvanian a call for a town meeting, in Independence Square, on the evening of the 17th instant, for the purpose, as the call expresses, of taking 'high and efficient action to prevent the recurrence of so terrible a scene upon the soil of Pennsylvania, to turret out the perpetrators of the murderous thus guilty of the double crime of assailing the Constitution, and of taking the lives of men in pursuit of their recognized and rightful property;—as well as to take prepemptory steps for the protection of our rights and the rights of our fellow citizens, from the Fugitive Slave bill, daily imperiled and assailed by a race who can never be our social or political equals, and the prevention of whose future emigration within our borders, the only guarantee we have to render powerless the efforts of the vigilant enemies of the Republic.'

We also received, from the same source, the following appeal to Governor Johnson, signed by John Swift, Thomas Smith, John W. Forney, R. Simpson, Charles Ingersoll, James Page, A. L. Roumfort, and others:

'To the Governor of Pennsylvania: The undersigned, citizens of Pennsylvania, respectfully represent—

That citizens of a neighboring State have been cruelly assassinated by a band of armed outlaws, at a place not more than three hours' journey distant from the seat of government, and from the commercial metropolis of the State.

That the insurrectionary movement in one of the most populous parts of the State has been so far successful as to overawe the local ministers of justice, and paralyze the powers of the law.

That your memorialists are not aware that any military force has been sent to the seat of the insurrection, or that the civil authority has been strengthened by the adoption of any measures suited to the momentous crisis.

They therefore respectfully request the Executive Magistrate of Pennsylvania to take into consideration the necessity of vindicating the outraged law, and sustaining the dignity of the Commonwealth, on this important and melancholy occasion.'

THE RIOT AT CHRISTIANA.

Certain gentlemen of Philadelphia, having addressed a quite cort letter to Gov. Johnston of Pa., on occasion of the late fatal affray at Christiana, speaking of it as an 'insurrectionary movement,' and informed the Governor that there 'was no military force has been sent to the seat of the insurrection, or that the civil authority had been strengthened by the adoption of any measures suited to the momentous crisis;' and finally calling on him to see that the law was vindicated, he replied as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14, 1851.

To Messrs. John Cadwalader, A. L. Roumfort, James Page, C. Ingersoll, Isaac Leech, J. R. Sharpe, W. Deal, Geo. H. Martin, Samuel Hays, S. R. Carnahan, Thomas McGrath, John Swift, Frederick McAdams.

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter, without date, was this afternoon put into my hands by one of the servants of the Hotel. The manner which you manifest to maintain the laws of the land and the public peace, is fully appreciated, and I have great pleasure in informing you that, more than twenty-four hours before the receipt of your letter, the parties implicated had been, through the vigilance and decision of the local authorities, arrested, and are now in prison, a waiting an inquiry into their imputed guilt. The District Attorney and Sheriff of Lancaster County, acting in concert with the Attorney General of the State, deserve especial thanks for their prompt and energetic conduct. This was all done early on Saturday morning, and duly reported to me by the local officers.

The testimony taken by the U. S. Commissioner, who arrived at a later period on the ground, a printed copy of which has accidentally reached me this afternoon, confirms me in the belief that the State authorities had vindicated the law, and to a large extent, arrested the perpetrators of the crime.

The recent murder of a citizen of a neighboring State, accompanied by a gross outrage on the peace of the United States, in the resistance of its process, had been committed; and you may be assured that so soon as the guilty agents are ascertained, they will be punished in the severest penalty by the law of Pennsylvania. I am very proud that the first step to detect and arrest these offenders have been taken by Pennsylvania officers.

Permit me, gentlemen, having thus removed all just cause of anxiety from your minds, respectfully to suggest, that the idea of rebellion or insurrection, any movement in the County of Lancaster, or anywhere else in this Commonwealth, has no real foundation, and is an offensive imputation on a large body of our fellow-citizens. There is no insurrectionary movement in Lancaster County, and there would be no occasion to march a military force thither, as you seem to desire, had influence on public mind by any such strange exaggeration. I do not wish our brethren of dig Union to think that in any part of this State, resistance to the law goes undetected or unpunished, or that there exists such a sentiment as treason to the Union and the Constitution. The alleged murderers of Mr. Gorsuch, whose crime is deep enough without exaggerating it, have been arrested and will be tried, and if they and their abettors be made to answer for what they have done, in contravention of the law. But in the mean time, let me invite your co-operation, as citizens of Pennsylvania, not only to see that the law is enforced, but to add to the confidence which we all feel in the judicial tribunals of the land, by abstaining from undue violence of language, and letting the law take its course. Depend upon it, gentlemen, there is in Lancaster County a sense of duty to the laws of the land, manifested in the early and prompt arrest of these offenders, which will on all occasions show itself in practical obedience.

The people of that county are men of peace and good order; and not easily led astray from the path of duty which the Constitution prescribes. They and every Pennsylvanian love the Constitution and the Union. They will detect, as they have done in this case, and arrest and punish, all who violate the laws of the land. There is no reason, depend on it, for representing the men of Lancaster County as traitors and participants in an 'insurrectionary movement.'—You do them, unintentionally I have no doubt, great injustice.

I am deeply indebted to you for affording me this opportunity of expressing my views. But for your communication, I might not have been able to do so. You, and my fellow citizens at large, may be assured of my firm determination, at all hazards and under all circumstances, to maintain the authority of the Constitution, and enforce obedience to the laws alike of the United States and of this Commonwealth.

In order that I may be sure that my answer may reach its destination, (your letter having last accidentally come to my hands,) I have requested Mr. White to put it in the hands of Mr. John Cadwalader, whose signature, I observe, is first.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

WM. F. JOHNSTON.

From the 'Evangelical Christendom' for June, 1851.

UNITED STATES.

August Conference—Evangelical Alliance—State of Religion—Slavery.

MESSENGER HOUSE,
Pemberton Square, Boston, April 12, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 8th of March, on the sheet containing the 'Resolutions des Comites de Paris et de Geneve,' came safely to hand. It strikes me as very desirable that you should have a large and interesting meeting of the Alliance in London this summer, and that the United States should be well and fully represented in it. I am frequently in New York, and will confer with Dr. Baird and others on the subject, and see what can be done toward forwarding this object. What the result may be, I cannot say.

The Alliance, *as an organization*, has never succeeded in this country, and probably will not, for reasons which I mentioned to you in a letter, some two or three years since; and yet the *principles* and *spirit* of that blessed meeting in the summer of 1846, have diffused themselves very widely among the evangelical denominations of this country. My present position and relations to the churches, in different parts of the land, enable me, I think, to say this with a good deal of confidence. There is decidedly less of the disputatious, sectarian spirit, and more harmony, kind feeling, brotherly love, and cordial co-operation among Christians of different names, than has ever before been known among us. At least, so it seems to me, and I think not without good reason. A general organization, on the plan of the Alliance is attended with greater geographical difficulties here than in England, France, or Switzerland, or any other European country, and yet, standing, as all our churches do, on the same platform of equal rights and privileges, there are fewer disturbing causes among them; and consequently, wherever they exist, are perhaps less bitter than in most other countries. Legislation, with us, has erected no barriers to Christian love and fellowship. We need, simply, an increase of the spirit of the gospel, together with a *better understanding* of each other's *real* views and feelings. And I cannot but hope there is an *advance* among us, in both of these particulars.

The general state of religion in the non-slaveholding States is, on the whole, encouraging. At the present time, evangelical churches are blessed with the quickening and converting influence of the Divine Spirit, to a greater extent than at any previous time for the last ten or twelve years. The great obstacle which true religion has to contend with, at present, is found in the sweeping tide of our worldly prosperity. This has probably no parallel in the history of any nation; but I tremble for the result.

As to *slavery*, to which you allude, you must not suppose there is any diminution of hostility to it in the Northern States; on the contrary, I believe it was never viewed with feelings of deeper detestation by the great mass of the people of the North, than at present. This abhorrence has been greatly increased by the passage and operations of the infamous 'Fugitive Slave Law.' The simple fact is, that the slave power in this country has reached its culminating point. This it knows and feels, and hence its unparalleled efforts to sustain itself. No sensible man in the free States has any doubt that slavery is doomed. It must go down. Unauthorizing as were some of its doings of our late Congress, one thing at least was demonstrated, and that is, *freedom is the ascendant.* It has the numbers, in-

telligence, wealth and power of the nation on its side, and it will work its way through whatever difficulties may oppose its progress. The tide comes in slowly, and sometimes the waves seem to be retreating, but it is only to gather strength, and reach a higher point at the next swell. At the present moment, our old political parties are breaking up, and the elements are forming themselves anew. We are constantly on the look-out for the next turn of things, the next development of public sentiment—wondering what will come next. In the working of our institutions, this subject is environed with difficulties which a foreigner cannot well appreciate. But the Lord reigns, and I believe that, as a nation, we shall outride the storm, and reach at length the haven of universal liberty. I hope our English brethren will be as *patient with us as they can*—we have the worst of it—and I know they cannot be so anxious for the removal of this dreadful curse as are the ministers and churches and people of the Free States of this Union. I was sorry to see, not long since, some articles in the *Banner* and *Morning Advertiser* of London, touching the ministers and churches of this country. Many of the statements were grossly false and libellous.

Mr. George Thompson's visit to the United States will be productive of no good. Our people are generally very *jealous of foreign intercourse*; and when he linked himself, on his first arrival, with a mere fragment of a clique, who are anti-Sabbath, anti-ministry, anti-Bible, anti-civil government, anti-almost every thing—and who would min almost any cause which they espouse, if they could. They have no influence here, at least for good. Their representations respecting the sentiments and feelings of the ministers and churches of the free States are not true. By joining himself to them, he at once lost the confidence of all the better portion of the community, though there is no excuse for the ill-treatment which, on several occasions, he received.

Pardon this long communication—I did not intend to say so much. My labors here are very arduous, and leave me but little time for any thing else.

Very sincerely,

Your friend and brother,

S. L. POMROY.

Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart.

From the London Morning Advertiser.

WILLIAM AND ELLEN CRAFT.

So many of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in this country have felt a deep sympathy with these fugitives from American slavery, and have had their interest in them so much increased by personal communication, that we doubt not a notice of their present position will be acceptable to our readers.

Those who have access to the anti-slavery papers of America, have long been familiar with the eventful history of William and Ellen Craft, from the time of their romantic escape from Macon, in Georgia, (Ellen, whose complexion is white, disguised as a young Southern planter, her husband personating his slave,) and of their subsequent residence, and enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, in a peaceful home at Boston, until they were driven by the Fugitive Slave Law to seek an asylum in England. Affording as their visit which history has been, and especially desirable as it was that the friends of the slave in this country should clearly understand the working of the Fugitive Slave Law in their case, (the President of the United States having declared by a public document, that he would employ the military force of the country for their recapture,) the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has never yet alluded to the arrival of the Crafts in England, so that what ever knowledge of these individuals such portion of the public as did not attend their meetings may possess, has been derived from papers unconnected but by sympathy with the anti-slavery cause. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have thus again left other parties to perform their duties, and have shown an especial favor to slaveholders, who are not at all pleased to have it known that any attention is given to their *property* by Englishmen.

William and Ellen Craft, after having, with their fugitive friend, Mr. W. Wells Brown, attended a considerable number of public meetings in Scotland, in the north of England, and in some of the midland counties, and in those of the southwest of the island, (where they had the opportunity of diffusing a large amount of information upon American slavery, and of acquiring many friends,) have at length been able to accomplish their cherished desire of being placed in circumstances for acquiring an education. In free and enlightened America, these intelligent people were carefully prohibited from learning to read and write; and, with minds of a very inquiring nature, and of a serious cast—*earnest*, too, by masters making much profession of Christianity—they were sedulously cut off from all access to the Bible, the contents of which they were most anxious to study for themselves. It is now their good fortune, with the assistance of friends, to be received as pupils in the Ockham Schools, near Ripley, Surrey. These schools, which are partly industrial, were established by Lady Byron for giving useful education to children residing in the rural districts.

All the advantages the schools possess are offered to the Crafts, in a mode which is in every respect considerate of their feelings. In addition to other branches of knowledge, Mr. Craft is cultivating his taste for drawing under an able master; he renders himself useful by giving the boys instruction in carpentering and cabinet-making, while Mrs. Craft exerts herself in communicating some of her varied manual acquirements to the girls. The children are greatly attached to her, and both she and her husband are happy, industrious, and making progress in their pursuits.

The Ockham schools are kindly and carefully superintended by the Misses Lushington, daughters of Dr. Lushington, of Ockham Park, which adjoins. Every facility has been given by Lady Byron, by the Misses Lushington, and by the master and mistress, for admitting and accommodating William and Ellen Craft in the establishment, and for rendering their abode there as advantageous and comfortable to them as possible.

THE CHRISTIANA OUTRAGE.

The following is the reply of the President, through the acting Secretary of State, to a letter from the Governor of Maryland:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, 16th Sept., 1851.

To His Excellency, the Governor of Maryland:

SIR—Your letter of the 15th inst., to the President, has been received. In reply, I am instructed to say that, on Saturday last, official reports of the outrage referred to by your Excellency were received from the Commissioner of the United States in Philadelphia, and the District Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

After a careful consideration of the subject, orders were despatched by the President to the proper officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, requiring them to proceed immediately to arrest all persons criminally concerned in the transaction.

The District Attorney was especially instructed to ascertain whether the facts would make out the crime of treason against the United States, and if so to take prompt measures to secure all concerned for trial for that offence.

I am instructed to assure your Excellency that the President regards this violation of the rights of the peaceful citizens of Maryland with deep abhorrence, and that he will not fail to exercise all his constitutional powers to bring the offenders to merited punishment, and to prevent similar outrages in future.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obt servt,

W. B. DERRICK, *Acting Secretary.*

☞ It is reported that an attempt was made to assassinate Gov. Johnston, of Pa., on Monday last.

The Impartial Citizen.

If ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin.

SAMUEL R. WARD, EDITOR.
AMOS G. BEMAN, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

BOSTON:
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1851.

FAULTS APPARENT AMONG COLORED PEOPLE,

TO BE CONSIDERED AND REMOVED CHIEFLY BY THEIR OWN AGENCY.

MR. EDITOR:—

DEAR SIR,—It has seemed quite clear to my mind, for a long while, that it is our duty, as oppressed class, to speak out more freely and fully against some of our own common faults; but knowing how very sensitive many are amongst us, on subjects which seem to undermine the character of colored man, and expose them to more eminent danger from designing foes, consequently, I have been somewhat reluctant about the matter. But after mature deliberation, I have concluded to forward for the 'Impartial Citizen,' a few thoughts upon the subject named above, believing that the intelligent and upright among us have too much sense to conceive themselves included with the number censured.

As ponderous as are the prejudices excited towards us by an overwhelming majority of the whites, and as persevering and multiplied as all their efforts may be in throwing difficulties in the road of the outraged and oppressed, nevertheless, I believe those unrighteous influences may be changed, but not without proper efforts and conduct on our part. It is not reasonable to suppose, that our rights are to be restored, and our condition rendered desirable, by those who have done so much to make us slaves, and so little to make us free; by those who have closed the doors of liberty, literature and science against us, and then tauntingly point to us as being too degraded to enjoy liberty, elevation or citizenship. But it is not our purpose at this time to portray the injustice inflicted upon us by the whites. There has been so much written, and very truly too, on that subject, that I have preferred to write more particularly of our own sins.

Well, then, if the great work of procuring our common rights depends chiefly upon our own exertions, how important that we should understand the facts, and break off from our enthralments, a few of which I design presently to notice?

I do not mean to say that the laudable and indispensable labor, talents, sacrifice, and sympathy manifested by the Abolitionists in behalf of the slave, prescribed generally, are of little or no avail. I at ways have, and do still, appreciate their efforts in the cause; nevertheless, all the means and talent that it is possible for them to command in our favor will never redeem us without corresponding efforts on our part.

My remarks relative to our own faults are intended to be applied to Philadelphians principally, though I do not wish others who are guilty, either in city or country, to excuse themselves, or evade the charge, on this ground.

That a prevailing stupor controls the minds and practice of a *very large number among us*, in regard to our true position, and the only remedy calculated to effect a change for the better, all interested and discerning minds must admit. They do not seem to understand the secret, that they *must do for themselves* what others are neither able nor willing to do. In short, they seem to act and think that all efforts on their part would be unavailing. To trouble their brains about *education*, the *rights* and *requirements of humanity*, the idea of *surmounting great obstacles* by *perseverance, economy, fidelity* and *industry*, is wholly *neglected*, or at most, but slightly appreciated. To be a domestic in a gentleman's employ, or do the drudgery on the street—'eat drink and be merry'—appears to be as suitable employment as they seek after. This fact is too true to be gainsaid, however discreditable it may appear to the whole mass of colored citizens.

I do not designingly mean to cast reflections upon certain occupations, so generally followed by our unfortunate people, viz., portering, living at service, hod carrying, &c., &c. All these, in themselves, are creditable, nor do we reproach those who follow such pursuits for an honest livelihood; indeed, if we were disposed to reproach any set of persons in the community, we should sooner prefer to reproach those who are either too proud or indolent to engage in any of the callings referred to, if necessity required it, at least until such times as they could advantageously better their condition.

Situated as many are, having in their younger days been subjects of oppression, and probably, after having escaped from the 'prison house' of bondage and landed in the North, they find themselves in an abyss of prejudice, only a little more favorable, than the one from which they had fled—all this, we know, and make allowance for; but still our charge remains, we think, most horribly true, notwithstanding. Wisdom, then, is our only remedy; to earn our living by honest pursuits, spend our means for necessary and worthy purposes, advance our intellectual abilities, cultivate frugality and economy, and advance our love for liberty and our abhorrence of slavery, by an independent decision to despise every noble and just principle, to the exclusion of everything mean and low.

SOUTHERN PART OF THE CITY—*Southwark and Moyamensing.*—Thousands of our people inside among thousands of whites in those districts, so notorious for 'brothels,' houses of 'ill fame,' 'Killers, Dog-Catchers, Rats, Hornets, Stingers,' and many other names of places and parties designed for the most abandoned purposes. In these same communities, the great and bloody riots between the whites and blacks have taken place. (It is just to state, that many *respectable* colored people live in these districts, because they are *excluded* from more *desirable locations* on account of *color.*)

But it is strange to think how many there are among us, who spend their hard earnings willingly, or seemingly so, with those who are so inveterately opposed to our elevation, with those whose flattery towards us should be an obvious proof of their bravery. I am now alluding to the almost universal habit with our people of buying goods, groceries, and all necessary provisions for family use, of those knaves who would willingly furnish ammunition and guns for the *lawless to shoot us with.* Many of these characters, a few years ago, were poor penniless Irishmen, just from their own *native* degradation. But by uniting their energies with the base and sensual of their own kind, as well as with spirits of the same level among 'Native Americans,' they have accumulated, in many cases, a handsome competence. A little *poison rum*, with a little *filthy tobacco*, and a little *old iron*, and a little old wood and coal, and that perhaps got without buying, make up an entire stock, for some of the new beginners. But they manage to notice those of their own 'stripe,' as well as not a few colored, to patronize them, so many of them grow rich and influential, without much toil or wit. 'I don't mean to charge all the whites in the vicinities spoken of as being all base and enemies to us, but I think it is too true of those with whom we deal most.

Now, as a word, what can we expect from such characters but degradation and shame? Did we take as much pains and pleasure in supporting our worthy friends, colored or white, in business, it would no doubt be of great avail to us. The money we spend for the various necessaries of life, (as well as some things not necessary,) is an immense sum, and no doubt would change an immense number of money-loving minds—mind, too, a thousand times in advance of the base minds which we have just been trying to hint at. If we dealt with the very best class, and those of our friends, we should have a better chance of becoming acquainted with them, and they with us. At the same time, we could take occasion to urge our claims for our rights—claims irresistable, when presented to reasonable minds. But the way we have been and are now known to a great many, is through the scurrilous pro-slavery papers, which we are not looking for patronizing, I will venture to say, with tenfold as much liberality as we do anti-slavery papers; it matters not whether they are edited by *colored* or *white* men.

I would just add here, that too many take Anti-Slavery papers on trust, for one, two, or three years, as the case may be, and then stop their paper without paying up arrearages! Not so with Pro-Slavery papers; they must and do get their pay handsomely, and in advance, without much grumbling or stoppages.

B.

[To be continued.]

Correspondence of Frederick Dunglass's Paper.

MARKLEHOM, August 20th, 1851.

F. DOUGLASS, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR,—Though the heable name attached to this communication will not be recognized by you or your readers, as that of one whose scribbling can add any interest to your valuable paper, still, you will allow a very obscure individual, perhaps, to congratulate you upon the change of sentiment which you have been pleased recently to announce in regard to the Federal Constitution. It has been to me, for many years, a matter of profound astonishment and deep regret, that so many men of the school of abolitionists called Garrisonians, should allow the pro-slavery folks to construe for them the Federal Constitution, while they will not allow pro-slavery authority to control them in anything else—while boldly and manfully questioning the dicta of public sentiment on so many other points, they should bow to the weight and influence of them on this point—while hoary-headed opinions, on almost all the subjects of public discussion, should be discarded by them, they should cling to notions a little too venerable on this very important matter.

Neither the principle nor the policy of this course is, to me, at all commendable. I do not like the policy of admitting to a nation of idolators of the Constitution, who are far more controlled by that instrument than by anything else, human or divine, (I now refer to the more honest of the people,) that their idol is just the villainous thing they deem it to be, and so presenting to them a most insurmountable obstacle in the way of their joining us. As Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence observes, the history of the world proves that men are more apt to submit to government abuses with patience, then to take steps to correct them. It follows that if you shall show to men that their organic law is a piece of accundrelism, they will be more apt to suffer it to remain, so than to address themselves to the Herculean task of reforming it. It is just so with the policy of preaching disunionism. And I think the number of converts and advocates of this doctrine, which the preaching of it has produced within the last ten years, if shown, would be ample justification of my idea.

And then, the principle of retailing those notions and provisions of the supreme law of the land which interested men-stealers and their northern instrumentis choose to invent and maintain, is, to my mind, anything else than reformatory. It is expressive of great confidence in the legal learning and the constitutional interpretation of men who have abused every breath God Almighty ever gave them to draw, by trampling under foot every good law, human and divine, and establishing a code of piracy instead thereof. Pirates, indeed, do many decent things, and do not many indecent things which are among the key-stones and corner-stones of the system which those fellows dignify, by the name of 'institution.' For instance, pirates do not beget children of their own bodies, propagate and perpetuate the species, *on purpose* to furnish victims for their own hellish system. But to beget children, propagate the species, and perpetuate *their own race* for the sake of, and as a means of multiplying the victims of their diabolism, is not only done, but done with an unsullied reputation, by the very men who call it all constitutional, and whose constitutional constructions and interpretations *some abolitionists* would have us receive as valid! I like not this on principle or policy. I choose not to be entangled in the inconsistency of denouncing these creatures as unfit to live within the same political system, and at the same time elect them as my teachers of Law and Constitution.

Indeed, my dear Douglass, I cannot see for the life of me, why the rules of legal interpretation applied to all other heroan laws should not be applied to this document. No man has ever shown me, any why, for this. And until I shall be shown it, I shall continue, in future, as I have for the last ten years, to demand of my fellow-citizens (through your paper and Mr. Ward's, if you will) that they should regard the Federal Constitution as no exception to the laws so to be interpreted.

At present, I make but a single point more in answer to an objection commonly urged against this view of the subject by some abolitionists. They say that the actions of the government under the Constitution show what the Constitution is, and inasmuch as those are pro-slavery, they are proof of having been performed by virtue of the pro-slavery authority of the Constitution. But so far as I can learn, all the laws passed by the Federal Government, favoring and fostering slavery, are unconstitutional. The same remark applies to other acts of that government of a pro-slavery character, as, for instance, its negotiations in behalf of slavery, and war-making, for the furtherance of that accursed interest. To assume that these deeds have been done pursuant to constitutional authority, is at once to make the Constitution contradict itself, and to throw a shield (in law) better then that of Ajax, over the government, in its basest apostacy from true republican principle. So far am I from believing that the pro-slavery deeds of Congress are, or ever were, authorized by the Constitution, that I regard a man to be guilty of what comes precious near perjury, who swears to support the Constitution, and then wields the power of the office into which that oath inducted him to lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of slavery. But why receive the dark and damnable deeds of sneh officials, hirelings and tools of despotism as Fillmore, Webster, and *H. K. Smith*, as expositions of the Constitution? As well might one risk the moral training of his children in the hands of such preachers of the gospel of bloodhoundism, as Cox, Lord, Taylor, Spring and Hawks. In future letters, if acceptable, I shall argue these points in detail.

I was at Buffalo a day or two after the bloody brutality of Daniel's arrest was perpetrated. Real, the paid bloodhound, (but too dishonest to go on all fours,) is a most cowardly knave. Too will judge as much, when I tell you, that, though armed to the teeth, he took besides, a billet of wood, to strike poor Daniel over the head as he mounted the ladder from the kitchen to the deck. The dastard, though thoroughly armed, did not dare to wait for his victim to come upon deck. A Dogberry justice named Gold fined this fellow but $50. What do you think of that? Henry K. Smith was as *sober as usual* when he sat on the judgment seat. How sober that is, those who know his habits can tell you. The wretch was but a short half hour in consigning the man to bondage. He overruled the long established doctrine of the courts, that a man bringing, or suffering to be brought, his slave into a free State, thereby frees him. He then threatened that any of our people who should resist 'the law, should be shot down' (a game that *two* can play at). You know that black men fought in the Revolutionary War, and in the war with Great Britain. Jackson, who was Smith's pattern of a President and a General, called out black men to aid him twice. Now, this bloated son of an alien talks about *'shooting down* the men whose fathers fought for the liberties he enjoys, at second hand. Thank God, there is a Hell for such fellows hereafter!

The Mayor of Buffalo was probably elected by the votes of the black men. He promised them friendship, in the matter of the Fugitive Law. No half-paid subaltern of the police, no waterish hekey, no paid or unpaid tool of despotism, no regular, professional man-hunter, could, or did, howl upon the track of the poor, down-stricken, helpless Daniel, as did Mayor Wadsworth. He did so in clear and manifest violation of the statute of New York. Had he his deserts, according to the law, he would be fined and imprisoned.

Daniel has sued Rust for civil damages. The circumcised have subscribed almost enough to purchase Daniel. They can afford that. But the whole matter is to be argued before Judge Conkling, got Lundy. Whether the issue he or be not favorable, I do not believe Daniel will be taken back to slavery. If he can be re-enslaved after having been made free by his master's permitting him to come into a free State, then a man born free, or a man emancipated, or a man bought, can be re-enslaved.

Now mark! Both the political parties, as such, stand by this law and H. K. Smith's decision. And what is more, both of them will, in '52, present to the people candidates who do the same. They will present such candidates in '51. The Round Robin Pledge has succeeded, after all! Cannot the honest means be made to see all this? Can you not have meetings in every ward in Rochester, to rally the working masses under the banner of Liberty?

Your obedient servant,

BOB MARKLE.

☞ On Monday evening last, Mr. E. R. Johnson, of New Bedford, who has recently returned from California, addressed a meeting held in the 12th Baptist Church, (Mr. Grimes's,) on the condition and prospects of California. Mr. J. spoke very highly of the advantages presenting themselves there, and, we believe, recommended young persons of energy and industry to go to that land of abundance. He regretted that so few colored people had availed themselves of the superior opportunities presented in California for the speedy accumulation of means. Mr. Johnson, we are informed, was there for about two years, and therefore had superior facilities for acquiring information relative to the habits of the people, and the chances of success. The audience expressed much satisfaction with the manner in which the subject was treated.

☞ Well, the great Jubilee is over. We do not feel disposed to criticise the motives of the master spirits at present, but one thing we can say, we take great pleasure in doing so,—that the Napoleon of caterers, J. B. Smith, has so completely covered himself with glory, by the masterly manner in which he conducted the whole affair, from beginning to end, that there is scarcely any of him left exposed, to receive the congratulations of his friends. We hear but one opinion expressed, and that is, unqualified praise; and it is deserved.

☞ We have not heard officially from the Liberty Party Convention, which was held at Buffalo last week, but learn from the papers, that the new of Potsdam, Gerrit Smith, was nominated by acclamation for the Presidency, and J. H. Collins, of Chicago, for Vice President, for 1852.

We say, most heartily, *Strong team, that!*

☞ On our first page will be found extracts from several papers, in different sections of the country, in regard to the resistance recently offered to the kidnapping miscreants from Maryland, at Christiana, Pa. Then other, reckleseness of truth, and ferocious malignity of sentiment, cannot be paralleled this side the kingdom of Naples. The worst, if a melancholy, may still be no instructive one. It shows how little real faith the popular press of this nation has in the principles upon which the whole Nation is professedly based. Had a band of Austrian mercenaries attached Kossuth in Turkey, with the avowed purpose of delivering him into the hands of their government, and had his companions met them with the same sort of resistance which was offered at Christiana, the act would have been trumpeted to every wind as an instance of noble and self-sacrificing heroism, for which no wreath of glory was too bright, no words of panegyric too warm. But the black men of Christiana, whose feelings prompted them to a similar act in the service of their friends—what of them? They must be tried for treason against a Government based upon the principle, that 'all men are created equal, and endowed by Nature with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness'!

We are glad that among the general recreancy of the press, a few voices are raised in defence of the eternal truths for which Lexington, Yorktown, and Attucks and Warren bled. The great lesson of the Revolution has not been utterly in vain. Below will be found some evidences that at least a glimmer of the spirit of '76 survives amid the ashes of this nation's selfishness and guilt.

From the Worcester Spy.

THE CHRISTIANA AFFRAY.

The Boston Courier, whose editor seems to have been taught moral philosophy by some more than ordinarily obdurate *Thug*, attributes the late fatal affray near Lancaster, Pa., to the 'higher law.' He does not attribute the death of Gorsuch and his sons, to their inhuman attempt to possess themselves, by force of arms, of the bodies of men better in all respects than themselves, or to the natural tendency to defend themselves, their life and liberty, which all men possess. It was not an unnatural aggression upon eternal rights sanctioned by Congress, and resisted by men of the race of *Attucks*, (first martyr of our Revolution,) that caused the death of Gorsuch and his sons, but the bad heart of a slaveholder. It was to some of these causes that this awful incident in the history of kidnapping was attributable, says the honest Boston Courier. It was to the 'Higher Law.' We are not so surprised that the Courier should pursue this strain of indictment; but, that it should be believed, is only possible where editors like him of the Boston Courier have any influence over the popular mind. It was on account of the reactive forces produced by the execution of an edict so cold-blooded, so inhuman and so atrocious, that we believe Satan himself would blush to claim the paternity of it, that this fatal affray took place. And we are not surprised at it. Nor wonder at that more of these heva ntions not from attempts to reduce our colored brethren to a condition, to which, we solemnly swear, no power under heaven would passively drag us. It is ordained, in the providence of God, that retribution shall come upon the tyrant, and that the cruel laws of the despot shall come to naught. It is a 'higher law' that as an unerring edict, cannot be executed without bloody instruments and fatal issues. We—could prove this by the criminal history of all nations; for it is an inevitable consequence, springing from the eternal foundations of human nature, and not a local or legal accident. If the Boston Courier means that the death of Gorsuch and his sons were negatively in accordance with the 'higher law,' we believe it. But when he positively attributes those deaths to the instigation of the 'higher law,' we believe that 'God governs the world, independent of Daniel Webster or Benjamin F. Hallett, he states what is false, and what he knows to be so. Gorsuch and his son came with an armed band of men, to seize upon peaceful, unoffending citizens of Pennsylvania; and in accordance with the prophetic warnings of Scripture, 'they perished with the sword.' They died by the weapons with which they sought to slay their brethren. They did not come to arrest alleged slaves, depending on the 'law' as their only instrument and protection. They came with rifles and sabres to execute an edict more cruel than even swords or rifles, and the result was as we have seen. The attempt of the Boston Courier to throw the responsibility of this fatal combat upon men who did all they could to prevent the passage of the abominable law which was the immediate root of it, is as mean as it is cowardly and false; and only shows that the Whigs shrink from sustaining the legitimate effects of their own acts.

The fugitive slave law is a disorganizing law. It sets at defiance all the rights of man, and all the obligations that he may owe to society. It drives him from home, wife and children, in defiance of liberty, humanity and Christianity, and at the same time, its authors drag liberty, humanity and Christianity forward in support of its action. This law must be repealed. It is prepared with cruelty, deceit, and anarchy. Force of arms cannot facilitate its execution; the force of a goverrl conviction of its injustice is alone able to render any law efficient. We emphatically charge the death of the Gorsuches to Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore, the Boston Couriers, and the hunker Whigs of the North. They charged the instrument of death in the form of the Fugitive Slave Law; they, of all men, should be silent when the bloody fruits of their legislation slumber on at roots. We hope the people, who are always right in their sentiments, however much mistaken they may sometimes be in their opinions, will remove the author of this cruel, bloody and atrocious law, and will give to them their revenge by forcing them soon to behold its unconditional repeal. To cure a disease, we must eradicate its cause. To render a law acceptable to a civilized community, we must baptize it with the spirit of justice. When the editor of the Boston Courier expresses himself ready to become an unctionable chattel, at the word of Daniel Webster & Co., then we shall believe that the Fugitive Slave Law will be duly executed, but not till then. It is a deed of injustice, and is the parent of bloody deeds, and must be repealed.

From the New York Independent.

THE FUGITIVE LAW ILLUSTRATED.

It is remarkable that nearly every case of arrest under the Fugitive Slave Law has brought out some new feature of enormity in the statute. Every attempt to execute that law has impressed more deeply upon the public mind the conviction that it is an outrage upon every principle of justice and humanity. Whether the fugitive is surrendered or discharged, whether he is rescued by money or consigned to hopeless slavery, whether he is rescued by force or shot down in the attempt to escape—in whatever way the event may turn—the execution of this law is fraught in an insult to liberty, and an offence against morality and religion. Every man whose humane sensibilities have not been seared by avarice or stifled by ambition, feels himself outraged by the mockery of law, which, as a citizen of this great and free republic, he is compelled to witness.

The recent affray at Christiana, is only a new plume of the Hydra that was begotten of the spirit of Compromise. The framers of this law counted upon the utter degradation of the negro race—their want of manliness and heroism—to render feasible its execution. Had they been dealing with the Indian race,

they would not have restored upon such an experiment. But it was the 'cowardly negro'—the worm and not the serpent—upon whom they set their foot. They anticipated no resistance from a race cowed down by centuries of oppression, and trained to servility. In this, however, they were mistaken. They are beginning to discover that men, however abject, who have tasted liberty, soon learn to prize it, and are ready to defend it. This discovery fills the advocates of the law with horror; visions of murder and treason gather thick about their heads; the Union groans afresh and totters toward its fall. Yet fearful as the lesson is, it may prove salutary, and even merciful.

Great are the writhings of the keepers of the Union, over the 'horrible massacre' in Pennsylvania. Horrible indeed it was. The shedding of human blood is always horrible. The ignominious shooting of Col. Crittenden and his company at Havana was a horrible affair. Yet we apprehend that if Crittenden had broken from his captors, and with bowie-knife and revolver had forced his way to an American ship, the eclat of the deed would have covered the 'horrid massacre' of twenty Spaniards, and with the chivalric gentlemen of the South the name of the young desperado would ere long have floated on the Presidential flag. An American citizen shooting down the Spanish officers of justice in the execution of their law, would have won the applause of sundry journalists, now timid at the sight of blood. Yet Crittenden had not even the rights of a prisoner of war—for he was not captured in a lawful war, but in a marauding expedition against a nation with whom his own was at peace.

The shedding of blood is horrible. But would it have been so horrible in the view of those journals, if only negroes had been killed—if the fugitive had been shot, and not the master? Would that act have called forth fierce denunciation, and strong appeals in public meetings and elsewhere for the support of law? Would there have been any such eagerness for the arrest and punishment of the offenders? Let the fine of *fifty dollars* imposed for the brutal assault upon the *freeman* Daniel, at Buffalo, answer these questions. In the Southern States, any colored person presumed to be a fugitive may be challenged by any white man to stand, and if he refuses, may be shot dead upon the spot. Is not that 'horrible'?

It was horrible that Mr. Gorsuch, the master, should have been shot in attempting to rob a fellow-man of his liberty. It was horrible too, that he should have been there with arms in his hand for such an infamous purpose. Horrible to relate, Crittenden was shot as a pirate, when he only intended to aid in giving freedom to the oppressed. Gorsuch was shot while engaged in an act that his own government pronounces piracy upon any sea and any soil but that of these United States. Had an officer of the United States navy caught him in that same act upon the coast of Africa, he would have hung him on the first yard-arm, or have brought him home in irons. Still, it was horrible that he should lose his life, even while attempting to enslave a fellow-man.

We deplore the tragedy at Christiana. The colored population, it would seem, acted contrary to the advice of their best friends. In banding together for an armed resistance to the law, they went directly contrary to the advice given in this journal in October last. The *Journal of Commerce*, with that same recklessness of truth and decency which it has uniformly shown in stating the positions of this Journal, says that this is 'a legitimate result of the teachings of *The Independent*, and some other preachers of the Gospel of *Peace*. Are they not morally responsible for these murders? The ignorant negroes do as they were told by those whom they regard as their friends and counsellors, and may be less guilty, morally, than those who instigate them.'

It seems a pity to take away the force of this grave anathema by a simple quotation from the very article to which the *Journal* here refers; and we really regret to convict the *Journal* under its new dispensation—from which we had hoped better things—of the old offence, for which we parted company with it months ago. But here is what we said last October, which has a direct bear , on the case in Pennsylvania:—

'We would *dissuade* the fugitives as a class, and especially would we *dissuade the colored population as a whole, from any combination to resist the law by violence.* Much as we feel the justice of their cause, and much as we admire their generous devotion to each other, there are general principles of public order which forbid us to sanction a mob, *or to lend our countenance to ANY combined measures of violence*—for organized resistance to law, when there is no hope of success, is not a revolution, but a mob.'

When the *Journal of Commerce* shall have learned the first lessons of truth and candor, and shall have retracted statements which they *know* to be false, we may possibly bestow some attention on the impotence of its logic, in asserting that if one who is outlawed and doomed to slavery without a hearing before a jury, may lawfully resist in order to his escape, therefore an innocent man, arrested on suspicion of crime, who knows that he will have a trial before a jury where he can prove his innocence, may resist also. If he knew that he was seized to be hung without a trial, there would be an analogy between the cases. Says the *Journal*, 'Some will be arrested, doubtless, who are not murderers; why should not they too shoot down the officers, or whoever attempts to arrest them, as well as the fugitives? The principle is the same; and it is a principle, we do not hesitate to say, direct from the bottomless pit, whoever may be its mouth-piece.' This logic is as 'bottomless' as the pit with which our neighbor seems so familiar. Our readers will certainly excuse us from replying to any utterances from that quarter.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE AFFRAY AT CHRISTIANA.

A citizen of Maryland went, on Thursday night last, to Christiana, near Lancaster, Pa., accompanied by an officer with a proper warrant, according to the act of Congress, to reclaim two fugitive slaves. Their coming was expected by the negroes, who assembled to resist the law and defend the freedom of their brethren. A bloody affray ensued, in which Mr. Gorsuch, the master, was killed, and his son, who was with him, seriously wounded. The slaves were not taken, but since then several arrests have been made on the charge of treason, and the act of the slaves is quite generally condemned as murder.

It has been asserted that the abolitionists in that vicinity, when consulted beforehand, advised the negroes to arm themselves and shoot down the slave-catchers. This, however, is denied on the best authority. A letter which we published on Saturday, from a source sure to be accurately informed in this respect, says that exactly the contrary advice was given them, and that they were explicitly told that it was better to flee than fight. We have no doubt this is the fact, especially as the abolitionists thereabout are Friends. It was good counsel, and it is to be deplored that the negroes did not follow it.

It is also asserted that the blacks were the first to fire, as if that rendered their act more heinous; but this is also denied on their part. At any rate, it appears certain that Mr. Gorsuch was bent on getting them, at whatever cost, and warned them that a refusal to surrender would be attended by bloodshed. Accordingly, if he did not fire first, it was not from any intention to spare life on his part; and the negroes, in firing, did no more than they knew would be done to them.

A great deal of horror is expressed at the result, because white men perished attempting to execute a law of the United States. Had two of the resisting negroes fallen instead, comparatively little would have been thought of it, and we presume no arrests would have been deemed necessary.

For our part, we are as deeply shocked at the bloodshed which has taken place as any one, but we cannot hold the negroes guilty of the crime of murder. They acted against one law, it is true, but they had another on their side, and that a law august and divine in its origin, namely, the law of Nature. They defended an inalienable right, namely, the right to their own persons. When that right is assailed, no human decree or enactment can annul the authority of the individual to defend it, and to defend it, if he think advisable, to the last. No act of Congress can make it *right* for one man to convert another into his personal property, or *wrong* for that other to refuse to be so treated. No statute of man's making can abrogate the first and manliest instincts of man's nature, for that is the creation of the Higher Power. It is not sufficient for a legislature to declare that certain individuals are and ought to be the slaves of certain others, for Slavery is not a matter of Law, in the pure and elevated sense of that term, but of violence; and by violence they that it lays hands on are, in the eyes of impartial and unsophisticated justice, authorised to resist it. Would it not, in truth, have been a worse murder, had the negroes been shot down in defending their freedom?

But, whatever be the absolute natural *right* in this case, it is plain that the blacks fell into a lamentable error. They ought to have followed the advice of their friends, and escaped from the country. No doubt that might have been done, even after the warrant was out for their arrest, for on all sides they would have found aid and comfort as they fled. Even those who are now loud in proclaiming the necessity of sustaining the odious, the infamous law for slave-catching, would then have helped them in their strait. Now, by their act, they have changed the case, and made themselves to be regarded as aggressors instead of sufferers. It is out of the question for fugitives to think of forcibly resisting the authorities, and, being so, it is wrong for them to undertake it. It is wrong to seek and defy martyrdom, where nothing is to be gained thereby. The only safety for such persons is to get out of this land of liberty as fast as they can.

We trust that this melancholy event may not be without its use in fixing upon this enactment among us the character that it bears in other civilized countries. Let it be seen as it is, shameful and inhuman. For, as we have said before, this affray is one of its legitimate fruits. In the Southern States, where slavery is at home, bloodshed is a frequent circumstance in attempts at recapture. In bringing the fact upon our soil, it is not surprising that its most horrid accessories should come with it. But for slavery such things would not be; but for the Fugitive Slave Law, they would not be in the free States.

From the Fall River News.

THE FUGITIVE AFFAIR AT CHRISTIANA.

The trouble attending the arrest of an alleged fugitive slave, or several alleged fugitive slaves in Pennsylvania, last week, and which resulted in bloodshed, will excite a profound interest, doubtless, in all parts of the country. This subject is one on which both the North and the South are keenly sensitive. Every intelligent and observing man in the North will be ready to affirm, that nothing abolitionizes our people so fast—nothing so universalizes that hatred to the slave system which is already the prevailing sentiment of the free States, as a wanton and needless disregard of that humanity of which even the odious Fugitive Slave Law is presumed to allow the exercise, in making arrests of, in substantiating claims to, and in carrying back, persons claimed as fugitive slaves.

When William Craft was to be arrested in Boston as an alleged fugitive slave, and when it was stated to the District Marshal that said Craft had fortified himself in a certain house from which he could not and would not be taken without a previous forcible entry of the house, the City Marshal, who is a lawyer, we believe, doubted, hesitated, and took counsel with regard to his legal right to make forcible entry in the case. The result was, that he forbore to make such entry. Mr. Gorsuch, according to our account, seems utterly to have disregarded, or never to have felt, any such scruple. He, with his force, found the alleged fugitives under the protection of a house, whose proprietors had a right to deny all the Marshals in the nation entrance, except in the service of a *criminal* process. They were warned to desist and retire. They were warned of the consequences if they attacked the blacks in the house. Yet they did attack them, and thus plucked down destruction upon their own heads. As to the neighboring inhabitants, it appears that, so far from inciting, they counselled against resistance. The whole thing is a natural fruit of the abominable Fugitive Law.

This tragic affair is a legitimate fruit of the fugitive slave law. The only wonder is, that such bloody scenes have not taken place before. The law is infernal, and can bear none but infernal fruits. Slavery belongs to barbarism, and is purely a matter of violence. All laws in its favor, are laws to promote violence, and trample down justice and humanity.—Against justice and manhood, it wages a perpetual war, acknowledging no right to the war, but the right of violence and the strongest. And, in this matter of the fugitive slave law, by which the slaveholders have transformed the free States into a hunting ground for their diabolical institution, the case is made worse by the fact, that the State jurisdictions are trampled under foot by the unconstitutional and despotic action of the Federal Government. May political perdition overtake all concerned in creating that law! May their names blacken and rot forevermore!

Since the fight occurred, about thirty persons have been arrested. One or two of them are white persons, the rest are colored. Seven of them are arrested *on a charge of treason against the United States! Treason*, is it? Certainly, the unconstitutional despotism of the General Government is asserted with a tone that would become the Russian Nicholas.

To form a right estimate of the case, it should be remembered, that the colored people who reside near Christiana had been exasperated and maddened by previous kidnapping outrages. They dwelt in a community by themselves, and are mostly brick-makers. About two years ago they were invaded by a lawless gang of kidnappers, who came at midnight, and, without any pretence of legal warrant, broke into a house, seized a colored man, beat him horribly, put him in a wagon, and carried him off to Maryland or Virginia. This outrage very naturally inflamed the colored people to the highest pitch of indignation.—They have since been armed and organized for battle with such kidnapping pirates. Now they have madly fought a battle with their oppressors and killed a slaveholder.—*Hartford Republican.*

HEROISM AND BLOODSHED!

We hope the events which have transpired in Pennsylvania will open the eyes of some to see what slavery and servility united are doing, and the desperate track upon which they have placed the country. That blood is on the soul of every man who supports that infamous, cruel law, which caused it to be shed. And we think men will be scarce, possessing the effrontery to blame those men for fighting for their liberty. Have not men as good a right to do it here as in Hungary?—and is it less noble?—Their country had made war on them, and they have the clearest *rights* of belligerents. We may hang, shoot, butcher them, but for shame let us not blame them for defending their rights. Haynau will be put upon their track, but while we persecute, imprison, hang the innocent, and curse the land with their blood, let us have the magnanimity to honor a manly resistance. The struggle of those men was heroic, just, and should be applauded by all. Ask Kossuth how this is. We have no mealy words on this subject. A man hunted for his liberty, has a *right to fight* to the last drop of blood, and we honor him for its fearless exercise as we do Leonidas, Hampden and Warren. If we kill such men, let us not insult them by asking their consent. The Cubans did not do that.

THE CHRISTIANA OUTRAGE.

This terrible affair shows what inflammable elements lie hidden beneath the quiet surface of society. From our point of view, we readily take its most important bearings.

First of all, we are forced to mark the essential wrong of an institution which claims men as property, and so arrays the noblest instincts of our nature against a law of the land.

In the second place, we cannot admire or approve the conduct of those persons who push to extremities their legal rights, and who afflict, with their aggressions, peaceful communities, that would be unwilling to interfere, aggressively, with their neighbors in other sections of the land. Granting the binding force of the obnoxious law, we by no means allow that men are obliged to insist upon their legal rights to the utmost. Certainly the Christian slave-owner—and such men there are—should think well of the prayer, 'forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors,' before they demand their pound of flesh at the hands of people, most of whom look upon the whole transaction with horror.

In conclusion, we need not, at any length, express our aversion to the violence which, in shedding the blood of an oppressor, has stirred up the worst passions of his allies, and brought fatal harm upon the parties so vainly defended. The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.—*N. Y. Christian Inquirer.*

From the Ohio Star.

LETTER FROM REV. SAMUEL R. WARD.

STREETSBORO', Sept. 15th, 1851.

L. W. HALL, Esq.:

DEAR SIR,—As I said in my last, I went to Edinburgh, on Monday last, the 8th inst. The people turned out with all their might. Dr. Putnam Barron was called to the chair, and Rev. Mr. Burr opened with prayer. The meeting had two sessions—one in the afternoon, and the other in the evening. I was conveyed to Edinburgh by our mutual friend, Albert Austin, Esq., in a carriage that did *not* belong to a certain—or rather an uncertain Democratic (?) merchant of your village. O. W. Strong, the committee man of Edinburgh, dragged us from the house of Dr. Barron, where we took tea, and we spent the night with his amiable parents. I say he *dragged* us, for it was a hard matter to leave the good Doctor and his lady, after one had experienced their happy method of making one feel at home.

The meeting was well attended in the afternoon, and the house was filled in the evening.

On Tuesday, the 9th, Brother Spelman took me in his carriage to Atwater. The meeting was held in the Academy. Rev. Mr. Sharp opened with prayer. The Congregational Church had been engaged for the meeting, but it was concluded to shut it against us, because the meeting was political. Dear, good whigs could not have their whig Congregational house used for political purposes. You see their house was so sacred—more sacred than their principles! Christ preached deliverance to the captives in a meeting-house, but the Atwater whigs did not have the control of *that* house; but those who did control it, acted very much like them.

At Deerfield, Palmyra, Paris and Charlestown, large meetings convened, but no where were we denied a meeting-house but at Atwater.

Yours, &c. S. R. WARD.

THE CHRISTIANA TRAGEDY.

As we have before remarked, says the *Commonwealth*, most of the accounts from Pennsylvania are evidently so strongly colored against the unfortunate negroes, that, from the general tone of the press, one would suppose that murder, with malice aforethought, had been committed at Christiana. To those who desire to be well informed, it will certainly be worth while to read accounts as well from the friends, as from the avowed enemies of the parties accused.—We therefore copy the following letter from one, who is spoken of by the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, as 'an esteemed correspondent.'

LANCASTER, PA., Sept. 15th, 1851.

MR. GAY,—Rumor has doubtless, ere this, reached you of the recent Slave Case which occurred in the lower part of this county. I hasten to give you an account of the matter, in all its essential and important features.

On the morning of Thursday, the 11th inst., about 4 o'clock, a slaveholder from Maryland, named Gorsuch, together with his son and several understrappers, made their appearance before the tenant-house of Mr. Pownall, a Quaker, residing in this county, on the borders of Chester, and which was occupied by a colored man supposed to have harbored a slave of the aforesaid Marylander, whom they intended to capture. As a colored man, a guest of the tenant, issued from the door of the dwelling, this chivalrous party made an attack upon him, when he retreated into the house, into which they followed him. The man, however, proved not to be the slave of whom the party were in pursuit; and, in the course of a colloquy which followed, he advised the slaveholder to leave the premises, assuring him that it would be impossible for him to capture any slave and carry him out of the neighborhood. The Marylander declared that he would not be baffled in his purpose of recovering his 'property,' adding that he would not leave the place alive without accomplishing his purpose. 'Then,' replied the man, 'you will not leave the place alive.' At this juncture, the son entreated his father not to suffer such insolence from 'a nigger,' when the latter immediately fired upon the man, with a revolver, three or four times, one bullet passing through his hair, and another grazing his body. The man, who is possessed of great personal courage, stood all the while in the doorway without flinching. This slaveholder, prepared to adopt means so singularly persuasive toward that portion of his fellow-men whom he claimed as his individual property, and who had so thoughtlessly absented themselves from his patriarchal care, was a pious and exemplary exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Almost immediately an onset commenced from an entirely different quarter. A number of colored men, who were aware of the intended attack, and had assembled in the vicinity, fired upon the party in pursuit, killing the slaveholder on the spot, and wounding the son in such a manner that it is scarcely possible he can recover. The latter has been ever since lying at the house of Mr. Pownall.

The country, for miles around, is in a state of the highest excitement. The notorious Ingraham, the Philadelphia Commissioner, is on the ground, together with the United States Marshal, Roberts, and a company of marines from the Navy Yard. They have taken up their head-quarters at Christiana, a village on the State Railroad, about twenty miles below this city.

Gangs of armed ridemen from Maryland, assisted by the lowest ruffians this region can furnish, are prowling round the country, over a district of ten or twelve miles square, arresting indiscriminately all colored persons whom they meet, gallantly including the women. A colored woman, who had been employed by Mr. Pownall to wash the clothing of two Marylanders, was seized at the wash-tub, and dragged away by her brave captors, who were repeatedly assured that she had been expressly employed for the above-mentioned purpose. All this is done *ostensibly* upon suspicion that the persons arrested were engaged in the affray which ended in the death of the slaveholder. Not less than fifty persons, in all, have been arrested; among them two white men, who were seized on no other ground than that of a refusal to assist the government officers in the capture of their neighbors. The conduct of these patriotic officials is doubtless founded upon that clause of the Fugitive Slave Law in which 'all good citizens' are called upon to assist in the noble enterprise of our general government, viz., the catching of runaway slaves in general.

Two colored men, employed by our friend Lindley Coates, in whose neighborhood the affair occurred, were seized, on Saturday, and taken to Christiana. He followed them to those head-quarters of 'law and order,' or rather to within half a mile of the village, but was there dissuaded, by his friends, from going farther, by the earnest representation that his life would be in imminent danger. Cyrus Burleigh, while passing by, was seized and treated very rudely, but was protected from personal injury by the intercession of the Marshal, with whom, I believe, he is personally acquainted.

Such is the insolence of these scoundrels from Maryland, backed by the officers of the government, that people passing along the public highway in their carriages have been rudely stopped and detained without any pretext whatever; and it is considered unsafe for any one not of their own kit and kin to approach their rendezvous. I have all these facts from perfectly reliable authority. It is highly to the credit of the neighborhood, that not a man could be found to obey the orders of the government officers in any of these infamous proceedings.

THE FUGITIVE TRAGEDY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* writes from Philadelphia, of date Friday, the 12th, giving the following account of a late tragic occurrence at Christiana, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. It differs in several particulars from the statement telegraphed to the presses in this city. The writer is understood to be an eminent divine of Philadelphia:

'Sept. 12, 1851. I write in great haste, eager to correct, as I have the means of doing, in a measure, the accounts just published in our morning papers of the bloody battle which took place yesterday morning at Christiana, in this State, twenty miles this side of Lancaster. From an individual just from that place, we learn that a slaveholder, with his son and nephew, from Maryland, accompanied by U. S. officers of this city and Baltimore, went to Christiana after two fugitive slaves. The blacks, having received notice of their coming, gathered, a considerable number of them, in the house which the slave-catching party were expected to visit. The door was fastened, and the blacks retired to the upper part of the house. When the slaveholder and his company approached, they were warned off. A parley was held, the slaveholder declaring, as it is said and believed, 'I will go to h—l or have my slaves.' The door was broken in, a horn was sounded out of one of the upper windows, and after an interval, a company of blacks, armed, gathered on the spot, and the negroes in the house made a rush down, and crowded the whites out.

Here the parley was resumed, the spokesman of the blacks telling the white men to go away; they were determined, he said, to die rather than go into slavery, or allow any one of their number to be taken. He declared, moreover, that the blacks would not fire, but if the whites fired, they were dead men. Shortly, first the nephew, then the slave-owner and his son fired revolvers, wounding a number of the blacks, but not seriously—one man had his hat perforated by a ball. The clothes of others were pierced and torn, but, as the blacks said afterward, 'the Lord shook the balls out of their clothes.' The fire of the whites was returned. The slave-owner fell dead, and his son very dangerously wounded. The whites then retired. One of the U. S. officers summoned the posse, but in vain. Some of the neighbors, Quakers and anti-slavery persons, went and took up the wounded man and carried him to one of their homes, where, while they told him, in Quaker phrase, that 'they had no unity with him in his acts,' and abhorred the wicked business in which he had been engaged, every attention was paid him, and medical aid instantly sent for. The effect of this treatment upon the young man, as our informant told us, may easily be imagined. He wept, and vowed, if he lived, to correct the impression people had at his home about the abolitionists. The doctor pronounced his wounds mortal.

People soon gathered in large numbers at this scene of blood. The excitement was intense. Opinions and feelings conflicted, of course, but there was a strong feeling in behalf of the blacks. While the crowd were talking, and during the ferment, two blacks (brick-makers) passed. One of the crowd exclaimed, 'There go two fellows who should be shot!' The black man paused and faced the crowd, and said calmly something to this effect—'Here we are; shoot us, if you choose; we are a suffering people, any how. God made us black; we can't help that; shoot us if you will.' The revulsion was instantaneous and strong, and any man who had muttered a word against the blacks would have been knocked down on the spot.

It is not true that the blacks had been counselled to resist. They had been repeatedly advised not to fight, but to flee to Canada.

Our informant, an aged and eminent member of the Society of Friends, does not profess to give the testimony of an eye-witness. He had seen the dead body of the slaveholder. He knew the people who took charge of the wounded man. He knew that the blacks had been counselled against resistance. The friends of the slave and the fugitive in that neighborhood are Quakers. Further than this, the above is the account of a resident in that vicinity, who gives us what is the most probable truth of the case, according to the statements of those in the neighborhood best acquainted with the circumstances. In a few days, it is to be hoped that the truth will be ascertained with more certainty. Although by some questioned at first which fired first, the settled belief at the place is that the whites fired first, as stated above.

Yours, for truth's sake, W. H. F.

In addition to the facts contained in the above statements, (says the *Tribune*,) we learn from another correspondent, that the warrant in the case was issued by Commissioner Ingraham of Philadelphia, and that the person deputed to execute it was John Egan, commonly known as *Hoss Egan*, formerly a notorious member of the gang of *Killers*, and now equally notorious as a slave-catcher under the new law.

There were twenty-five in the colored party, and fifteen whites. Several of the whites were wounded, one, a Baltimore officer, severely, by balls through both his shoulders. There were eighteen shots fired by the slaveholder's party.

☞ So much for Slavery! so much for the accursed Fugitive Slave Law! They who are responsible for this bloody transaction are the upholders of that law and that foul system,—Fillmore, Webster & Co. The blacks are fully justified in what they did, by the Declaration of Independence, and the teachings and examples of Washington, Warren and Kossuth.—*Liberator.*

From the Albany Atlas.

A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT.

The letter of Daniel H. Davis to the colored population of Buffalo is going the rounds of the press. The eulogists of slavery seize on it with avidity, and parade it as the admonition of some great prophet. The *N. Y. Express* says it is 'a document full of plain truths worth studying.' It continues, 'Daniel is a person gifted with common sense and shrewdness beyond his race;' 'keen power of penetration,' 'an excellent judge of character,' 'he has discrimination and a remarkable readiness in divining men's motives, a peculiar aptitude of analysis.' It considers it 'a sensible letter, an invaluable legacy,' coming from a shrewd person, entitled to profound consideration.

What will the *Express* say when it learns that all this shrewdness and aptitude of analogies has gone to Canada? And how much will the *Buffalo Courier*, in reading the eulogies of its late contributor, regret that it has permitted a connection to be severed with one so gifted and so far above the ordinary walks of negro literature.

From the Liberator.

PLEASING INCIDENT. No street in the city was so highly decorated, or presented so beautiful an appearance, at the late Railroad Jubilee, as Dover-street; and nothing in that street, or during the day, secured so much attention, remark and applause, as the immense procession marched along, as a banner thrown across the street, on which were full length portraits of President Fillmore and Lord Elgin shaking hands, and underneath this inscription:—

Now let us haste these bonds to knit,
And in the work be handy,
That we may blend 'God save the Queen,'
With 'Yankee Doodle Dandy.'

Of the thousands who read and applauded this fraternal verse, scarcely one knew that the author of it was that 'British incendiary,' GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. Had they done so, we fear their gratification would not have been so warmly manifested, such is the temper of a blind and malevolent prejudice. We wish Mr. Thompson could have occupied our seat, that day, near the banner, and witnessed the electric effect which the reading of these lines produced in the countenances of the passing multitude; he would have seen that there is a chord of human brotherhood that can be made to thrill at the touch, uniting all hearts as one.

When the Hutchinsons were in England, (it was at the time of the Oregon excitement,) Mr. Thompson wrote for their first concert in London, the following verses, *impromptu*, (the last of which is the one we have referred to on the banner,) the sentiment and singing of which brought down thunders of applause:—

Oh! may the human race,
Heaven's message soon embrace,
Good will to man;
Hushed be the battle's sound,
And o'er the earth around,
May joy and peace abound,
Through every land!

Oh! then shall come the glorious day,
When swords and spears shall perish,
And brothers John and Jonathan
The kindest thoughts shall cherish!

When Oregon no more shall fill
With angry darts our quiver,
But Englishmen with Yankees dwell
On the great Columbia river.

Then, let us haste these bonds to knit,
And in the work be handy,
That we may blend 'God save the Queen,'
With 'Yankee Doodle Dandy.'

☞ We are indebted to Mr. E. R. Johnson, of New Bedford, for California papers of a late date.

Evansville, Ind., Sept. 22.—Terrible Steamboat Accident—Thirty-five Persons Killed and Wounded.—The steamer James Jackson exploded yesterday, as she was leaving Shawneetown, killing and wounding thirty-five persons. The scene was heart-rending in the extreme. Among the killed are Philip Rance of La., Capt. Holmes of Natchez, Capt. Walker of Arkansas, Charles C. Greene of Texas, Solomon Wefren and Austin Johnson of New Orleans, Dr. W. Wood of Georgetown, Judge Judas D. Hood of Mississippi, and some eight or ten others. Col. Stewart of Penn. was seriously wounded. The Jackson was completely torn to pieces. The engineer is reported to have jumped overboard immediately after the explosion, and has not since been seen.

☞ Accounts have been received of the death of the Duke Ferdinand, of Saxe Cobourg, brother of the Duchess of Kent, and uncle of Prince Albert.

☞ According to a letter from Naples, recently received by a respectable house at Lyons, the small Neapolitan town of Barille had been swallowed up by an earthquake. Seven hundred bodies had already been taken out of the ruins.

MARRIED.

In New Haven, Sept. 1st, 1851, by Rev. A. G. Beman, Mr. Samuel Johnson, of New York, to Miss Sarah Ann Smith, of New Haven.

DIED.

In New Haven, Aug. 31st, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, aged 68; also, Sept. 7th, Mrs. Mary A. Phillips, aged 58.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

In accordance with a vote of the Women's Rights Convention, held in Worcester, Mass., the 23d and 24th of Oct. last, another Convention, for the same objects, viz., 'to consider the Rights, Duties, and Relations of Woman,' will be held in Worcester, Oct. 15th and 16th.

The work contemplated is no 'child's play'. It wars directly with the *thought*, so deeply rooted and so hoary, that woman is only an appendage, and not an integral part in the fabric of human society.

It is in full conflict with the world's teachers;—its preachers; its lawyers; its poets, and its painters. It stands opposed to those soul-blighting influences of society, which have consigned woman to an aimless and objectless existence, and have baptized a life so unworthy as peculiarly fitting and graceful for women.

Such are some of the circumstances. Come then to the Convention, prepared as thought meets thought to seize and use each new ray of light in dispelling the 'gross darkness' which envelops both man and woman relative to woman's rights, and the duties which grow out of those rights.

We invite all, both men and women, to meet at the appointed time and place, for the free and full discussion of this great question.

Reports will be presented from the Committees appointed by the last Convention; on Education, Industrial Avocations, Civil and Political Functions, and Social Relations.

In addition to those who last year gave interest to the Convention, Mrs. Coe, of Ohio, will be present.

In behalf of the Committee,
LUCY STONE,
WM. H. CHANNING,
PAULINA W. DAVIS.

SELECTIONS.

PUBLIC DEBTS—THEIR MORAL OBLIGATION.

MILTORD, Jeff. Co., Wisconsin.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Near the close of last winter, in an article in *The Weekly Tribune* headed 'A Word to Friends in Europe,' you took occasion to give some words of advice to the true Republicans of France as to the course they should pursue on the event of their coming into power. In instructing, in speaking of the National Debt, you say, 'Do not repudiate it—pay it.' I should like to know the reasons which induced you to give such advice. Were I counseling the Republicans of France, I should advise them to take a course exactly opposite from that which you wish them to pursue. Look at the circumstances of the case: For the last two hundred years, excepting two short intervals, France has been governed by tyrants who have wring from the hard earnings of her people, the last cent that despotic power could exact. When the sums thus extorted have been inefficient to support them in their wars of ambition, and the unhinded extravagance of their mode of life, they have borrowed immense sums, promising to pay themselves, or that their successors in power would. To this Court contract the French people were no a party, for their rulers exercised a despot power, therefore they are not bound by its provisions. What principle of justice demands that the French people, on recovering their liberty, should tax themselves to pay the debt daily piling up there to pay the hireling soldiery, by whom alone they are kept enslaved? Let it not be said that they are governed by Republican rulers of their own choice; every one knows that the Constitution has been trampled in the dust; and that for the last two years despotism has reigned triumphant in France. My position is this: When the tyrants of a nation contract debts, the people on recovering their liberty are not bound to pay them.

I hold it to be self-evident that one generation of men have neither the right nor power to borrow money and bind another generation to pay it. Thus, when this is sought to be done, it is the right of the succeeding generation to throw off the burden thus unjustly placed upon it. Why should the laborers of France burden themselves with heavy taxes to pay the debts which have been handed down by the despots of two centuries? Or why should the people of the British Empire, when they shall have succeeded in driving out the Aristocracy whose iron rule now crushes them to the earth, vote to pay the immense sum borrowed by the royal fool who waged 'seven years' war, in endeavoring to enslave us?

Let me not be misunderstood: I detest American repudiation. When a people's rulers, elected by Universal Suffrage, borrow money in a legal and constitutional manner, every consideration of honor and justice requires that the people should pay it—pay it while a majority of their numbers are living. The debt contracted by our Government, in carrying on the war commenced by Polk, (a man who has done his country a greater injury than any one American that has yet lived,) I hope to see paid off within the next twelve years. I will willingly pay my share of the taxes which must be imposed in order to do it. But if it is handed down to the men of fifty years hence, I do earnestly hope that they will assert their inalienable rights and resist the imposition.

I have said enough to make my meaning clear, and will not lengthen this article. I should like to know your opinion on the question I have raised.—

Respectfully yours, JEROME COLE.

REPLY.

We believe our correspondent cannot be more thoroughly convinced that we are of the injustice, the utter wrong, of one generation of tailors or people incurring debts for the prosecution of offensive wars or any other purpose not calculated essentially to benefit their successors. But we dissent altogether from his suggestion of a remedy. The case in private life would be similar to that of a B. inheriting a noble estate, from his ancestors, which, instead of transmitting unimpaired and improved to his children, he, to pamper his appetites and gratify his indolence, loads with debts and mortgages. He dies intestate, his son C. D. comes into possession of the property, and says: 'I won't pay these debts, because my father had no moral right to contract them.' We cannot see that the premises justify the deduction.

'But one generation cannot (morally) bind its successors.' My friend! you learned that maxim in a bad school, and cannot unlearn it too soon! It won't do to live by it. The obligation of a people to pay the debts contracted by their ancestors is enforced not created by their *receiving and enjoying the fruits of those ancestors' exertions*. The generation of to-day cannot rightfully repudiate the obligations imposed by their ancestors without rejecting along with them the property transmitted to them by those ancestors. For example: the Erie Canal is worth thirty millions of dollars, while the entire Public Debt of our State is a little over twenty millions. Now, suppose that debt should remain and mature through the next century. The Erie Canal also remaining worth the same as now, surely no honest man needs an argument to convince him that the people of New York in 1950 could not rightfully repudiate the debt and yet continue to receive and enjoy the income of the Canals.

Here is a specific good received from a former generation, burdened with a specific liability. No one, we think, will doubt that the burden is to be taken with the good. But the case is not materially altered where the burden is not *directly* connected with a specific debt. We think the people of France, in order honestly to repudiate their National Debt, would be in honor bound not only to surrender Versailles, the Louvre, the Tuileries, the Navy, the Ordnance, and all other National property, but to make a formal renunciation of the achievements and glories of their ancestors as well. A Nation is not a fiction, a fleeting, but a living entity.

'Ah! but the Government is not the People!—Beware, my friend! that you do not in all honesty affirm a scheme for villainy! knavery! It won't do for a people to repudiate pecuniary obligations on this ground. Our correspondent's citation of the Mexican war is in point. He and we opposed that war as far as we legally and peacefully could—neither of us ever believed that it was fairly and loyally decided, according to the requirements of the Constitution—and yet we hold ourselves bound to pay the debt incurred in prosecuting that war. How does the case of France differ from this? The President and the Assembly—both chosen by Universal Suffrage—constitute the Government; they rule (in our view) most tyrannically, treacherously; but, if the National debt is in that account to be repudiated, may not every public debt be repudiated on the ground of the Administration party which contracted it? Where is the line to be drawn? The Democrats who came into power with Jefferson might have argued that the obligations incurred by John Adams in preparing to fight the French were unnecessary and unauthorized by the people; so of the Whigs in regard to the Mexican War Debt, and so on. No; a Nation is a Nation; and, when it permits its liberties to be crushed, its power to be wielded by a despot or oligarchy, it does so to its own loss, at its own peril.

And this brings to view one of the *practical* evils of the Repudiating theory of our friend—namely, its tangible tendency to array the whole mass of fundholders or Government creditors on the side of 'the powers that be,' however despotic and unworthy they may be. Every one that has a dollar in the funds will be tempted to say—'I must stand by the existing Government, or I shall lose my income.' Thus will be so effectually created a powerful and inexpensive ally and champion of existing abuses and wrongs more potent than a veteran army.

No; our correspondent has not seized the right end of the rope. This most direful foe to a people's rights has been ground down by despotism or aristocracy is not to repudiate the Public Debt on regaining their liberties, but *pay it off*. That will be morally, unexceptionably and socially beneficent. The Public Debt of Great Britain is now Four Thousand Millions of Dollars; now suppose the people of that Empire were soon to attain Freedom and Equality through a Republic based on Universal Suffrage, shall they then proceed to decree that, by fair assessment on all property, the whole debt should be paid off at once, or in ten annual instalments, has our correspondent really considered what the effect would be? Suppose the whole tangible property of the kingdom to be fairly worth five times the amount of the debt, it would acquire an assessment on all property equal to one-fifth of its present cash value payable in money or in public securities; and it might be found expedient to issue (for the occasion) some new description of Currency, in order to prevent a ruinous depreciation of the money value of property, which should thus be kept as nearly uniform as possible, until the payment was completed.

This plan, rightly carried into execution, will have these consequences: In the first place, the fundholders will be paid off in full, and will have nothing to complain of. Instead of their stocks, they will have their equivalent in mossy lands and other productive property. Secondly, property will have been made to pay the Public Debt, whereas the burden of it is now mostly borne by labor, and the debt not paid at all. The wars which involved that country so deeply in debt were mainly engaged in for the supposed benefit of property, and property has generally approved them, as labor has not. In a short time, the debt will be entirely gone, and its payment will leave property far more equally and generally diffused than now. Many a great (mortgaged) estate will have been cut up into farms by its owners, and among a thousand owners; many who have previously lived in indolence on the small income of three to twelve hundred pounds in the funds, will have inclosed a cottage and three to thirty acres of land, with every incitement to improve and beautify it. There will be not a dollar's worth less of property in the country; and what there is will be actually worth more after the debt is paid than now, besides being better distributed. Labor will have been relieved of a staggering load, and property treated to a salutary lesson against the heedless incurring of debt. Public Credit, in case of need, will have been not destroyed, but invigorated and fortified. Is not this better than Repudiation?

From the Western Citizen.

CHICAGO, May 28th, 1850.

ELDER S. S. BALL—Dear Sir:—I perceive that you are making faint endeavors to revive the spirit of hatred and colonization, which has been almost buried for the last fifteen years. You seem to be trying to unscrew the head of this hideous monster above the blasting tide of popular disgust and indignation. This miserable scheme of expatriation and cruel exile, conceived and brought forth in the hotest of Slavery—promulgated by slaveholders themselves, and carried into effect by some of the most influential and leading slaveholders of the South. Advocated and lauded by Henry Clay, Phinney, and such like, with a tribe of others of the most poisonous and cruel souled drivers of the south—backed up by a few in the North, and some of their colored men at that. Sir, I am sorry to be compelled to conber you with that class of men in the North, more especially knowing you as I do, to be a lover of mankind in general, and particularly of our proscribed, disinchised and downtreadden countrymen. I was much surprised the other day, on learning through a Colonization Journal of St. Louis, that you had been throwing oil on the flames of hatred at the city of St. Louis. That journal quotes you as follows and the following words, which are living commentaries of themselves:

'I am the warm friend and enthusiastic admirer of Liberia, and that it is 'the brightest spot on this earth for the colored race.' Now let us see how these words compare with your Resolutions in the emigration of Liberia. Speaking of seventeen persons will to the same effect, on page 14, you said:—'The old gentleman wanted the three Kentucky delegates and myself, to try to persuade some more men to go with him and his family back to the United States; but this we could not do. He then wished us to bring him and his little boy back. This also was out of our power.' Poor old man, was he on 'the brightest spot on this earth?' If so, may heaven deliver us from it. But again you say: 'there was another man there with a wife and nine children in the same situation, who offered to give our captain a bill of sale on himself, if he would only bring him and his family back to the United States!' (Six of the above named persons are mentioned on the 18th page.) But to your St. Louis speech. You said: 'Liberia not only protects the colored man in the enjoyment of equal rights, but that its institution fostered merit, developed the moral and intellectual powers of its citizens, and produced great men.' Now, sir, let us turn again to pages 8 and 9 of your report of Liberia, and see how the two extracts compare. After speaking of the style of living, you say: 'This style, of course, is attended with considerable expense, which the poor cannot support; and, in addition to this, they have just as many servants as they wish; and there seems to be as much distinction made between the rich and the poor, as there is in this country among the whites. This causes many who go to that country to be greatly disappointed, as they are led to believe before leaving here that they would be received with open arms, and placed upon an equality with the very best of families in Liberia, and that they would in a few years be promoted to office, &c., irrespective of any qualifications to move to this style, or fill those office. But this is not the case. In many instances, let the truth be told. Say to the poor and ignorant for more than a great majority of those who go there,—you will there be allowed to exercise the elective franchise; but of this, all will depend upon your qualifications. In this respect, Liberia is generally considered aristocratic; and if you will take the following instances as a specimen of their aristocracy, you will be able to judge for yourselves. I was informed of a circumstance in relation to a gentleman with whom I was acquainted in this country, that he was very poor on his arrival there, and having a wife and several children to support, he was forced, from his indigent circumstances, after being there a year or two, to apply for the office of door-keeper to the Legislature. This he obtained, and very soon he was proposed in his district for a Representative, and accordingly called on some of the leading men for their support; but they refused it because he had been door-keeper. This I heard, but not being satisfied of the truth of it, I inquired of one of the principal men in reference to this circumstance, and was informed that it was true; and that they would not confer the same honor, or place, in connection with it, by their sides the next. I thought that if this was democracy, it was not such as we have in the United States.' For I have known in this country, that it was to be sought after and filled, by men who have occupied seats both before and after in the State Senate.'

Now, I must frankly confess that I am not able to harmonize these two extracts. You say, 'that you thought that if this was democracy,' it was not such as we have in the United States.' In your St. Louis speech, you say that 'Liberia protects the colored man in the enjoyment of equal rights! and that it is the brightest spot on earth to the colored man.' My dear sir, it is a source of regret to me that you have so far forgotten the poor colored man's interest in this country. Your speeches at Springfield and St. Louis, sir, have done more to impede all of our efforts to obtain our rights here than twenty times that number of white men could have done. I am sorry to say the course you have taken in this colonization movement. There has not been a convention of colored men met for enlarge or twenty years that has not condemned this hateful scheme.

I must say, in conclusion, to our colored fellow countrymen, in the language of Douglass, who has said, 'we must not delude ourselves into the belief that the smooth faced, silvery voiced, and seemingly pious enemy of the colored man's rights in this country has ceased to be. This enemy still lives, and although it has renounced some of its boldness, it retains all its former malignity and cunning in a more concentrated degree. Its movements should not be allowed to escape our vigilance, and especially should we mark the conduct of colored men in regard to it; for, after all, colonization is but an empty name without the co-operation of colored men.'

My dear sir, I could say much more upon this subject, but I have already lengthened my letter beyond my first intention.

I remain, yours for truth and liberty,

JOHN JONES.

—From the New York Tribune.

THE 'HIGHER LAW' IN THE SOUTH.

DEAR SIR:—I should not address you on the interminable subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, if I had not something to advance which has not, to my knowledge, been fairly laid before the People.

There is a 'higher law' than the Constitution or any other law—the law of Self Defence. This principle is more universally acknowledged than the right of a man, in the abscence of all protection from the law, to protect himself by any means in his power. A law which is good for an individual is of course good for a State. And no one can deny that the imprisonment of our Massachusetts citizens in the jail of Charleston, S. C., for no offence but a black skin, is its palpable violation of not only the spirit but the letter of our Federal Constitution, which declares that the citizen of one State shall have the rights of citizens in all. We have appealed to Congress in vain. We sent Hon. Samuel Hoar to take the legal opinion of the Supreme Court—with what effect is known to all who know the Slave State of Massachusetts, in view of this insolent denial of legal redress, a right to use any means to obtain at least a trial of her claims before the U. S. Courts? Suppose a company is formed for any purpose of mutual benefit, articles of association are drawn up, officers elected, and a board of referees appointed to whom all disputes are referred; one of the company is wronged in direct violation of the articles of agreement; he appeals to the officers, who refuse to give him redress; he endeavors to bring his case before the board of reference and is prevented by violence from even obtaining a hearing. Can any one believe the injured member is bound to abide by the laws that have thus been broken by others? Yet this is the exact situation of the sovereign State in which I reside. The Federal Government will not protect us. Our legal agent has been driven by violence from the chivalrous State of South Carolina, and we are told that we will destroy the Union if we do thereby any part of the laws which are framed in accordance with the Constitution. The Constitution has been and is violated every day by the South, yet the Union still stands. Can it be that a residence below the Potomac bestows a peculiar exemption from the operation of the laws which we of the North can have no claim to? Will you be so good, Mr. Greely, as to inform us how many degrees South we must go to be out of the reach of the Constitution? and how many degrees North he must live, to have no right but that of submission? I, with many others, would like to have this difficult point settled—somewhat more definitely than the 'Peace measures' have settled the Slavery question.' Yours, E. J. W.

MARRIED AND BACHELOR LIFE.

Marriage, when formed in obedience to natural laws, comes in the very threshold of our lives, when every floating atom and every minutest particle is greedily sucked in by the hungry soul, to be absorbed into itself, and faithfully to be employed in building up the completed character. Marriage is a powerful influence so death; but death has no influence on marriage. For as we marry or do not, as we marry wisely or foolishly, so is the developed man. We have seen this most eminent man tossed about like a feather by the winds of marriage; hopeless, wretched, despairing, ill-tempered, profligate, perpexed, abandoned, as the great more than death would sit or well with them. Dryden married unhappily, and how much of the venomous stings of his satire, how much of his anpoetic, coarse depreciation of women has its origin therein, Addison shared his fate, and we know that the married Addison was not the man equal the bachelor Spectator. Pope refrained from matrimony, (his physique, indeed, was not calculated for winning hearts,) and may we not imagine that the 'divine little artist' might have produced something beyond the sphere of Sylvia and a Vanessa, and descended a very unfashionable moral man, through a morbid, old age, to a cheerless tomb—leaving his character as an inexplicable enigma of all time. Nay, in our days, have we seen Lord Byron struggling his fiery course, without repose, without definite purpose, through a maze of contradiction, wrath and profligacy, to an awful Nowhither. A man who married most unhappily, whose heart was cauterized by the loss of his wife, could be perhaps more forward, in his feelings, his actions, tell us that in his deepest abandonment to vice, the ghost of his first and purest love rose ever and anon before him, to frown a clear reproof upon his way ward career. But even the loss of Mary Chatworth might have been supplied, had her marriage indeed well. It did not; and the bowine marriage magnified and prolonged the unwise life, and prepared the early death. Surely the time was long enough for his heart, and the music of isolated spirits ought to bend itself with chastened ones, and the harp of two strings, when we love, and are conquerers; when we love, and are vanquished; when we marry with insight and foresight; when we marry blindly, in the dark, at hap hazard, and so take into our bosoms a very core of pestilence, or a poison forever; surely this is a crisis in the life of a man, grand, terrible and tragic; and in the great affinity, with that other crisis when the mourings are loosened, and we go forth to the unknown sleep.

But in another aspect, marriage may be associated with death. Marriage is a change of existence—a death birth, as our German friends would say. As Eteoclus—transit from one life to another—and with the same probability as well of doubt and uncertainty spread over that other life, as is over that life to whose domains death is the portals. Where we are we know, may a man about to be married will exclaim; where we have been, we also know; whither we are tending, we know not, nor can know, till the thing has merged into the gone. Charles V. said no man could be said to be truly brave until he had snuffed a candle with his fingers; a gentleman who had been sempstress in some continental cold water establishment, considered that the greatest test of courage was to go naked under a mountain torrent, converted into a douche, on a winter's morning; but my idea is, that no man's courage can be adequately tested as by entering into the holy state of matrimony, provided always, that the man is of a contemplative, reflective nature, and not a mere dweller in the moment that now is. The courage is more acquired on the woman's part than on the man's. She must infallibly know less of him than he of her, as he beholds her ever in the world she moves in; whereas he, when he leaves her, mingles and a lost in the crowd of outer life. Whether he keep himself apart among the virtuous, or has companions among the vicious, she can only hear by report, and report is not a witness that should be trusted, even as men and female etiquette denies her the searching inquiries necessary for complete satisfaction. Then again, he has more resources than she, if the home be made unhappy by the ill-assorted union. The tavern, the theatre, the meeting, the mart are all open to him. He can be away from home when he likes; and when from home, to all intents and purposes, he is a bachelor again. Not so the poor lady! Once a wife! a wife forever. She may not, cannot, would not, dare to leave him. The law, the children, and her high, noble, instinct, alike forbid it. She can never lay down her wifehood and become a maid again. And even if she does separate from him, and return once more to her father's house, the gay heart, the unspeakable palpitations of maidenly existence and house, the holding promises of coming life, these are there no longer; the butterfly is freed, but its wings are torn and unfathered—it can fly no more.

Hence, there is no one thing more lovely in this life, more full of the divinest courage, than when a young maiden from her past life, from her happy childhood, when she rambled over every field and moor around her home; when a mother anticipated her every want and soothed her little cares; when brothers and sisters grew from merry playmates to loving trusting friends; from the Christmas gatherings and romps, the summer festivals in bower or garden; from the home sanctified by the death of relatives; from the holy, and sacred hearth-stone of childhood, and girlhood, and maidenhood, looks out, into a dark and unilluminated future, away from all that, and yet unterrified, undaunted, leans her fair cheek upon her lover's breast, and whispers, 'dear heart! I cannot see, but I know it. The past was beautiful, but the future I can trust—with thee?'

'Not quite so fast, prithee, friend,' testily interposes a father of a family at our elbow. 'Are we to come to quarrelsome gossipings, shrews and sloves as among that class of fabulous creatures, that we place dodos and mermaids? Do not they also risk something? May he not entertain deep-rooted, long-loved ideas of domesticity and the exceedingly comforts of home? May he not, in his young manhood, have imbibed, nature, a vixen tongue, accord therewith? May not children be allowed to run about a house ungoverned, uncared for; with hair unkempt, and face unwashed, and pinafore that has not had recent intercourse with the soap-suds? Can a man enjoy festivals, act apart to the divinities of the wash-tub, the mangle, the baker, the scrubbing brush, the polish paste, the dust pan, be prolonged and repeated till they become perennial and intolerable domestic bores? Is a man a dinner always when? and not there never any defalcations in his shirt buttons? A plague on your rose pink pictures of female heroism! A man has the greatest risk, say I.'

The father of a family is a man of long matrimonial experience, and I would not lightly quarrel with him. Certainly a man takes his share of the risk. The change from bachelorship to married life is great, and to indeed a death. Well may he hesitate on the threshold and consider the pain in reference to the future. Glorious freedom of single blessedness! how can one relinquish thee? To live in lodgings, exactly as you like; having a landlady, a man-servant, and a boy to you, bound thrall by invincible cash; to rise when you have a mind, and go to bed when you like, to have these pleasing bachelor relations, where no curtains forbid cigars, and the voice may obey the generous promptings of the wine, unrestrained by the presence of the fleeting beauty upstairs; when you can go to the Darby, or will, for an evening at the opera, like the gods themselves, with none to question you; when your income is your own, and you spend it as you choose, and the milliners and dressmakers come not in palpitation in your heart. Certes, to leave a state life is to do indeed a risk. To depart from that, and enter one known not what, is indeed to die.

'To die,' we said, 'is to be born. What are all selfish bachelors delights to the true comforts and rational existence? Lonely lodgings are abandoned—a neat and cozy home exists the happy man. A fair hand pours out for him his cup of tea, and he quickly finds the influence of an incarnation of that divine beauty that has been the music of the world since the time of Adam, affw leaves the house for the town, and a fair hand adjusts his garments, and he feels a sweet thrill vibrate through him, as he leaves the house lightly touch him, ornamenting, improving. He has an impulse that bears him half through the day, in the echo of a kiss that plays warmly about his lips; a power that draws him homeward in the certainty of a coming duplicate, and in the bright eyes that will light up his frugal board. And as to the opera—what is Alboni singing to a houseless, homeless, wifeless bachelor, to Alboni singing impassioned music to attuned and responsive hearts? The loss of the noisy orgies of bacchanal inebriation, whereby the midnight of the tavern, is arrply repaid by the prattle of infancy, or the serene pleasure of an esthetic tea. The odors of mignonette or hyacinth are surely sweeter than the smell of stale tobacco, and the absence of tiplum and tobacco upon the lips, discoloring the teeth, poisoning the breath and killing the nerves, is fully made up by the fond kiss of affection on those lips, and by fond eyes looking love into his soul.

'Umph!' grunts the father of a family.

'Ridiculous!' exclaims the impatient reader.

Good reader, be not wroth. I married, and am now in my honeymoon.

AN ABSURD CONCLUSION.

A principal and his accomplice were recently brought up for trial in Lowell, Massachusetts, for violating the person of a married lady while in a mesmeric state. Upon its being alleged before the Court, that the woman and her husband, who were principal witnesses, were atheists, the judge proposed to the principal witness—'Do you disbelieve that people will be punished hereafter for bad actions?' Answer, 'I don't know anything about it!' In consequence, the Judge decided not to admit the testimony, and discharged the accused.

The course of the counsel under the circumstances was the best possible evidence they could have given of their truthfulness of character, and yet that answer set aside their testimony and released the villain. This incident forcibly illustrates the absurdity and injustice of making a man's belief in theological dogmas a test of character. The idea is already being scouted even from Orthodox Churches. It is time it was also from the law, and our citizens should be protected in the enjoyment of life and character, because they cannot reconcile their opinions of a benevolent God with the implacable and vindictive theology of the popular church.—*Anti Slavery Bugle.*

Railroad Accident.—An accident on the Eastern Railroad occurred on the evening of Sept 13th, in the town of Elliott, Maine, by which two men, named George Palfrey and Clement Pennell, (the engineer and fireman,) were killed. The train was proceeding from Boston, with passengers from Bangor, who had been belonged, and were forced to take no extra train. At Elliott, where a bridge was repairing, the rails and ties had been removed, in order that the impression that no more cars would pass over the road that night. The bridge was completely demolished, and the tender dashed against it, absolutely smashing the unfortunate engineer and fireman. Several passengers, among whom were some from New York, were injured, but not seriously. They reached Boston at 3 o'clock the next morning.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 15. The U. S. Marshal, District Attorney Ashmead, and Commissioner Ingraham, attended by 50 U. S. troops, went to Christiana yesterday, and made 24 arrests, in addition to 13 before reported. Bail to a large amount had been offered, but refused. One white man, named Joseph Scarlet, sold six negroes, are charged with treason!!